

**THE MICRO-GEOGRAPHIES OF
STUDENTIFICATION IN BRIGHTON
AND HOVE**

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Abstract

Studentification is increasingly recognised as a leading-edge process of contemporary urban change; identified in over fifty university towns and cities across the UK. Adopting a micro-geographic approach, this thesis investigates the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification in five case study locations within Brighton and Hove City, UK, and intersects with debates of gentrification, segregation, community cohesion, and ‘otherness’. Drawing upon empirical findings which demonstrate internal geographic differences between expressions of studentification within Brighton and Hove, it is argued that existing academic conceptualisations of studentification need to be extended. It is contended that the narrow focus of these pre-existing conceptualisations obscure the diversity which is inherent within contemporary manifestations of studentification. As a result, the micro-scale contingencies of studentification have, to date, been overlooked. A refined conceptualisation of studentification is therefore proposed, which sheds light on its complexities at the neighbourhood scale. It is concluded that relatively large, socio-spatially concentrated student populations and their physical, economic, social and cultural expressions, are fluid, complex, and dynamic both spatially and temporally. In this way, recent debates of the geographies of gentrification, and the resultant emergence of a ‘chaotic’ contemporary conceptualisation, may have resonance for more fully understanding the complex and diverse geographies of studentification. Inherent within these conclusions is the problematisation of pre-existing policy initiatives implemented in order to build and maintain balanced and sustainable communities in the UK. It is concluded, therefore, that critical examinations of the suitability of such ‘blueprint’ policy initiatives have become necessary within the context of the complexity and diversity of the emerging micro-geographies of studentification.

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Authors declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated in the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed

Dated

Chapter 1: Introduction

Over the last decade, studentification has become a leading-edge process of contemporary urban change on a national scale in the UK. Evidence from media and lay discourses indicates that the impacts of enlarged student populations on established residential communities are of increasing societal significance. For example, the Guardian (15/5/2007) reports: “with increasing numbers of students enrolling at higher education institutions, where to house them all is a dilemma exercising the finest minds in university towns across the UK”.

In recent years, the establishment of a number of political and institutional initiatives has indicated the strength of societal concern regarding studentification. In 2006, UniversitiesUK (UUK) published a report which raised awareness of the challenges and benefits of studentification, and emphasised examples of good practice among stakeholders. Subsequently, 2007 witnessed the establishment of the Councillors Campaign for Balanced Communities (CCBC), an All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Balanced and Sustainable Communities, and a Houses in Multiple Occupation (HMO) Taskforce. In 2008, the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) commissioned ECOTEC (2008) to gather evidence on the problems associated with high concentrations of HMO, and to consider current and potential mechanisms to address these issues. This was followed by the launch of a “major private rented sector review” focusing on “how the increasing number of buy to let accommodation and student tenants has impacted on the private rented sector” (DCLG, 2009).

More locally, studentification has, without doubt, permeated the local political discourses in many university towns and cities. Local community groups and social movements have been established across the UK to contest and resist the urban changes associated with enlarged student populations. This was evidenced by the inauguration of the National HMO Lobby in 2001; constituted to “ameliorate the impact of concentrations of HMO on their host communities” (National HMO Lobby, 2009), and the subsequent expansion of the Lobby’s network to represent over 50 community groups in 30 towns and cities across the UK (*ibid.*).

‘Political lip service’ has been paid to the issue of studentification at the national level, with Caroline Flint, then Housing Minister, asserting that “we must have mixed communities where students and local residents can live side by side” (Guardian, 9/5/2008). Nevertheless, legislative change aimed at dealing with the unfolding processes of studentification has, to date, generally been laissez-faire, and has failed to engage with the issues at the local or national scale; as recognised by Smith (2008 p.2541) who states:

“The lack of government policy and the incapacity of institutional actors to intervene or regulate the residential geographies of students are yielding ‘unbalanced’ populations. This is a factor in the rise of studentification and the fragmentation of existing communities”.

The urban transformations associated with studentification have increasingly captured the interest of the national media in the UK. National media discourses have largely focused on the negative impacts of expanding student populations on established residential communities, often invoking sensational representations of studentification, and students as a social group, highlighting issues such as disintegrating community cohesion:

“There's no more feeding next door's cat or taking in parcels. The government talks of cohesion and community. We've lost it” (The Guardian, 16/6/2007).

Noise nuisance, criminal damage, anti-social behaviour and litter:

“Blaring music, criminal damage passed off as practical jokes, over-flowing bins, beer and kebabs regurgitated in front gardens” (Daily Telegraph, 14/6/2003).

“Roads made squalid by pizza cartons, kebabs and people being sick...living in the area had become a nightmare” (The Guardian, 24/1/2006).

Population imbalance and pressures on the provision of affordable housing:

“The city's buy-to-let boom [which] has created whole areas where local parents and young couples are outgunned financially by landlords, many of whom do not live there” (The Guardian, 16/6/2007).

The neglect and decay of the physical urban landscape in studentified areas:

“Small-time landlordism and the transient student population it encourages has turned some areas into ‘tips’ - overflowing wheelie bins and rubbish-strewn front gardens” (The Guardian, 16/6/2007).

The closure of local services provided for families and children such as primary schools, resulting from lack of demand due to shifting population profiles following the displacement of families by young, single populations:

“The council is considering shutting schools” because “primary school children who should arguably be living in the three and four-bedroomed homes are simply not there” (Guardian, 16/6/2007).

Further to the dominantly negative representations of studentification outlined above, it is noted that more balanced summaries considering the negative and positive impacts of enlarged student populations, although more limited, are also evident. For example:

“But the flipside can be a more vibrant cultural scene, preserving transport links, rising house prices giving an incentive for landlords to upgrade properties that might otherwise lie empty, and graduates settling in the area. studentification, in other words, can be the prelude to gentrification, or at least regeneration” (The Guardian, 24/1/2006).

Importantly, both national media and political representations of studentification suggest a *homogenous* set of processes and impacts, uniformly recognisable across the range of urban contexts within which studentification has unfolded. It can be argued that this simplified conceptualisation fails to engage with the complex expressions of urban change that are unfolding at the micro- and macro-geographic scale (Smith, 2005; Hubbard, 2008), and as such inhibits local and national stakeholders from both addressing the negative impacts of studentification, and from unmasking the more positive benefits of enlarged student populations. Of course, the term ‘micro-geography’ is contested. Within the context of this thesis, the term will refer to neighbourhood level urban change; although it is acknowledged that some important differentiation may exist within neighbourhoods.

1.1. Research aims

The main aims of this thesis are:

- To examine the diversity and dynamism of the unfolding processes of studentification at a micro-geographic scale in Brighton.
- To investigate the factors underpinning different levels of community cohesion in neighbourhoods with relatively high levels of student populations.
- To explore the inter-connections between the dynamics of studentification and diverse geographies of loss and conflict.

1.2. University towns and student populations

The term studentification was coined by Smith (2002), following his observations of the impacts of increasing numbers of student residents on the established residential community in Headingley, Leeds. The term has subsequently permeated academic, lay and media discourses, and has been defined in the Macmillan English Dictionary (2007) as:

“The social and environmental changes caused by very large numbers of students living in particular areas of a town or city”.

The observed increase in student in-migration to university towns and cities underpinning the concentration of student residents in particular communities, is tied to the central government agenda to widen participation in higher education (HE); a key part of New Labour’s 1997 manifesto. This pledge saw a target set to increase the number of 18-24 year olds attending a University to 50% by the year 2010.

Consequently, a dramatic expansion in the total number of students has been witnessed in university towns and cities across the UK, with the number of full-time undergraduate students in the UK increasing from approximately 1.8 million to more than 2.3 million in the decade between 1998 and 2008 (HESA, 2009). Figure 1 shows an overall increase of 6,554 students (from 27,116–

33,670) studying in Brighton between during this period; signifying a 24.2% increase. This compares to a 30.2% increase in the UK overall.

Crucial to understanding the impacts of expanding student populations in Brighton, and other University towns and cities in the UK, is recognition of the concomitant increase in demand for student accommodation; and how this demand has been met. By tradition, the majority of undergraduates have been accommodated in institutionally-managed halls of residence, with the relatively small remainder finding lodgings with families or finding housing within the private rented sector. However, as noted by Smith (2005: p.78):

“Despite the promotion and rising numbers of HE students, there is a serious lack of appropriate guidance and suitable resources for Higher Education Institutions (HEI’s) to develop university-maintained accommodation”.

Thus, contextualised within the current and projected expansion of HE in the UK, it is “implicitly assumed that the private rented sector will ‘mop up’ the shortfall between the supply and demand for student accommodation” (Smith, 2005: p.78). It is the physical, economic, social and cultural impacts associated with the nuances of this supply: demand ratio that forms the core of the studentification research agenda.

Interestingly, Figure 1 indicates a more pronounced expansion of student populations at the University of Brighton, than at the University of Sussex (where the total number of students increased by 40.2% and 3.9%, respectively). Equally, the differential student populations of the University of Brighton and the University of Sussex give rise to specific and different levels of demand for particular types of accommodation. The proportion of full-time and part-time undergraduates and postgraduates differ across the universities, most notably the postgraduate intakes, which account for 19% of the total student intake at the University of Brighton, compared to 26% at the University of Sussex (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2009b). Similarly, the percentages of international and home/EU students are markedly different across the universities. Other differences include the proportion of students who live at home. Although this sub-group of students is greater at the University of Brighton than the University of Sussex, both Universities have seen an increase in the region of 7% between 2005-2007 (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2009b).

Despite such expansion in Brighton (illustrated in Figure 1 and described above), it should be noted that increases in student populations between 2000-01 to 2006-07 were lower in Brighton (+13%), when compared to Norwich (+37%), Bath (+30%), Canterbury (+24%), Durham (+21%), Lancaster (+16%), and Loughborough (+16%) (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2009b). In this sense, Brighton offers a unique opportunity to explore the processes of studentification *as they unfold*, rather than entering the research location in the wake of the ‘studentification frontier’ (Freeman, 2006) as would be the case in cities where studentification is a more embedded and

widely recognised phenomenon, such as Leeds (Smith, 2005) or Loughborough (Hubbard, 2008). The rationale for the selection of Brighton as the macro case study location is considered in more detail in the following Section.

Figure 1: Percentage change in total number of students 1998-2008, source: Higher Education Statistic Agency, total number of students by institution.



1.3. Rationale for the selection of Brighton as a case study location

Brighton is a relatively small coastal city located on the East / West Sussex boundary, on the South Coast of England (see Figure 4 for location map). The usual resident population recorded in the 2001 GB Census was 247,817, with 114,479 households. The total student population recorded in 2007-08 was 33,670 (HESA, 2009), amounting to 13.6% of the usual resident population (based on a usual resident population denominator recorded in the 2001 GB Census). The average household size is 2.09; the smallest household size in the South East, and the fifth smallest in England and Wales. Household composition in the city is skewed towards one person households, which account for 44.5% of all households (compared to 30.0% of all households in England and Wales). In terms of age structure, Brighton has a distinctively large proportion of 20-44 year old residents at 42%, compared to 35% in England and Wales. The city has a notably smaller proportion of owner-occupier households (62%) than the national average (68.9%), with a fifth of all households rented from a private landlord, more than double the national average for this form of tenure (8.8%). Based on this brief summary of 2001 GB Census data, a profile emerges of a relatively youthful city, with disproportionate levels of private renting and one person households.

Brighton has a strong and unique cultural image, based largely on its thriving independent business sector, and its creative ‘alternative’ populations. The North Laine area of Brighton forms the hub of retail provision associated with the city’s ‘bohemian’ image. The proliferation of independent record shops, tattoo and piercing parlours and vintage clothes shops (see Figure 3) here has resulted in comparisons to Camden Town, London, with national media representations of Brighton referring to the city as ‘Camden-Sur-Mer’ (The Independent on Sunday, June 1998). Indeed, this image has been adopted and encouraged by Brighton and Hove City Council, with the city’s unique cultural assets forming an integral part of a strong city-branding, upon which it is marketed as a desirable tourist destination. The specific cultural pulls of Brighton have also been cited as central to the retention of graduates in the city despite the recognised lack of employment opportunities or affordable housing (Pollard *et al.*, 2008). This has been termed “the Brighton effect”. An exit survey of 650 final year University of Sussex students in 2007 revealed that Brighton benefitted from the retention of 38.6% of University of Sussex graduates whose home address was within the South East region, 50.4% of non-South East graduates, 28.1% of EU graduates, and 24.1% of overseas graduates (Pollard *et al.*, 2008). As such, this aligns with Duke-William’s (2009) analysis that graduate retention is effectively feeding the South East as an ‘escalator region’.

The importance of creative ‘alternative’ populations in Brighton has also been emphasised in terms of the gentrification of some parts of the city. The North Laine area (see Figure 2) is again notable here, with Carter (1996) citing the significance of the role of the ‘marginal gentrifier’ in driving processes of gentrification in the North Laine in the mid to late seventies. Media representations of Hanover (one of five case study sites discussed in further detail in Section 4.5.4), another neighbourhood typified by colourful terraced housing and ‘boho-chic’ cafe’s and pubs, have labelled the area “Mount Muesli”, in reference to “the large proportion of young, alternative new-media couples, or The Peoples Republic of Hangover, for the Guardian-reading, lefty bias and large number of excellent pubs” (BBC, January 2003). The influence of creative populations and their incumbent industries identified as crucial to the gentrification of these parts of the city in the seventies (Carter, 1996), remain central to the city’s economic prosperity in the present day, illustrated by the emergence of a thriving digital media industry in recent years. The complex interconnections between Brighton’s unique population characteristics, cultural assets and economic prosperity are summarised in the following quote, from a recent report on sustaining economic growth in the city:

“Arguably, Brighton’s greatest assets are its unique retail, culture and quality of place, which attract tourists and shoppers and encourage highly skilled workers to settle in the city. This has been a key factor in the emergence of Brighton and Hove’s digital media industry, which has become a valuable source of employment and an important potential source of future economic growth” (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2009d).

Such positive representations of the city as a prosperous cultural hub can, however, mask extant social inequalities that result from an uneven distribution of wealth, giving rise to pockets of deprivation at the micro-geographic scale. Indeed, alternative media representations have noted Brighton's relatively high levels of deprivation, with the BBC (1999) comparing Brighton to North Tyneside, citing their positions as "kissing cousins on the league tables of deprivation, with Brighton at 60, slightly worse off than North Tyneside at 62". Indeed, more recent Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) have positioned Brighton the 28th most deprived city (of 56) nationally in 2004 (IMD, 2004), rising to the 29th most deprived in 2007 (IMD, 2007); it's nearest neighbours in terms of deprivation being Huddersfield, London and Leicester. Micro-geographic inconsistencies in wealth and relative deprivation within the city are important to note in terms of how they underpin the differing economic, social and cultural characteristics of the five case study sites outlined in Chapter 4, and in turn how these variations impact upon the contingent unfolding of processes of studentification at this scale.

Within this context, the selection of Brighton as the case study area for the thesis was tied to a number of factors. Smith and Holt (2004: p.143), in a previous research report examining studentification in Brighton, concluded that the evident processes and impacts of studentification did not suggest that they had become heavily embedded or entrenched within the city:

"It would appear that current expressions of studentification in Brighton...do not point to serious detrimental outcomes for local populations, although there was some evidence of a developing nucleus of proto-studentification within particular parts of the Lewes Road corridor. Urban change in these localities will need to be carefully monitored by university officials, to ensure the sustainability of communities and minimise local resistance".

Despite recognising that patterns of student residence in Brighton had unfolded in relatively dispersed and even ways, Smith and Holt, above, suggest an inertia of change, specifically involving deepening concentrations of student residence along the Lewes Road corridor. Indeed, as discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2, local media discourses emerging latterly indicated that community opposition to the physical, social and cultural impacts of expanding student populations was gathering pace, this is illustrated by the following two quotes from the local media:

"I can now understand why people dislike living near student houses. I live next door to one where there are constant parties, often until 5am. No consideration is shown to the neighbours (who all go out to work) nor to the young children living nearby. When you ask them to quieten down, you receive verbal abuse and rudeness. I like and get on well with young people but the selfish attitude of so many students is totally unacceptable" (The Argus, 26/10/2005).

“Several times a week they go out at 11pm in taxis, shouting as they go. They then return around 4am in taxis, again shouting and laughing. Once inside, doors are banging, loud music starts and general crashing about. Often they sit in their conservatory until 6.30am shouting, singing, stamping their feet and playing guitars...Each week we have two bags of refuse for the binmen, the student houses have around 12 each. We pay council tax, but the HMOs don't. This is just not fair. I have to say I am sick, tired, and thoroughly fed up with it. If I wanted to live on a campus I would have bought a house there!” (The Argus, 22/3/2009).

Figure 2: Bustling North Laine area, Brighton.



Figure 3: Independent businesses in the North Laine area.



Figure 4: Brighton location map.



With this in mind, and drawing on Freeman's (2006) assertions regarding the value of researching processes of gentrification as they unravel 'in situ', as opposed to entering the research site in the wake of the progressing gentrification frontier, Brighton offered the ideal setting for exploring the *unfolding* processes of studentification.

The beginning of Section 1 outlined the superficiality of extant political and national media representations of studentification; focused on a perceived homogenous set of processes and impacts of urban change. In light of the agenda to disrupt and complicate these conceptualisations, Brighton also presented itself, as shown in Chapter 4, as a non-metropolitan case study with distinct micro-geographies, as the ideal setting offering to explore the complexities of studentification at the micro-geographic scale.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is composed of six further chapters. Chapter 2 presents a review of established academic, lay, and national media conceptualisations of studentification, highlighting the absence of a micro-geographic examination of the processes and impacts of studentification. It is contended that established academic conceptualisations of studentification are out-dated, and are too rigid and parochial to embrace the diverse contemporary expressions of studentification. The importance of theories of segregation, marginalisation, 'othering', identity construction, intergenerational conflict and the lifecourse to developing fuller understandings of the dynamics of studentified urban communities is underlined, and finally it is postulated that the objectives of mixed and cohesive communities underpinning recent political discourses of social cohesion and sustainable communities in the UK are juxtaposed to the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification.

Chapter 3 provides a discussion of the methodological applied, describing a mixed-methods approach to identifying and contextualising five microgeographies (case study sites) in Brighton; capturing the perceptions of student-related urban change among established residents' and institutional actors; and enabling the micro-geographic intricacies emerging from the five case study sites to be explored and compared.

Chapter 4 identifies and contextualises five case study sites, establishing the differentiations in their physical, social and cultural characteristics. Evidence of the unfolding processes of studentification in Brighton is presented, drawing on content analyses of local media sources; local political discourse analyses and spatial analyses of the residential patterns of local student populations. Photographic images provide evidence of the physical downgrading of the urban environment.

Chapter 5 examines the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification from the perspective of established local residents, councillors and institutional actors within Brighton. The perceptions are drawn from focus groups and interviews with a range of different stakeholders in the city (see Chapter 3, Sections 3.5 and 3.6 for fuller discussion). The discussion disentangles the importance

of local contingencies to illuminate how the shifting geographies of student residence are temporally and socio-spatially uneven within the city, as well as differentiated demographically and culturally. This serves to demonstrate that the contemporary micro-scale expressions of studentification in Brighton are both complex and diverse. Local residents' perceptions are disentangled to reveal the importance of the perceived downgrading of the urban environment, and shifting socio-cultural characteristics of studentified areas, and how these shifts have resulted in negative emotional outcomes for established residential populations.

Building upon these findings, Chapter 6 presents analyses of 350 questionnaires administered 'on the door-step' with established residents across the five case study sites. These discussions provide further insights into the social and cultural complexities of studentification at the micro-geographic scale by clearly identifying the impact of contingent populations on the varying perceptions of studentification in each case study site. Discourses of tolerance, apathy, conflict, loss and disenfranchisement are identified within local resident populations' narratives. Finally, Chapter 7 presents a new conceptualisation of studentification to conclude the thesis.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

The main focus of this Chapter is to explore how studentification is conceptualised within academic (Section 2.3), local community (Section 2.4), and national media (Section 2.5) discourses. The discussion is contextualised via an overview of disparate academic scholarship on: gentrification (Section 2.2); segregation (Section 2.6); and, youth transitions to adulthood, youth identity construction and citizenship (Section 2.7). Finally, the Chapter provides a summary of political and community-led conceptualisations of sustainable communities (Section 2.8). Importantly, the Chapter points to three gaps in the pre-existing studentification literature. First, it is contended that established academic conceptualisations of studentification are out-dated, and are too rigid and parochial to embrace: the diverse contemporary expressions of studentification (Hubbard, 2008), the diversifying accommodation preferences and housing pathways through university (Hubbard, 2009; Holdsworth, 2009a), and the emergent gentrification of studenthood (Chatterton, 2009). Second, and drawing on observations of the heterogeneity and diversity of expressions of studentification (e.g. Smith, 2005; Smith and Holt, 2007; Smith, 2009), and its inherent spatial unevenness (Munro *et al.*, 2009), it is argued that these themes highlight the absence of a micro-geographic examination of the processes and impacts of studentification. Third, it is postulated that the objectives of mixed and cohesive communities underpinning recent political discourses of social cohesion and sustainable communities in the UK are juxtaposed to the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification. It is argued that this underlines the importance of theories of segregation, marginalisation, ‘othering’, identity construction, intergenerational conflict and the lifecourse (Bailey, 2009) to developing fuller understandings of the dynamics of studentified urban communities; and exposes the absence of research disentangling these interconnections.

2.2. “Widening the sociospatial net of gentrification” (Butler, 2007)

The concept of studentification is irrevocably enmeshed within wider contestations of the conceptual margins of gentrification (Hubbard, 2009). This section traces recent debates in the gentrification literature, highlighting the conceptual ramifications for studentification, which, it is argued should be considered as ‘nested’ within the wider conceptual rubric of gentrification (Butler, 2007).

There have been numerous calls in recent years (Butler, 2007; Clark, 2005; Davidson and Lees, 2005; Lees, 2007; Smith and Butler, 2007; Smith and Holt, 2007) for a revision of the arguably narrow and restrictive concept of gentrification; to loosen and extend its parochial focus, thus

enabling a variety of contemporary forms of urban change to be embraced, as summarised by Lees (2007: p.232):

“What has emerged most recently is a new division in the gentrification literature between those who wish to retain the term ‘gentrification’ to describe a variety of new urban, social and political processes...and those...who wish to leave the term with Ruth Glass”.

Butler (2007: p.162), a proponent of broadening the conceptual boundaries of gentrification, describes the concept as “somewhat middle aged and overendowed with its own history”. This statement refers to outdated representations of the processes of gentrification and gentrifiers, rooted in pre-existing studies of the de-industrialisation of major metropolitan centres, and the displacement of working class populations. This dated conceptualisation, as Butler (2007: p.162) terms it ‘gentrification as displacement’, “by no means tells the whole story about the trend towards new forms of sociospatial segmentation of urban centres elsewhere across the globe” (*ibid.*), and instead has the tendency to reproduce the hegemonic view of gentrification as neoliberal global urban strategy (Smith N., 2002). As such, contemporary forms of urban and rural change such as studentification, super-gentrification (Butler and Lees, 2006) and greentrification (Smith and Phillips, 2001) do not meet the ‘overhegemonised’ conceptual criteria of gentrification, rendering the concept of limited value in terms of providing a framework within which current urban, social and political processes can be understood.

Clark (2005) asserts that the rigid, outmoded conceptual criteria of gentrification render the concept ‘chaotic’, and as such ‘unfit for purpose’ in terms of its application to a range of diverse contemporary urban and rural contexts:

“There is nothing chaotic about gentrification in inner cities and in rural areas, in neighbourhoods and in non-residential areas, through rehabilitation and through demolition / reconstruction. There is, however, something chaotic about conceptualising gentrification according to these aspects, since none of them stands in a necessary relation to its occurrence” (Clark, 2005: p.259).

Clark is referring here to the conflation of contingent and necessary relations, resulting in the inclusion of these unnecessary contingent qualifiers (i.e. inner-city, rehabilitation, residential), as conceptual criteria, resulting in arbitrary narrowness rather than meaningful precision, thus rendering the concept “genuinely chaotic” (Clark, 2005).

Other proponents of embracing a broader, less restrictive conceptualisation of gentrification include: Hamnett and Whitelegg (2007), who identify the conversion of industrial and commercial space in Clerkenwell, London as a lucid example of gentrification without population displacement; Lees (2003) and Butler and Lees (2006), who draw on the examples of Brooklyn Heights, New York, and Barnsbury, London, respectively, to describe the transformation of pre-gentrified urban enclaves into even more affluent and exclusive spaces, terming these processes of intensified gentrification ‘super-gentrification’; and Preteceille (2007), who identifies nuanced

processes of urban change occurring in Paris in recent years that cannot be effectively captured by the narrow lens of enquiry proffered by traditional conceptualisations of gentrification.

What emerges from these studies and others, are a series of complex, nuanced processes of contemporary change unfolding in diverse urban and rural contexts. Also noteworthy within contemporary gentrification research are complexities emerging on multiple spatial and temporal scales, and with reference to a variety of different social groups. Such complexities of scale are exemplified by Butler and Robson (2003) exploring the micro-geographic processes of gentrification; Boddy's (2007) consideration of the provincial city; Preteceille (2007) and Carpenter and Lees' (1995) studies at the scale of the major metropolitan centre; Butler's (2007) and Lees' (2007) global perspectives; and Smith and Holt's (2007) consideration of the life-course of the gentrifier, emphasising the significance of the temporal dimensions of urban change. Notable for their recognition of the influence of particular social groups on urban and rural change are Lees (2003) with discussions of the consumption of super-gentrified spaces by the 'super-rich' financiers of New York; Smith and Holt's (2005) recognition of the influential role played by lesbian migrants on processes of rural gentrification; Smith's (2007) focus on 'boat-people', invigorating debates of the importance of marginal social groups on processes of urban change; and, crucial to the conceptual grounding of the thesis, Smith and Holt's (2007) recognition of the influence of HE students on contemporary forms of urban change in university towns and cities. Collectively, these observations of urban change bear selected hallmarks of gentrification at complex spatial and temporal scales, and with reference to various social groups. As such, these commentaries juxtapose the rigid pre-existing conceptualisations of gentrification from the 1970's, incentivising more refined conceptualisations that enable these varied expressions of contemporary urban and rural socio-spatial change to be embraced.

In response to this call for change, however, there have been claims that a conceptual stretching and re-moulding of gentrification would result in unhelpful generalisation (Smith N., 2002). Neil Smith (2002) instead suggests that the complex processes unfolding in contemporary urban and rural contexts, as outlined above, reflect *new* forms of urban change, that should be considered and conceptualised in isolation from the pre-existing conceptual terrain of gentrification (Boddy, 2007; Alvarez-Rivadulla, 2007).

The thesis aligns with the former contention, in concurrence with Butler (2007: p. 177), who summarises adeptly: "we need to see gentrification as a 'nested' conception – rather like a Russian doll in which the overall conception contains a number of smaller ones which have specific social and spatial contexts". Failure, Butler continues, to "cast ourselves free from the moorings...of the 1970's" would leave the concept of gentrification "in danger of stifling our understanding of processes such as gating, super gentrification and studentification which are occurring across the

spatial scale, by different generations, different social classes and with different motivations” (p. 178).

Conflated with notions of gentrification as a ‘nested’ concept (Butler, 2007), Darren Smith (2002, 2005), and Smith and Holt (2007), in their pioneering work on studentification in Brighton and Leeds, have conceptualised studentification within the wider rubric of gentrification. Smith’s (2005: p.73) dominant assertion is that “the social and cultural spaces of studentified locations provide a ‘training ground’ for potential gentrifiers, and that studentification represents a ‘factory of gentrification’”. Smith and Holt (2007: p.144) build upon this notion, shaping an agenda to explore the “infancy and origins of formative social and cultural processes of gentrifiers” by widening the temporal view of gentrification in order to gain a broader life-course perspective on gentrifiers. This develops Smith’s (2005) positing of students as nascent gentrifiers, and exposes the requirement for more comprehensive lifecourse studies of gentrifiers in order to “expose connections, and overlaps, between early (‘apprentice’) and more mature phases of gentrifier lifecourses” (Smith and Holt, 2007: p.144). Smith and Holt (2007) therefore reject the conceptual autonomy of studentification, as advocated by Neil Smith (2002), instead defending its position within the contested conceptual boundaries of gentrification. As such, Smith and Holt (2007) align with numerous other scholars (Butler, 2007; Clark, 2005; Davidson and Lees, 2005; Lees, 2007) wishing to set the agenda for “a refocusing of the academic gaze on gentrification, and a redeployment of the gentrification term at a revised conceptual level” (Smith and Holt, 2007: p.158).

The discussion above traces recent debates centred on the appropriateness of gentrification as conceptual framework for contemporary studies of sociospatial urban and rural change. Butler (2007: p.163), as has been suggested above, defends “the continued use of gentrification as a way of understanding the changing relationship between people and where they live”. He expands on this argument, highlighting the significance of residential and locational preferences to contemporary constructions of identity. Butler (2007) contends that gentrification retains processes of social class at its core, however, suggests that although ‘class’ remains a central point of reference for individuals, it is no longer the major constituent of how people make sense of their lives (see also Savage, 2000). Whereas occupation was once the “primary determinant of cultural preference” (Butler, 2007: p.163), Butler (2007) propounds that this has been replaced by where people choose to reside. As such, the motivations and decision-making processes involved in processes of migration and settlement constitute core elements of identity (re)construction. To be clear, this posits people’s choice of where to live as the primary expression of who they are, central to which are Bourdieu’s (1986) concepts of ‘habitus’ and ‘field’. More specifically, Bridge’s (2003) notion of ‘mini-habitus’, that apply to individual sub-sections of the middle class, and Savage *et al.*’s (2005) development of the term ‘elective belonging’ to describe the tendency for people to congregate with other ‘people like us’.

The concept of elective belonging, and its relations to Bourdieu's (1986) concept of habitus, has powerful implications for conceptualisations of studentification. Elective belonging employs the concept of habitus, in relation to the fields across which it operates, concluding that habitus is essentially a spatial concept:

“People are comfortable when there is a correspondence between habitus and field, but otherwise people feel ill at ease and seek to move – socially and spatially – so that their discomfort is relieved...people, with their relatively fixed habitus, both move between fields...and move to places within fields where they feel more comfortable” (Savage *et al.*, 2005, quoted in Butler 2007: p. 175).

Thus it could be suggested that students exhibiting the student habitus are “triangulating these fields spatially so that they live with ‘people like themselves’” (Butler, 2007: p.175). Butler also notes that it is the incomers who become socially integrated with ease within their new “habitus of choice”, with the original inhabitants remaining, through lack of choice, in an ‘alien habitus’; finding themselves dislocated from their place of residence (p.175). This has some resonance with the sense of dislocation and disenfranchisement reported in the media in Chapter 1 by established local residents following the in-migration and concentration of student populations, bringing with them their own specific ‘student habitus’. Thus elective belonging and the concept of ‘people like us’ appear to have applications in conceptualising displacement, segregation, population imbalance and the cohesiveness of residential communities. The relevance of notions of clustering with ‘people like us’ to informing understandings of cohesiveness in urban communities is further exemplified by Butler's (2003: p1) contention that contemporary gentrifiers in Islington are “living in the bubble” (*ibid.*). This refers to their propensity, despite a strong rhetoric in favour of social integration, to live “quite apart from non-middle-class residents...unwilling to invest social capital in the area...their relationships...almost entirely with people like us” (*ibid.*). The inferred implications this has for decaying community cohesion in gentrified urban contexts could equally be applied to studentified residential communities.

2.3. Academic conceptualisations of studentification

Smith noted in 2005, that despite significant recognition of studentification within national media discourses (discussed in Section 2.5), scant academic attention had been paid to its conceptualisation. Similarly, Hubbard (2008: p.324) observed that:

“There has been a paucity of geographical research tracing the impacts of students on ‘host’ communities, with the majority of geographical work focusing on the economic impacts of universities...rather than questions of social cohesion”.

A more robust literature focusing on the patterns, processes and impacts of sociospatial concentrations of students has since emerged. This proliferation of scholarship, most notable during the period 2008 – 2009, has marked intensifying academic interest in the emergence of increasingly diverse ‘geographies of students’. An overview of these more recent contributions is

presented following a summary of Smith's (2002, 2005), Smith and Holt's (2007), and Hubbard's (2008) pioneering work that witnessed the firm establishment of studentification in the geographical lexicon.

As intimated by Hubbard (2008) in the quote above, initial academic research on the university-community interface, pre-dating the focus on processes of studentification, tended to centre upon the economic impacts of universities on their surrounding communities (for example, see Barden, 1995; Bleaney, 1992; Glasson, 2003; Harris, 1997; Lawton-Smith, 2003); the university-community cultural interface (Chatterton, 2000); the provision of popular culture and consumption spaces for students in city centres (Chatterton, 1999; Chatterton and Hollands, 2002, 2003); and the nature of demand for private rented housing from students (Rhodes, 1999; Rhodes *et al.*, 2000; Rugg *et al.*, 2002). None of these contributions focused specifically on *student*-community interactions. Smith's (2002) inaugural work in Headingley, Leeds marked the first explicit identification of *specific* processes of urban change underpinning the emergence of a distinct 'student area'; tied to the expansion of local higher educational establishments and the concentration of student populations in a relatively small urban enclave.

Smith's (2005) fundamental discussion on the "conceptual overlaps between studentification and gentrification" has shaped the extant studentification research agenda, remaining the fullest conceptual contribution to studentification scholarship to date. Smith (2005: p.73) contends that:

"At a conceptual level, processes of studentification connote urban changes which are tied to the recommodification of 'single-family' housing or the repackaging of existing private rented housing, by small-scale institutional actors (e.g. property owners, investors and developers) to produce and supply Houses in Multiple Occupation (HMO) for HE students".

Smith develops this, in line with Warde's (1991) four-tier classification of gentrification, to define studentification in four dimensions:

Economic: studentification involves the revalorisation and inflation of property prices, which is tied to the recommodification of single-family housing or a repackaging of private rented housing to supply HMO for HE students. This restructuring of the housing stock gives rise to a tenure profile which is dominated by private rented, and decreasing levels of owner-occupation.

Social: the replacement or displacement of a group of established permanent residents with a transient, generally young and single, middle class social grouping; entailing new patterns of social concentration and segregation.

Cultural: the gathering together of young persons with a putatively shared culture and lifestyle, and consumption practices linked to certain types of retail and service infrastructure.

Physical: associated with an initial upgrading of the external environment as properties are converted to HMO. This can subsequently lead to a downgrading of the physical environment, depending on the local context” (Smith, 2005: p.75).

The economic dimension of Smith’s definition suggests that conversion and recommodification of existing tenure to provide student HMO tends to be restricted to owner-occupied single-family housing, and existing private rented housing, implying that processes of studentification tend to unfold in urban areas where these forms of tenure dominate. Indeed, it is also noted by Smith that “many areas which have been influenced by processes of studentification, such as Clifton in Bristol, Headingley in Leeds, Hanover in Brighton, or Lenton in Nottingham, already contained relatively exclusive high-cost housing, and a middle-class residential composition” (p.79). The relevance of “*small-scale* institutional agents” (Smith, 2005, *emphasis added*) is stressed, with Ley’s (1996) term ‘organic entrepreneurs’ cited as a suitable reference-point.

In sum, a relatively restrictive definition of studentification emerges suggesting that it unfolds in relatively specific urban contexts. Indeed, Smith (2005: p.75) contends that “studentification does not indicate the varied trajectories and complexities of gentrification”, stating that in contrast to recent conceptualisations of gentrification that have integrated the production of large-scale purpose-built developments specifically marketed at niche gentrifier markets (Lees, 2003), the production and consumption of such accommodation marketed at students (i.e. new-build development of purpose-built accommodation for students) is not considered to fall within the conceptual limits of studentification:

“It is important to stress...that processes of studentification do not explicitly encompass the new-build development of purpose built HMO for HE students, for example university halls of residence or flat units, or the large-scale redevelopment of former industrial or commercial premises...clearly such developments do not fit within the rigid representation of studentification (i.e. recommodification of existing housing stock), outlined above” (Smith, 2005: p.80).

Similarly, the social dimension of studentification is relatively constrained, citing the replacement of permanent residents with students as a key process, leading to “new patterns of social concentration and segregation” (p.75). This conflates processes of studentification with the broader theories of segregation and ghettoisation, arguably limiting the conceptual application of studentification to urban areas already exhibiting evidence of segregated populations:

“Studentification...underpins the formation of ‘student ghettos’. The term ghetto is utilised here to emphasise the residential ‘concentration’ of Higher Education (HE) students in distinct enclaves of university-towns” (Smith, 2005: p.73).

This could also have implications for the consideration of the impact of students on urban areas demonstrating a more mixed demographic profile. In this sense, understandings of incipient expressions of studentification may be inhibited, and fail to fully understand how these may relate conceptually to the unfolding of processes of gentrification at a later stage. It is noted by Smith (2005: p.76) that:

“There are prominent economic-related similarities between studentifiers and early phase (marginal) pioneer gentrifiers...in this respect, studentifiers are similar to artists and other creative workers, and may be viewed as the ground-breakers for gentrification activity in some contexts”.

Thus conceptually, the comparison of studentifiers to marginal pioneer gentrifiers appears significant to exposing the interconnectedness of gentrification and studentification. Fruitful examination of early ‘pioneer’ phases of studentification may be undermined, however, by the acceptance of segregation as a prerequisite for studentification; which arguably disenables the consideration of students as agents of urban change in more mixed communities where segregation has yet to unfold. In this way, parallels can be drawn between debates of studentification and calls to loosen the conceptual limits of gentrification, to rid the contested concept of unnecessary qualifiers (Clark, 2005) in order to more fully examine a multitude of contemporary expressions of urban socio-spatial change, often occurring across the life-course of the gentrifier (Smith and Holt, 2007).

Overall, the range of criteria constituting the established definition of studentification outlined above, culminate in a relatively rigid conceptualisation, aligned to a specific set of processes unfolding within specific urban contexts. It has been suggested that studentification does not engender the same array of complexities as gentrification, however, more recent scholarship on the geographies of students has outlined increasingly diverse spatial practices (Holdsworth, 2009a; Christie, 2007) and accommodation preferences (Hubbard, 2009) among a diversifying UK student population (Findlay, 2009). This suggests some degree of comparability with the inherent complexities of urban change identified within gentrification scholarship, and the conceptual critiques that have ensued (outlined in Section 2.2).

Despite the arguably prohibitive rigidity of the established definition of studentification, in terms of encompassing the diversity of its more recently observed expressions, it should be noted that the “combination of place-specific factors” (Smith, 2005: p.80) influencing the unfolding processes of studentification in varying contexts is stressed by Smith (*ibid.*) who states:

“It is important to stress here that the definition [of studentification, as outlined above] conflates the common signifiers of studentification; although empirical evidence suggests that studentification unfolds in different ways, and takes different forms in different contexts” (Smith, 2005: p.74).

Similarities are drawn here with Van Weeswep’s (1994) review of scholarship in gentrification, outlining a research agenda inclined towards establishing why processes of gentrification unfold in some neighbourhoods, and not others, and how the specific urban contexts of gentrifying areas influence the ways in which these processes of change unravel. This observation is fundamental to the thesis, given the focus on the micro-geographic specificities of the processes of studentification.

Hubbard’s (2008) work in Loughborough also stresses the importance of problematising homogeneity within studentification research; citing the significance of contingent student

populations, host town characteristics and the “historically-constituted relationship between ‘town and gown’” (p.328) in determining the varied social outcomes of studentification. Summarising findings from research with local residents, a range of impacts of students on the Storer community in Loughborough are identified, to include: increased noise and anti-social behaviour; deterioration of the physical landscape (including the outward appearance of properties and the maintenance of gardens); litter and the incorrect disposal of domestic refuse; vandalism; the proliferation of ‘to let’ signs, and perceived associated signals of under-surveillance during term time, resulting in an increased likelihood of burglary and theft; traffic and parking issues; restructuring of the tenure profile seeing increased domination of private rented housing; perceived decreasing property values; decreasing primary school intake; decreasing levels of community investment; increasing community homogeneity (i.e. decreasing diversity); and decreasing levels of community cohesiveness. Interestingly, there is limited discussion of the emergence of positive views among local residents of students as a social group, or their impacts on the Storer community, as intimated by the following quote: “no respondents suggested that the influx of students had a positive influence on the aesthetic quality of the town” (Hubbard, 2008: p.333).

Importantly, the *specificity* of student-related processes of urban change, and their signifiers at the community level are highlighted by Hubbard. For example:

“[The] geographical concentration [of student populations]...is encouraged by students predisposition to locate in areas that they regard as convenient for university, as well as the tendency for letting agencies to push students towards certain parts of the town, often making stereotyped judgements as to which areas suit undergraduates (who are assumed to have homogenous and inevitably alcohol-fuelled interests)” (p.326).

Such demonstrable peculiarities to the migration, settlement and lifestyle patterns of students are arguably critical to emergent issues of conflict with established residential communities, and the marginalisation of student populations. Significantly, Hubbard (2008; 2005a) identifies students as a marginal group, revealing discourses of ‘othering’ within local established residents’ oppositions to students as a social group “whose values and lifestyles do not accord with the moral codes ascribed to by the majority”, with examples presented of residents’ aversions to students communicated in a “language of displacement...replete with metaphors more usually associated with xenophobic and racist discourse” (Hubbard, 2008: p.334). This establishes an important agenda for further consideration within studentification research, mooted in the following quote:

“Exploring why the notion of the ‘student ghetto’ has become common-place in dominant discourses of studentification thus represents an important avenue of research given that antistudent NIMBYism potentially feeds on deep-rooted fears of ‘otherness’ in which questions of race and sex are pivotal in future explorations of community opposition to studentification” (p.338).

Another key issue for further research within the context of marginal groups and shifting populations, is the transition of studentifying neighbourhoods from urban areas dominated by established local residents to emergent ‘student areas’; and at what juncture this ‘changeover’

occurs (Hubbard, 2008: p.338). As such, the notion of a ‘tipping point’ is problematised by Hubbard (*ibid.*) due to its discriminatory undertones “having been defined in the context of sometimes questionable studies of ethnic diversity as that point at which non-white occupation triggers ‘white flight’ ” (*ibid.*).

Finally, the consideration of a range of options by Charnwood Borough Council to manage the proliferation of student housing in Loughborough is outlined, acknowledging awareness and recognition among urban policy-makers at the local authority of the challenges of studentification, and the requirement for local policy responses to mitigate these.

The ‘threshold approach’ piloted by Charnwood Borough Council, is described to have involved restricting planning permission for changes likely to increase the density of student residence in an area, based on the population mix within the nearest 5-6 output areas. As such, this is noted as representing “a remarkable attempt to use planning legislation to shape the distribution of a specific population across an urban area, with policies discriminating against student occupation and other forms of multiple occupation” (Hubbard, 2008: p.337). Indeed, it is noted that the adoption of such an approach focusing on population mix in the immediate surrounding area of an individual planning application, rather than adopting an ‘area-based model’, such as the Area of Student Housing Restraint (ASHORE) developed by Leeds City Council (Smith, 2005), reflects the specific policy requirements of a small market town, compared to those of a major University city. This marks the necessarily context-specific heterogeneity of planning responses to the issues of student housing, reflecting the differentiated expressions of studentification between university towns and cities (Hubbard, 2008).

Drawing parallels with the multi-scalar complexities of contemporary gentrification studies (discussed in Section 2.2), more emphasis has emerged in recent scholarship on the ties between the ‘geographies of students’ and the deep shifting structures of knowledge economies at the local and the global scale. At the local scale, Russo *et al.* (2007: p. 199) argue for a more sustainable city-university relationship. Their proposed model posits the University as a potential driving force for positive urban development, provided a balance can be achieved between the various stakeholders (including students and local communities), thus enabling the “embedding [of] knowledge in the local social and economic networks” (*ibid.*).

The benefits of embracing wider themes within literature examining the impacts of higher education and expanding student populations are noted by Smith (2009: p.1797):

“This concern with the studentification of university towns and cities provides only a partial understanding of the wider sociospatial effects of expanded systems of higher education and enlarged student populations...clearly a broader lens of enquiry is required to consider themes such as the geographies of home-based and international students, if a more robust theorisation of the sociospatial impacts of systems of higher education is to be forged”.

Focusing on the internationalisation of higher education, Waters (2009) addresses this research agenda by situating students within the global knowledge economy. In her focus on the increasing currency of postgraduate study among overseas-educated graduates from Hong Kong, in particular the MBA, she highlights the appropriateness of both a broader *spatial* and *temporal* lens of enquiry for illuminating the international geographies of students. As Smith (2009: p.1799) notes, the international dimension also has relevance to patterns of student residence in the UK:

“Within the UK context, this is particularly pertinent as private sector actors increasingly develop exclusive, high-cost, purpose-built student accommodation for overseas postgraduate students, such as the Nido concept in London”.

This assertion links to contemporary debates around purpose built student accommodation (PBSA), discussed in more detail later in the section in relation to Hubbard’s (2009) recent contribution.

The international dimension of the geographies of students shares significant overlaps with migration and mobilities literatures. Most notable here are Findlay’s (2009) contribution, illuminating processes of international student ‘knowledge migration’ in the UK, and Findlay *et al.*’s (2006: p.291) examination of “changing mobility patterns, attitudes and behaviours of UK higher education students who spend a part of their degree programme studying or working abroad” (*ibid.*). The former paper reflects on the extant literature’s tendency to present a relatively limited account of international student mobility, focused on the autonomous ‘choices’ student migrants make when engaged in decision-making regarding why, where, and how to study abroad. Findlay (2009: p.8) presents a more refined analysis, recognising the significance of the cultural, social and economic contexts within which such decisions are made. The “virtually invisible migration flow” of international students is remarked at; this observation rooted in the comparatively minimal national media coverage of the in-migration of international students, given their status as “by far the largest group of non-British citizens permitted to migrate to the country”. It is argued that this reflects the importance of the UK’s policy trajectory in the last decade, within the context of the global knowledge economy, actively seeking to encourage international students to settle in the UK following their studies, thus increasing the UK’s market-share of ‘global talent’. As such, the pull asserted by political and institutional structures aligned with the globalisation of higher education, is placed more centrally as an influence shaping the ‘decisions’ of international student migrants, and the characteristics of the student population in the UK.

Findlay *et al.* (2006), drawing on research undertaken with students participating in the UK’s European exchange-based mobility scheme ‘Erasmus-Socrates’ to conceptualise UK student mobilities, conclude that UK students now formulate their mobility decisions on a broader *global* scale than their previous counterparts in the 1990’s, suggesting the globalisation of student mobilities over the last decade. All three of the papers outlined above (Waters, 2009; Findlay *et al.*, 2006; Findlay, 2009) draw on Bourdieu’s (1986) concept of ‘cultural capital’. Waters (2009) argues that middle-class families in Hong Kong have attached “symbolic potency” (Bourdieu and

Passeron, 1977; quoted in Findlay, 2009) to overseas travel, as such viewing international higher education as an opportunity to obtain “scarcer (and therefore more valuable) academic credentials” (Waters, 2009: p.1870). Findlay *et al.* (2006: p.293) echo this point, drawing on notions of youth mobility cultures and geographies of consumption to highlight “experiential goals” (*ibid.*) as key motivational factors for international student migration. As noted by Findlay *et al.* (2006), this fits with Beck and Beck-Gernsheim’s (2002) notions of the ‘do-it-yourself’ biography of young postmodern individuals, and relational youth identity construction. Within the context of international student mobility, Findlay *et al.* (2006: p.293) suggest that “the greater the diversity of places students have visited, the greater their agency in terms of self-identification”. These notions are enmeshed with Bourdieu’s (1986) concepts of social and cultural capital, with the international experiences of students emerging as a “mobility capital” (Findlay *et al.*, 2006: p.4) which can be deployed over the subsequent life-course of the individual for personal, social or career enhancement (Li *et al.*, 1998). Thus, specific forms of social and cultural capital tied to student lifestyles and identity formation emerge as important themes influencing the spatial patterns of movement and settlement of student populations.

According to Munro *et al.* (2009: p.1806) “there has been little attention paid to the *spatial* impacts of a mass HE [Higher Education] system” (emphasis added) in the UK context. This is somewhat surprising given that, as noted by Smith (2009: p.1796), “it is difficult to identify another social group with such high levels of mobility, and palpable impacts on the place of destination due to expressive lifestyles and consumption practices”. This trend does, however, reflect the paucity of appropriate data enabling sophisticated sociospatial analyses of student populations. Munro *et al.*’s (2009) analysis of the residential patterns and labour market effects of students, and Duke-Williams’ (2009) study of the geographies of student migration in the UK plug this gap, however. The former makes a crucial conceptual contribution to studentification scholarship via the derivation of a segregation index from 2001 GB Census data at Super Output Area (SOA) level for England, Wales and Northern Ireland, and Data Zone (DZ) level for Scotland. This index has been adeptly deployed, validating pre-existing observations of student populations concentrating in small urban enclaves (Smith, 2002; Hubbard, 2008), to show that “students are typically highly residentially concentrated and statistically the population of students shows a high degree of segregation from non-students” (Munro *et al.*, 2009: p.1805). Credence is also paid in Munro *et al.*’s (2009) conclusions to pre-existing assertions of the specific economic impacts of students on University towns and cities (Smith, 2002; Smith, 2005; Smith and Holt, 2007; Hubbard, 2008; Hubbard, 2009), illustrated by the following quote:

“Students are shown to have very distinct labour-market characteristics, being highly concentrated within particular sectors and types of occupation. Here too they have the potential for wider impacts, including displacement effects in relation to other local young people from entry level jobs and increasing the flexibilisation of working practices” (Munro *et al.*, 2009: p.1805).

Emphasis was also placed by Munro *et al.*'s (2009: p.1805), on the varied outcomes of their analyses at SOA and DZ level, and at the level of the primary urban area, shaping the agenda for more micro-scale research to examine these variations in more depth: “there is much unexplained variation between cities...which suggests the need for more localised work” (*ibid.*).

Duke-Williams (2009) demonstrates, based on an analysis of migrant age profiles in wards with high concentrations of student residence, drawing on 2001 GB Census and 2001 Special Migration Statistics, that migrant flows occurring within these wards are dominated by the in- and out-movement of students. This quantitative focus on studentification reiterates important conceptual questions outlined previously by Smith (2005) and Hubbard (2008) i.e.: ‘how do we measure studentification?’; and “will areas continue to intensify their student population to a saturation point of around 90%?” (Duke-Williams, 2009: p.1832). And if studentification is to be quantified “at what proportion of resident student population does an area become studentified?” (p.1844). The contextualisation of student migration achieved by Duke-Williams (2009: p.1845), highlights the “university system in the UK...as a feeder system for the South East escalator region” and also delineates an agenda for further work examining the wider effects of these processes on shifting demographics at the national scale:

“The general process of student migration is thus not only one that can be seen through the perspective of studentification; it is also one that acts on a wider basis to relocate people around the country. This has the inevitable effect of changing the demographic balance of both those areas from which students are drawn (and return to in lesser numbers) and those areas to which they migrate after leaving university” (Duke-Williams, 2009: p.1847).

Conversely, Holdsworth's (2009a) recent contribution focuses on students ‘staying put’; identifying the paradox between traditional assumptions of student mobility, woven into long-established notions of ‘going away to University’, and increasing numbers of students attending local HEI's. As Holdsworth (2009a) notes, national media discourses and university prospectuses are replete with references to the ‘traditional pathway’ to University, tied to certain expectations of the ‘student experience’ and acquiring independence, central to which are a particular set of spatial practices. It is argued that these assumptions, and their recursive representation within media and cultural discourses, and University marketing campaigns, exclude students following alternative pathways to University. As such, Holdsworth's (2009a: p.1850) paper further illuminates the diversity of contemporary geographies of UK students, and raises important questions about “how students’ mobility is socially produced; in particular how the meanings ascribed to these practices are coproduced with social meanings of education, independence and adulthood”.

The *diverse* geographies of UK HE students emerges as a key theme, therefore, tying together contemporary accounts of internal and international student mobilities and migration. This theme is also inherent among the key messages emerging from Hubbard's (2009: p.1903) most recent contribution to the studentification literature, tracing the recent proliferation of PBSA in Loughborough, and reinvigorating debates around the interconnectedness of studentification and gentrification:

“In the midst of a ‘third wave’ of gentrification driven by corporate gentrification and institutional investment...the marketing of new-build rental properties to poststudents and graduates suggests that the relationship between student occupation and gentrification is now somewhat different, with the blurring of student and poststudent lifestyles generating new demands for shared and communal living in the private rental market”.

Smith and Holt (2007), as outlined in Section 2.2, have exposed the conceptual commonalities between studentification and gentrification, positing students as incipient gentrifiers, thus focusing attention on temporal analyses of the gentrifier life-course. Hubbard (2009: p.1904) argues that the contemporary student experience is more than “simply...a transitional phase in the acquisition of the cultural and aesthetic values that encourage gentrification”, instead, drawing on a case study of the prolific production of, often luxury, PBSA developments in Loughborough, suggesting that studentification is itself being gentrified:

“Studenthood is itself now being effectively gentrified, with institutional investors identifying students as part of that group which possess a ‘metropolitan habitus’ and is hence willing to pay a premium for inner-city living” (Hubbard, 2009: p.1904).

The recent rise of city-centre luxury PBSA in response to shifting student accommodation preferences, continuing shortfalls in student accommodation, and recognition by HEI's of the need to address the challenges of studentification is charted by Hubbard (2009). Some emphasis is placed on the intensifying involvement of private developers (such as UNITE, University Partnerships Programme, and Opal), unsurprising given the promotion of student accommodation as the “fastest growing sector of the property market” (Levene, 2007, quoted in Hubbard, 2009: p.1907). Private investment in new and evolving types of student accommodation further exemplifies the diversity of contemporary student accommodation preferences, with Hubbard citing evidence of the development of ‘living pods’, studios and ‘living cubes’ with self-contained kitchens and bathrooms” (p.1908).

The notion of PBSA as a ‘silver bullet’ (as, it is noted, has often been the mantra of local authorities and HEI's engaged in formulating student HMO management strategies) to solving the myriad challenges of concentrated student HMO is problematised, drawing on concerns expressed by the National HMO Lobby regarding the localised impacts of poorly sited PBSA:

“The siting of purpose-built development is an essential consideration. Purpose-Built Development in the wrong place (within areas of concentration) can exacerbate the situation; and insensitively sited, can actually generate new problems with demographic imbalance (which generates social, economic and environmental problems, and undermines the community’s capacity to tackle these problems)” (Tyler, 2007; quoted in Hubbard, 2009: p.1909).

Processes of urban change associated with PBSA and their impacts on local communities, as alluded to above, emerge as crucial components it could be argued, of an increasingly diverse set of contemporary processes of studentification.

Drawing on research with level 1 and returning year cohorts, Hubbard (2009) stresses the significance of the demand-side forces influencing the diversification of student accommodation. As such, he is in agreement with Holdsworth’s (2009a) assertions that student preferences aligned to housing pathways deviating from the traditional movement away from the parental home into halls of residence, followed by private rented accommodation, have to date been neglected in the literature:

“To date very little has been written about how students weigh up the merits of different forms of accommodation, with most commentators describing a fairly standardized housing route involving a supervised leaving of the parental home (ie hall living) followed by a sheltered spell in the private rented sector and , upon graduation, a transition to owner-occupation (generally in another town)” (Hubbard, 2009: p.1912).

Indeed, the significant meanings ascribed to living in a ‘student area’, and the motivational inertia this exerts on student populations as they form accommodation and locational preferences emerges as a strong theme in Hubbard’s (*ibid.*) analysis. In this way notions of ‘othering’ and marginalisation of student populations, as described in Hubbard’s (2008) paper based on analyses of local residents’ perceptions of students living in local HMO, are turned on their head as students are revealed to distinguish and define their own bounded territories, imbued with their own cultural motifs, as such distancing themselves from the ‘Other’ local residents:

“What is not sufficiently stressed enough in existing research is the extent to which accommodation allows students to develop and maintain a strong sense of being part of a ‘student’ community, with Loughborough students’ pejorative descriptions of ‘locals’ or ‘townies’ suggesting that there is a strong exclusionary imperative encouraging the maintenance of strong distinctions between student selves and local others” (Hubbard, 2009: p.1918).

PBSA, it is noted, presents particular opportunities for such bounded spaces of ‘student-only’ residence, thus leading Hubbard (*ibid.*) to conclude that the impacts of diversifying student accommodation should be considered in relation to wider urban theories of gentrification, segregation and displacement, and their concomitant implications for social cohesiveness in urban communities with large and increasing student populations:

“It appears that students are increasingly involved in a form of urban gentrification underpinned by the same logics of social withdrawal and search for cultural exclusivity that help to explain the rise of middle-class gated communities” (Hubbard, 2009: p.1920).

These findings clearly engage with debates of how urban policy and central government agendas of sustainable balanced communities and ‘wellbeing’ overlap with the diverse processes and impacts of students in UK towns and cities (Smith, 2008). These issues are discussed in more detail in Section 2.8.

In summary, the diversification of the studentification literature in recent years reflects the diversification of the geographies of students in the UK and internationally. It has been suggested that in light of this, the established definition of studentification (Smith, 2005) has become outdated, and is inclusive of a number of qualifiers that may inhibit the conceptualisation of the increasingly varied expressions of urban change tied to the diversifying spatial practices and accommodation preferences of student populations.

Crucially, Hubbard’s (2009) discussion exposes the increasingly complex interconnections between studentification and gentrification. This is identified as a critical finding by Chatterton (2009), who cites the commodification of the student experience and the associated shift in student accommodation preferences towards a mass-produced, often luxury private-sector funded product, as symptomatic of an overall neoliberalisation of the UK University business model. This has been reflected in the recent announcement of a ‘new University vision’ by the Business Secretary Lord Mandelson, stressing the centrality of the “*customer experience* of students and ties with business” (BBC, 3/11/09, *emphasis added*). All of which echo Chatterton and Holland’s (2002) theorisations of the production, regulation and branding of the night-time economy, highlighting the mass production of mainstream urban ‘playscapes’ targeted at young people; and Chatterton’s (1999) discussion of the commodification of the student experience in Bristol, resulting in the production of specific differentiated spaces for night-time consumption by students in the city. These various observations of the segmented mass-produced commodification of student accommodation (PBSA) and spaces of night-time student consumption resonate with the development of gated communities and differentiated branded nightscapes marketed at gentrifiers.

Fundamental, therefore, to future examinations of studentification in the UK context will be the extant, and potential further proliferation of PBSA (Hubbard, 2009). In light of this, Smith’s (2005: p.80) identification of “the slippery positionality of new-build developments in discourses of gentrification” also has purchase in terms of critiquing established conceptualisations of *studentification*, with recent proliferations of PBSA incongruent with the dominant conceptualisation of concentrated student residence in private rented HMO (Smith, 2005). Coupled with this, as Chatterton (2009) points out, is an increasing commodification of the pre- and post-student experience, highlighting the emerging significance of the ‘student lifecourse’, echoing Smith and Holt’s (2007) conceptual emphasis on the lifecourse of the gentrifier:

“The student urban service infrastructure also has wider impacts in that it also services pre- and post-student populations. It reaches out to those aspiring to be students and extends to those post-students such as young professionals and recent graduates who maintain a youth-oriented lifestyle” (Chatterton, 2009: p.6).

Thus, the increasing neoliberalisation of studenthood, the ways in which this is reflected in student-related urban restructuring, and the widening focus on a broader ‘student lifecourse’ encompassing post-student phases typified by graduates and young professionals continuing to consume the student experience, suggests that studentification is becoming increasingly enmeshed with gentrification. These spatial and temporal diversifications therefore arguably necessitate a re-thinking of the established definition of studentification to reflect these changes.

Finally, in addition to overlaps with gentrification, connections between studentification and a number of wider patterns of societal change are identified by Smith (2009), emphasising the dynamic interconnectedness of studentification, and shaping a broad-based, far-reaching research agenda:

“It is unclear how enlarged student populations intersect with broader societal trends such as rising levels of population transience and density, mobile societies, social conflicts tied to lifestyle clashes, the disintegration of community cohesion and interaction, the decreasing expressions of social capital, detachment from local places and lost senses of belonging” (Smith, 2009: p.1795).

The development of fuller understandings of these intersections, it is argued, would benefit from microgeographic analyses of the processes and effects of studentification.

2.4. Local community conceptualisations of studentification

A distinct conceptualisation of studentification has emerged at the local community level, which differs from that espoused by scholarship on studentification. The local community conceptualisation tends to assume a homogenous experience of studentification, and emphasises the barriers preventing interaction between local established residents and students. As such, this conceptualisation is useful background to exploring levels of community cohesiveness in studentified urban areas, and how these may vary at the microgeographic scale.

The National HMO Lobby, formed in 2000, is “an association of some fifty community groups in forty towns in all parts the UK, who are concerned to ameliorate the impact of concentrations of HMO on their communities” (National HMO Lobby, 2009). As such, this organisation lobbies for legislative change to enable the control and management of clusters of HMO on behalf of disparate community organisations and action groups across the UK, as stated by the Lobby:

“The campaign for Bedsit Rights, lately run by Shelter, has advocated the tenants cause. Council Officers who have to oversee HMOs are represented by the National HMO Network. Neighbourhoods are represented by our National HMO Lobby” (National HMO Lobby, 2009).

The National HMO Lobby has written extensively on behalf of its constituent groups (and disseminated these documents via the National HMO Lobby website, and numerous national events themed on studentification and wider HMO issues) on balanced and sustainable communities, studentification and clustering of HMO within the UK context. As such, the National HMO Lobby has developed a collective community conceptualisation of studentification which forms the basis of this section.

The National HMO Lobby outlines its primary concern as “all kinds of HMO when these gather in concentrations” (National HMO Lobby, 2009a). However, the student HMO market is identified as “by far the most important” (*ibid.*), and thus an area that the National HMO Lobby “takes a special interest in” (*ibid.*). The National HMO Lobby states that its primary aim is:

“To maintain *balance* in communities, in order to ensure their long-term sustainability. More particularly, the Lobby’s concern is to defend (against market forces) the *equal opportunity* of residents to reside in their community” (National HMO Lobby, 2009a).

This contention is somewhat problematic in the sense that ‘equal opportunities’ is not a principle that fits comfortably within the neoliberal structures of the property market, and perhaps of more importance conceptually, it pre-supposes a state of stasis with regard to the profile and balance of urban residential communities.

The National HMO Lobby seeks, according to its mission-statement, “both to clarify the concept of studentification, and to campaign for its recognition and resolution” (National HMO Lobby, 2009a). The National HMO Lobby defines studentification as “the substitution of a local community by a student community” (National HMO Lobby, 2009c). Within this context, community is delineated as “a group of people with a common ground and continuity through time” (*ibid.*). Further to this definition, ‘local community’ is differentiated from ‘student community’: the former meaning “one whose ground is their locality”; the latter “a community with a vocational ground (here the vocation or occupation is ‘study’)” (*ibid.*). The ‘local community’, therefore, is conceptualised territorially, with a clear claim over space. The ‘student community’, however, is conceptualised differently, as a social network with no bounded physical location, the members of which are instead tied by their familiar occupation, rather than their shared ‘physical ground’. This asserts a dichotomous conceptual division between the student community and the local community, thus undermining the potential for positive interaction or integration with one another.

The National HMO Lobby clearly asserts that a sustainable community (the desired model) should be a well-mixed community in terms of demographic structure. The polarisation of communities that once showed evidence of a more mixed profile, resulting from the over-production and clustering of HMO is identified within the National HMO Lobby’s literature as the primary concern of the organisation. The root cause of this imbalance is identified as concentrated “shared

households or HMO's" (Tyler, 12/5/2006) within previously balanced communities. The National HMO Lobby clearly states, however, that the occupants of these shared houses are "irrelevant...The point is that people live in shared houses for short periods only (for eighteen months at the most, usually for half that)" (Tyler, 12/5/2006). This contention could be considered problematic in the sense that it over-generalises, thus fails to acknowledge the conceptual nuances of studentification arising from the specific processes and impacts of student migration and settlement, as identified by Smith (2005), Smith and Holt (2007) and Hubbard (2008, 2009). It is also undermined by the National HMO Lobby's contradictory recognition of the "student market is by far the most important" in terms of evoking unbalanced communities, and equally, the National HMO Lobby's acknowledgement of the unique characteristics of the student population:

"This population is transient (moving annually, leaving after three years), it is seasonal (resident for two-thirds of the year) and it is young (late teens, early twenties)" (National HMO Lobby, 2009c).

These characteristics clearly differentiate student populations from other social groups that typically occupy HMO's, (for example young professionals, Kenyon and Heath (2001); and migrant workers, Pemberton (2009), Taylor and Rogaly (2004)). Thus, acknowledgement of such unique characteristics directly contradicts the National HMO Lobby's assertion that the occupants of HMO's are irrelevant.

Studentification is conceptualised in a largely pejorative manner throughout the National HMO Lobby's literature, with limited recognition of any positive change resulting from the in-migration of students to established residential communities, as demonstrated by the following quote:

"*There are no benefits to studentification*, there is no profit-and-loss balance to be made. To pretend otherwise is to fudge the issue" (Tyler, 12/5/2006).

The National HMO Lobby further elucidates by making a clear distinction between students as a social group, and the processes and impacts of studentification; stating that the dis-benefits arising from processes of studentification can be tied quantitatively to the clustering of students in residential enclaves, not to the typical characteristics of student populations *per se*:

"It's not the *quality* of students which is the issue, students *as such* – it's the sheer *quantity*...To be sure, there can be 'positive effects' of students in a university town...But there is a clear distinction between students and studentification. It is *students* which bring 'positive effects', not studentification" (Tyler, 12/5/2006).

It could be suggested that such a conceptual division denies the significance of the unique characteristics, accommodation preferences and lifestyle practices of students within the residential context, instead placing superfluous emphasis on the propensity for students to cluster, resulting in unbalanced residential populations. As such, it suggests that the negative aspects of student-related urban change stem solely from the clustering of student HMO, whereas any emergent positive outcomes can be attributed to students as a social group. This contention could be deemed

fundamentally problematic in that it rejects the complex interconnectedness of students' spatial practices with their social characteristics, motivations and accommodation preferences; the intersections of which are bound up in Bourdieu and Passeron's (1979) concept of a student habitus, and Savage *et al.*'s (2005) notions of elective belonging and the spatial clustering of 'people like us'.

The National HMO Lobby's central concern, as outlined above, is the protection of "normal balanced" (National HMO Lobby, 2009c).

communities in Britain. Social cohesion is "readily maintained where distinct social segments constitute up to a fifth of the population" (*ibid.*), according to the National HMO Lobby, and transgression of this proportion by one social group threatens the cohesiveness of the community in question. This is termed the "tipping point" (*ibid.*):

"When students number *one in four*, this impacts on the character of the area, and challenges social cohesion. If students number *one in three*, the disproportion is marked, the student community achieves autonomy and becomes the dominant social group (being larger than any other segment), and cohesion is lost" (National HMO Lobby, 2009c).

The use of the term 'tipping point' to describe processes of residential concentration of a marginal social group is problematic both due to its discriminatory undertones (Hubbard, 2008), and the inherent assumption that it is possible to ascertain a rigid quantitatively defined point at which communities become unbalanced. The latter point is itself replete with assumptions negating the significance of local contingencies on determining the 'ideal' residential balance.

Interestingly, the National HMO Lobby defines fifteen "symptoms of studentification" (National HMO Lobby, 2009d), divided into five 'problem' categories, as below. This could be compared to Smith's (2005) four-tier definition of studentification, asserting a number of characteristics, or qualifiers, that mark the unfolding processes of studentification in a residential neighbourhood. A greater degree of emotive language is evident within the National HMO Lobby's list of 'symptoms' however, such as the 'disruption', 'decimation' and 'distress' to local communities caused by students, or the 'squalor' and 'dereliction' of the urban landscape as a result of clustering student HMO.

"Social Problems

- 01 Anti-Social Behaviour: endemic low-level ASB, including noise nuisance, minor vandalism, evacuation.
- 02 Crime: high rates, especially burglary.
- 03 Insurance: owners pay top premiums for house, contents, vehicle insurance.

Environmental Problems

- 04 Squalor: surrounded by litter, rubbish, flytipping.
- 05 Dereliction: neglect of houses and gardens, development of houses and gardens.
- 06 Street Blight: letting boards, flyposting, grilles.

Economic Problems

07 Distorted Retail: orientation towards a very specific market, manifest in the particular range of lines in shops, and the range of retail outlets (especially increased numbers of pubs, take-aways and letting agencies).

08 Fluctuating Market: from high demand (term) to low demand (vacation).

09 Casualised Employment: local employment becomes increasingly seasonal (term) and part-time (evening).

Generic Problems

10 Carparking: obstructs pavements for pedestrians, and access by emergency vehicles, cleansing, buses, and residents.

11 Services Overwhelmed: not only disproportionate demands on public services like cleansing and policing, housing and planning, but also indirectly the drain of resources away from provision in other areas [and neither students nor landlords pay Council Tax or Business Tax].

Decline of community

12 Decimation: student demand gives rise to high property prices and low amenity, encouraging emigration and making immigration almost impossible, with the result that there are fewer elders (retaining past memories), fewer adults (present activists) and fewer children (the community's future).

13 Disruption: most owners and occupiers are absentees (hence disengaged), the young and the old especially are isolated (losing their peers), and the neighbourhood loses its social capital or 'community spirit' (its social networks, social norms and social sanctions).

14 Distress: deep and rapid changes are felt acutely: the population imbalance itself is stressful (public oppression, private isolation), the declining amenity is alienating (fear of crime, revulsion from squalor, exclusion by the economy), and residents feel anger and despair at their disempowerment.

15 Services Underwhelmed: school closures (ironically, reducing education)" (National HMO Lobby, 2009d).

The National HMO Lobby conceptualises studentification further by considering the ways in which local established residents respond to student-related urban change, and how these responses differ from those expressed by students residing in studentified areas. A range of stances perceived to be adopted by local residents are outlined and compared with those perceived to be taken by students:

"Local Community: residents adopt a range of stances.

Militants: some residents (especially local youth) develop strong antipathy to students.

Passivists: (*sic*) the majority of residents maintain a low profile, and respond to circumstances; eventually, pushed by declining amenity, and pulled by rising property prices, many emigrate.

Idealists: some residents empathise with, support and defend students.

Realists: some resident activists attempt to analyse studentification as a problem, and to address its causes [this document expresses a realist perspective]

Students: students also manifest a range of stances (in parallel with residents).

Colonists: some students assert territorial claims to ‘student areas’.

Camp-followers: the majority of students follow their predecessors into student areas’, and pursue their own interests, oblivious of their circumstances.

Idealists: some students identify with the local community, and try ‘to put something back’.

Realists: some students recognise studentification as a problem” (National HMO Lobby, 2009c).

The National HMO Lobby situates itself as taking a ‘realist’ perspective, as such emphasising its role in analysing studentification as a ‘problem’, and addressing its causes. This position does appear to presuppose that studentification will evoke predominantly negative impacts on residential communities, thus limiting recognition of any benefits associated with an enlarged student population. The range of view-points outlined for residents is compared to those delineated for students, and it is asserted that “despite the aspirations of the Idealists on both sides, residents and students remain distinct communities” (National HMO Lobby, 2009c). This statement reiterates the notion of students and local residents as distinctly defined groups with clearly separate points of view; akin to earlier conceptual distinctions made between ‘student’ and ‘local’ communities. The National HMO Lobby continues to explain that “even Idealists follow parallel paths”, thus emphasising intergenerational discreteness by suggesting that students and local residents who might share the same ideology or social backgrounds remain distinct from one another within their own locality.

In summary, the National HMO Lobby has delineated a detailed set of impacts and responses to studentification. These tend to divide and separate student populations from established local residents conceptually, fostering notions of segregation and limiting the potential to recognise shared interests or positive interaction and integration of students within residential communities. A problematic conceptual division between students as a social group and their spatial practices (i.e. the tendency to cluster in residential neighbourhoods) was identified, that arguably limits analyses of the complex interconnectedness of the sociospatial patterns of student populations. This largely critical analysis of the National HMO Lobby’s conceptualisation of studentification should not detract from their contributions to debates of studentification, and their work to encourage legislative change to address the negative impacts outlined above. However, the definition outlined in this section arguably endorses a parochial perspective on the processes and impacts of studentification, thus the expediency of this conceptual framework in terms of considering the micro-geographic complexities of studentification should be questioned.

2.5. National media conceptualisations of studentification

As was briefly outlined in Chapter 1, studentification has predominantly been conceptualised as a negative process of urban change within national media discourses, which have tended to invoke relatively sensationalised accounts of local residents' experiences of student neighbours. As has been the tendency of local community conceptualisations of studentification, those in the national media have largely homogenised student-related processes of urban change. Generally speaking, the content of articles reporting on studentification focuses on the negative effects that expanding student populations have had on established residential communities; often using emotive and evocative language such as student "takeover" (The Guardian, 2/10/2004), and "student ghetto's" (The Times, 15/9/2005). Indeed, The Guardian (2/10/2004) suggests that students are commonly regarded as "the most unsavoury characters society has to offer" in the eyes of their local resident neighbours. Such negative representation of students as a social group, relying largely on recursive stereotypical perceptions of students, substantiates a central theme running through national media discourses of studentification. The Observer, for example, identifies students as "the new scourge of Britain's towns and cities" (The Observer, 21/7/2002), and The Telegraph cites "blaring music, criminal damage passed off as practical jokes, over-flowing bins, beer and kebabs regurgitated in front gardens" (Daily Telegraph, 14/6/2003).

Echoing Hubbard's (2008) recognition of the 'Othering' of student populations by local established residents in Loughborough, communicated in languages of intolerance more commonly associated with issues of 'race' discrimination, The Economist compare local resident's views of students in Headingley, Leeds with those associated with ethnic discrimination emerging in parts of 1950's London:

"In Headingley, a formerly quiet suburb of north-west Leeds, students are regarded with the same sort of distaste that the inhabitants of 1950's London reserved for West Indian immigrants. The sense of panic at an invading army is the same too" (The Economist, 20/5/2004).

The *impacts* of studentification, and local established residents' experiences of these constitute the main subject matter of the articles analysed, which, akin to the negative representations of students outlined above, are predominantly pejorative. For example, The Observer (21/7/2002) describe the impacts of studentification on university towns and cities across the UK as follows:

"The effect on community life has been devastating. Pubs have been converted into theme bars, which often shut during the summer months when students have returned to their homes. Fast-food takeaways and off-licenses selling cheap alcohol dominate the shopping streets. Schools have seen their class sizes plummet as families move out of the area. Inner-city factories have been converted into flats, as locals lose their jobs. House prices have also rocketed as landlords have created a property boom and now people wishing to move house but stay in the area have found themselves priced out of the market" (The Observer, 21/7/2002).

Similarly, the inaugural national media article focusing on studentification, published by The Guardian (24/10/2000), opens with the following paragraph outlining the extreme experiences of Labour MP Harold Best and his family, living in a studentified community in Leeds:

“Every morning Harold Best, Labour MP for Leeds North West, gets up early to pick the chip trays out of his flower beds. Clutching a plastic bag, he makes his way past the rats and the occasional spray of vomit to clear up the burger buns in the street. His wife, Glyn, 61, stays inside. She is recovering from depression after two years of the neighbours kicking a football at 2am against the nine-inch wall that separates the two semi-detached houses. Last month, the Bests had their neighbours - eight students - evicted and a public inquiry has ruled that the house should no longer accommodate students” (The Guardian, 24/10/2000).

Indeed, The Times Higher Education Supplement (30/6/2006) suggests that the word ‘studentification’ has become synonymous with a collection of negative impacts associated with expanding student populations in residential communities:

“The word "studentification"...is a blot on the English language, but communities in a growing number of towns and cities are well aware of its meaning...regional development associations and city councils may associate it with urban regeneration, but to residents it means noise, mess, high property prices and even school closures and the loss of local facilities” (Times Higher Education Supplement 30/6/2006).

More recently, however, national media discourses have begun to acknowledge some of the benefits that students have brought to residential communities. For example, The Economist (20/5/2004) comments on the impact of students on Leeds: “The young population supports a high density of banks and cinemas as well as bars. Other neighbourhoods equally distant from the city centre are instead filled with boarded-up houses and shops.” Similarly, The Times Higher Education supplement cites the publication of a UUK report highlighting some of the more beneficial effects of enlarged student populations

“Residents often dread signs of students moving into their neighbourhood, fearful of the prospect of late-night partying, streets jammed with cars and pavements strewn with litter...but a report published this week by Universities UK flags up the benefits of student neighbours, who often work as volunteers in the community, support local businesses and can be the catalyst for improved transport services and urban regeneration. And it points out that graduates and students are the least likely in society to commit a crime” (The Times Higher Education Supplement, 27/1/2006).

Such recognition of the more positive impacts of studentification tends to be contextualised by a stronger emphasis on the inherent negative effects however, with limited evidence of national media discourses focused on the benefits of enlarged student populations as the dominant theme, as exemplified by the following quote:

“More students means not only more people on the streets but more demand for accommodation, shops, entertainment and transport. While this boosts the local economy, and can offer other benefits such as publicly accessible art galleries and sports grounds, it can also cause resentment. Residents of the cities of Nottingham, Leeds and Brighton, among others, have complained that the "studentification" of certain areas has distorted the housing market and driven out locals” (The Times Higher Education Supplement, 7/2/2008).

More recent national media coverage of studentification has also reflected the diversification of student accommodation (Hubbard, 2009; Holdsworth, 2009a), outlined in Section 2.3. The first of the following two quotes resonates with Holdsworth’s analysis of increasing numbers of students choosing to study at a local HEI; while the second echoes Hubbard’s (2009) discussion of the rise of PBSA, and the emergence of ‘service’ as an central facet of the student accommodation market:

“Second, more students than before are locals. More are studying while living at home, and many are mature entrants, with families, jobs and social links that make it difficult to divorce student life from other kinds of life in the city. This trend has been encouraged by the Government’s drive for universities to engage in widening participation, which means that most institutions now run projects with local schools and further education colleges” (The Times Higher Education Supplement, 7/2/2008).

“Tabitha Birchall, director of public affairs for Unite, says "We call ourselves a student hospitality company," she says. "It is more about giving that warm welcome you get from a hotel rather than being a landlord." Its [Unite’s] packages offer insurance for students' possessions, social events, a 24-hour site presence in the form of hospitality managers and welcome packs. En suite bathrooms are taken as read...A new hall of residence recently opened in Manchester by the property firm Opal offers a spa, steam room, Jacuzzi and heated pool. The most expensive student block, the IES Student Residence Hall on the King's Road in London, has unlimited web access, night security staff and CCTV. The price of a standard single next year? From £ 217 a week” (The Times Higher Education Supplement, 28/7/2006).

The positive and negative impacts of destudentification also became a more notable theme among articles published more recently, with the out-movement of students from established residential communities, and the consequent dissolution of clustered HMO heralded as one of the wider benefits of PBSA developments (illustrated by the first of the following two quotes); countered by concerns regarding the replacement of students with other social groups deemed less desirable than families (illustrated by the second of the following two quotes):

“One effect of these student blocks has been de-studentification. Parts of cities once dominated by students have become the preserve of professional couples instead. This trend has been encouraged by the 2004 Housing Act, which makes it compulsory for private landlords offering houses for multiple occupancy to obtain a licence and for them to make the improvements necessary to earn them. So in theory, everyone is happy: students get plush accommodation, developers invest and residents get their streets back” (The Times Higher Education Supplement, 28/7/2006).

“People who are anxious to get rid of students don’t realise that families are unlikely to return to these areas...in any case, people have been able to sell up and make an absolute mint. They wouldn’t have made their fortune any other way” (The Economist, 20/5/2004).

Overall, therefore, the concept of studentification has been consistently conjectured by the national media as a threat to ‘normal’ neighbourhood and community structures that exist within university towns and cities. Pre-existing, and often sensationalised, conceptualisations of the formation of ‘student ghetto’s’ and the effects of this clustering of student HMO on established local residents have more recently been punctuated by reports of more diverse residential expressions of studenthood; citing both the proliferation of PBSA, and aligned with Hubbard’s (2009) findings, the associated corollaries for rising expectations of accommodation standards among student populations. Evidence of national media coverage of the benefits associated with studentification remains limited, however, with the dominant national media conceptualisation hinging on relatively extreme experiences of established local residents living in studentified neighbourhoods, as illustrated by the following quote from The Observer (21/7/2002):

“Frank Champion has lived in the Nottingham suburb of Lenton for three decades and barely recognises the place now dubbed ‘kebabland’. Champion, 66, a retired shop-worker said: ‘It is amazing. It used to be all families around here. Now it’s dirty, down at heel and nothing but students’”.

2.6. Segregation, community cohesion, sociospatial exclusion and the fear of ‘Others’

Smith, below, identifies the prominence of rhetorics of segregation, marginalisation, polarisation and social exclusion within evocative political and media discourses of studentification, the latter of which has been discussed above in Section 2.5. Importantly, this quote identifies a set of themes underpinning political, policy and media conceptualisations of studentification. This section explores these themes further, and considers their potential to inform a more nuanced academic conceptualisation of studentification.

“In tandem with many antigentrification movements...debates of the new student geographies in political, policy, and media discourses have hinged on evocative and divisive themes, such as social exclusion and increasing lack of affordable housing, the marginalisation and polarisation of low-income families, the segregation and concentration of social groups” (Smith, 2009: p.1797).

Munro *et al.* (2009) substantiate the importance of segregation to understanding the spatial patterns of student residence in relation to non-student residence in the UK (discussed in Section 2.3). Concerns of segregating communities are intimately tied to the recent pre-eminence of community cohesion within dominant political discourse, and Hubbard (2008) asserts social cohesiveness, marginalisation and ‘othering’ as key factors underpinning the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification.

To provide a foundation upon which to conceptualise more fully the ways in which these processes marginalise particular social groups, devalue established senses of belonging, and accelerate community change in studentified areas, the following section explores the overlaps between literatures concerning the geographies of segregation, constructions of place-related 'self', 'othering' and recent political discourses of community cohesion in the UK context.

Processes of social differentiation, and the spatial patterns that ensue are well-established foci within geographical and sociological research. More specifically, "the spatial patterns of ethnic minority residence in metropolitan areas have been a longstanding focus for research in the UK, as in many other developed countries" (Stillwell and Phillips, 2006: p.1131). In terms of national policy, until recent years, multiculturalism had prevailed in Britain for almost three decades. However, the Community Cohesion Review Team, established in response to the 2001 racialised disturbances in Bradford, Oldham and Burnley, marked a movement away from the political hegemony of multiculturalism. The team's independent report on the 2001 disturbances "signalled, from the state's point of view, a shift from the multiculturalist policies 'celebrating difference', which had previously dominated thinking about race relations, to a new strategy of promoting 'community cohesion'" (Stillwell and Phillips, 2006: p.1132). Indeed, the primary conclusion of the report states: "we believe that there is an urgent need to promote community cohesion, based upon a greater knowledge of, contact between, and respect for, the various cultures that now make Great Britain such a rich and diverse nation." (Community Cohesion Review Team, 2001: p.11).

The racialised disturbances that unfolded in Bradford in 2001 focused the nation's attention on what was deemed to be "Britain's 'shockingly' divided communities" (BBC News, 11/12/2001). Similarly, the Community Cohesion Review Team (2001: p.10) stated that it was "particularly struck by the depth of polarisation in our towns and cities". This widespread perception that the 2001 disturbances signalled increasing segregation of ethnic minority populations in the UK is contested by Stillwell and Phillips (2006) who present a comparative study of segregation indices computed for communities across Leeds, drawing on 1991 and 2001 Census data. Analysis of these indices indicated less segregation of ethnic minority populations across Leeds in 2001, than in 1991, suggesting a:

"Process of deconcentration or spreading out across the inner suburbs of the city as socio-economic status has improved, a picture that runs counter to the widely-held stereotype of static, segregated black and minority ethnic communities" (Stillwell and Phillips, 2006: p.1142).

This tenet is substantiated by Peach's (1996) and Johnston *et al.*'s (2002: p.609) contentions that ethnic ghettos, the existence of which are "currently implicit in much general discussion of social problems in British cities", are apparent in very few parts of the UK based on Boal's (1999) definition, and based on the USA model are not evident in any UK city (Peach, 1996).

This literature identifies the paradoxical concerns of State policy engineered to embrace the principles of cohesive communities in light of the threat of (perceived) increasing ethnic segregation, and highlights the ways in which this rationale has subsequently been destabilised by findings suggesting that ethnic minority populations in the UK are in fact deconcentrating. Conversely, HE student populations are increasing (DFES 2003; HESA, 2009) and are evidently concentrating in urban communities in the UK according to empirical findings outlined in Section 2.3 (Smith, 2002; Hubbard, 2008; Munro *et al.*, 2009), and anecdotal evidence from the National HMO Lobby (Section 2.4) and the national media (Section 2.5). In this way, the processes and impacts of studentification are noted in their incongruence with State policy to engender cohesive communities (Smith, 2008). In light of this, the absence of urban policy related to the production of student HMO becomes increasingly prominent; suggesting that processes of studentification and their ramifications in terms of successfully fostering cohesive communities have been severely overlooked (*ibid.*).

The value of literatures focused on ethnic segregation to contextualising studentification reveals the potential for academic discourses on processes of exclusion resulting from fear of ‘others’ to inform conceptualisations of studentification. Indeed, Hubbard (2008) has identified a clear research agenda focused on further examination of the overlaps between marginalisation, the fear of ‘others’ and studentification. Hubbard (2008: p.338) questions why “discriminatory policies that would be viewed as abhorrent in the context of ethnic difference are acceptable when they are discussed in relation to students”. Thus, further examination of how the rhetorics of displacement applied to students feed on fears of otherness stands as an important avenue in future explorations of community opposition to studentification (*ibid.*).

Sibley’s (1995) discussion of the spatialisation of ‘self’ and ‘other’ is useful here. Sibley (1995) advocates the use of George Herbert Mead’s term ‘generalised other’ (Mead, 1934). The value of this term is espoused by Sibley, and likewise by Burkitt (1994), due to the inherent understanding that “the psyche...is always connected to social practice and does not exist in some separate textual or mental domain” (Burkitt, 1994: p.10). Sibley (1995: p.9) notes the significance of this notion to studies of social differentiation and exclusion within geography:

“Mead’s interpretation of the relationship between self and other has fundamental implications for geographical studies of social interaction because it locates the individual in the social and material world...the social positioning of the self means that the boundary between self and other is formed through a series of cultural representations of people and things which frequently elide so that the non-human world also provides a context for self-hood”.

Thus, the social and spatial contexts of exclusionary discourse are identified as particularly important considerations. Sibley continues, contending that:

“The social self could also be seen as a place-related self, and this applies also to stereotypes of the other which assume negative or positive qualities according to whether the stereotyped individual or group is ‘in place’ or ‘out of place’. Thus a place stereotype might be a romantic representation of a landscape to which a social group are seen to belong or not, depending on the consistency or incongruity of the group and place stereotype” (p.19).

Sibley’s examination of the formation of social and place-based stereotypes begins to theorise the ways in which perceptions of self and other can cultivate fear of ‘Other’ transgressions of the ‘host’ community’s boundaries. A particularly extreme example of this *gemeinschaft*-like community can be found in the North American suburb, described by Sennett (1971) as a particularly purified space. Within the UK context, Sibley (1995) notes that:

“Affluent suburbs in Britain are similarly coming to resemble these closed communities where the discrepant is clearly identified and expelled...Thus spatial boundaries are in part moral boundaries. Spatial separations symbolize a moral order as much in these closed suburban communities as in...tribal societies” (p.38).

The concept of NIMBYism is crucial here, which draws on wider literatures of sociospatial exclusion. Hubbard (2005b: p.53) notes a recent emergent NIMBY literature that:

“Explores not only the ‘rational’ economic basis on which home owners oppose the development of controversial or noxious land-uses, but also the ‘instinct’ people have when faced with the prospect of living in the proximity of ‘Other’ populations”.

In this sense, NIMBYISM could be associated with community opposition, via sociospatial processes of exclusion, through which established communities seek to distance themselves from students as a stigmatised ‘Other’ social group (Hubbard, 2005b).

The upholding of spatial order via the framing of urban space in discourses of morality is also of consequence here. Hubbard’s (1998: p.55) discussion of the marginalisation of female street prostitutes through “the repeated inscription of moral geographies onto the topography of the city” provides a useful framework for considering the arguably sensationalised accounts of the “takeover” (The Guardian, 2/10/2004) of university towns by the “the most unsavoury characters society has to offer” (*ibid.*); and the invoking of such discourses by communities resisting studentification.

2.7. Transitions to adulthood, student identity construction and citizenship

The previous section considers the uneasy position of socially differentiated, marginalised groups, suggesting that students may be one example of such a social group, rejected as other within established residential communities in the UK. This section explores how young people and students form identities, as they negotiate uneasy transitions to adulthood; these identities differentiating them from the pre-conceived social and behavioural norms of residential spaces. Social change and citizenship are explored as key concepts to developing understandings of young

people's transitions to adulthood; of which attending university is commonly regarded to be a significant part:

“The transition from school to University is a remarkably significant shift in the lives of many young people, and for many this is seen as part of a broader transition from childhood to adulthood” (Hopkins, 2006: p.244).

Disentangling the ties between complex contemporary transitions to adulthood, and the impact of changing social and economic conditions on young people's experiences, community engagement and citizenship practices, provides valuable context to examining how processes of studentification have impacted on community cohesion in studentified urban enclaves. This longitudinal perspective hooks up to Smith and Holt's (2007) assertions of the saliency of lifecourse perspectives revealing the position of studentification within the wider rubric of gentrification. The remainder of this section seeks to unpick the interconnections between transitions to adulthood, changing socio-economic conditions and the community, with some emphasis on contemporary conceptualisations of citizenship as key to bridging the gap between discussions of the segregation and marginalisation of student populations (Section 2.6), and the viability of realising balanced and sustainable communities in university towns and cities (Section 2.8).

Contemporary debates of the geographies of age have witnessed a departure from previous notions of age as an independent variable, to richer accounts of its social construction. Wyn and White (1997) summarise:

“Age is a concept which is assumed to refer to a biological reality. However, the meaning and experience of age, and of the process of ageing, is subject to historical and cultural processes...both youth and childhood have had and continue to have different meanings depending on young people's social, cultural and political circumstances” (Wyn and White, 1997: p.10).

In light of these conceptual advancements, debates in youth studies in recent years have hinged on social change, and how young people's experiences differ and contrast from those of previous generations. Indeed, Smith (2005: p.77) identifies the importance of demographic and social shifts to contextualising and informing understandings of the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification:

“Crucial here, and in line with theorisations of the causes of gentrification...are broader changes in gender relations and demographic patterns...lifestyle preferences and reproductive orientations, such as the postponement of marriage, family formation and childrearing”.

Drawing on insights from contemporary sociology, including individualisation (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) and theorisations of identity (Giddens, 1991), Wyn and Woodman (2006, 2007) adopt a generational approach to conceptualising the impacts of social change on shifting experiences and meanings of youth and adulthood, arguing the importance of:

“Considering the issue of young people through the lens of ‘social generation’....placing renewed emphasis on the historical context within which different cohorts of young people negotiate their lives” (Wyn and Woodman, 2007: p.373).

This generational approach is distinguished from the dominant transition paradigm in youth studies, which focuses longitudinally on the development of individuals on a pathway from childhood, through youth, to adulthood and the acquisition of independence (Roberts, 2007). The former generational approach lends itself to highlighting disparities between the experiences and values of today’s young people and those of older generations’; associated with the differing social and economic contexts within which they experienced youth:

“Viewing intergenerationality as an aspect of social identity suggests that individuals’ and groups’ sense of themselves and others is formed partly on the basis of generational difference or sameness. These identities are not fixed but dynamic, affected by the relations between different age groups or generations which may vary” (Pain, 2005: p.10).

This generational conceptualisation provides an appropriate framework within which to examine and understand tensions between contemporary student lifestyle preferences and the contrasting behavioural expectations of established local residents in later phases of the lifecourse:

“It is easy to think about such [intergenerational] interactions in the context of family life, where their nature and frequency make family life more or less harmonious. In the context of neighbourhoods and communities, the same is true of contact between the generations...intergenerational relations...have much wider ramifications: affecting our social interactions, how we use local spaces, our opportunities to take part in public life on an equal basis with others, the degree to which we participate in community life and efforts to improve it” (Pain, 2005: p.10).

The decline of intergenerational relations has been described by some commentators in terms of growing distance, alienation and the break-down of positive contact between older and younger people (Hatton-Yeo and Watkins, 2004). Elsewhere, it has been viewed in terms of crisis and conflict:

“Such conflicts can be especially intense in sites where values, social identities and places have themselves changed rapidly across generations” (Pain, 2005: p.15).

Pain’s quote above describes the intensity of intergenerational conflict in areas where rapid changes have occurred to the sense of place, and the dominant values and social identities of the area. Such rapid changes constitute the hallmarks of student-related urban change resulting from the rapid in-migration and clustering of students in established communities; suggesting the conceptual significance of intergenerational relations and conflict to the study of studentification.

Despite the benefits of intergenerational perspectives gained from locating young adults within their specific historical and social contexts, the generational approach loses sight of the inherent connections of youth and young adults to their pasts and futures. Acknowledgement of the importance of these connections is central to theorising *transitions* to adulthood, hooking up to broader theories of the lifecourse (Bailey, 2009), to highlight the significance of individuals’ points

of departure (for example in relation to family, education, place and ethnicity) in determining their routes through youth and adulthood to later life. This is of consequence to studies of studentification, given the onus placed on increasingly diverse housing *transitions*, or ‘pathways’ through University (Holdsworth, 2009a; Hubbard, 2009), young people’s transitions (during studenthood) into adult consumer roles (Chatterton, 1999; Hubbard, 2009), and the location of students within broader conceptualisations of the gentrifier lifecourse (Smith and Holt, 2007). The generational and transitional approaches to theorising youth and young adult experiences both hold currency, therefore, in terms of developing understandings of studentification. In light of this, Roberts’ (2007) contention that both approaches can be deployed in tandem is valuable. Expanding on this assertion, Roberts (2007) outlines the theoretical merit of conflating intergenerational comparisons of the experiences of youth, with the understanding that youth and young adulthood are socially constructed stages of the lifecourse, and as such are inherently transitional:

“Inviting young researchers to choose between transition and generation is like insisting that diners choose either fish or chips. The transition and generation perspectives are not mutually exclusive: they can be used complementarily...we need to maintain a transitional perspective and use it, among other things, to make generational contrasts, thus revealing inter-dependencies between biographical and historical change” (Roberts, 2007: p.265).

Despite the burgeoning literature in children’s geographies and the geographies of youth in recent years, it has been noted that the latter stages of youth / early stages of adulthood have been somewhat neglected:

“While the age range 7–14 has received considerable attention from geographers, the discipline has been slower to consider young people on the cusp of childhood and adulthood: those aged 16–25” (Valentine, 2003: p.39).

Moreover, the absence of work on the specific transitions of young people following the university student pathway is highlighted by Hopkins (2006: p.240) who states:

“This absence is particularly striking given that many established childhood and youth geographers are also permanent members of staff in universities, and so often engage with young people aged 16–25 on a daily basis”.

The emergence of an under-theorised ‘early adulthood’ stage of the life-course is also identified in wider sociological literatures, highlighting the paucity of social policy, and indeed the lack of public awareness of the implications of lengthening and more complex transitions to adulthood:

“We are just beginning to appreciate the full ramifications of the economic and social changes that have resulted from the extension of schooling and the delay of work and of the fact that family transitions now occur a decade or so later than in the past. Much as adolescence emerged as a distinct life period a decade ago, early adulthood is now emerging as a unique period marked by cultural trappings that confer psychological identities and social affiliations” (Settersten *et al.*, 2005: p.6).

As such, transitions from youth to early adulthood, and more specifically through ‘studenthood’, have to date been under-theorised. The development of fuller intergenerational comparisons of experiences of this stage of the life-course, and deeper analyses of the specific transitional processes of studenthood (for example in terms of housing; identity construction; academic / educational development; emotional development; the accumulation of cultural, mobility, and metropolitan capital; the development of student / post-student habitus) therefore emerge as key agendas of enquiry in terms of more fully understanding their influence on the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification.

Hubbard (2009) notes the salience of studies of student identity formation and social interaction while attending university to informing richer understandings of contemporary processes of studentification:

“In a context where purpose-built developments are diversifying the range of accommodation available to students, exploring how discourses about identity, debt, and friendship at university shape accommodation choices represents an important avenue for research” (Hubbard, 2009: p.1913).

The advantages of maintaining a transitional perspective, as espoused by Roberts (2007) in relation to wider studies of the geographies of youth, are particularly valid within the context of theorising youth identity formation. Focusing on transitions through youth and early adulthood enable the concepts of fluidity and hybridity to be embraced as recognised loci of wider contemporary post-structuralist theorisations of identity and the self. These foci emphasise the significance of *processes* of identification, rather than viewing identity as a discrete entity in its own right. Adopting such a framework enables conceptualisations of fluid, relational student identities that account for the impacts of social context and social interactions while at University, and sit more easily within a broader lifecourse perspective on identity formation (Holdsworth, 2009b).

Theorisations of identity formation in young people have tended to emphasise Beck and Beck Gersheim’s (2002) concept of ‘individualisation’, and have highlighted a blurring of the boundaries between the relationally constructed categories of childhood and adulthood:

“Children are increasingly being located within narratives of individualisation...young people now have independent entry into social and cultural life (through consumerism, fashion, leisure and so on)...The individual choices children make in the transition from childhood to adulthood therefore offer opportunities for them to resist hegemonic identities such as the category ‘child’ and to ‘do’ their identity differently” (Valentine, 1999: p.257).

Valentine (1999) contends that the fuzzy margins between contemporary childhood and adulthood situate young people in uneasy ambiguity; their fluid identities being pulled in a range of directions according to a variety of different sets of expectations and norms depending upon their context:

“In producing their own narrative of the self young people increasingly have to learn to negotiate this ambiguity if they are to position themselves correctly within adult and peer cultures. It is a relational process of engagement – in which young people are often strung out between competing definitions of their ‘identity’ emanating from home...and from wider society (where in each context particular different expectations, norms and rules may be at stake)” (Valentine, 1999: p.258).

The tendency for such postmodern readings of youth identity formation to over-emphasise individualisation forms the premise of Blackman’s (2005) critique however, which calls for greater consideration of the group mentality and practices of young people. Blackman suggests that contemporary individualistic understandings of youth correspond to “recent political neoliberal economic and social policies” (p.1), and makes the case for the adoption of theorisations more closely aligned to the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies’ notions of collective youth subculture:

“Postmodern subcultural writing is preoccupied with the individual resulting in a weak understanding of the group context of youth cultural practices. The postmodern interventions offer some useful critical insights, but their new theorisation lacks substance and critical application to young people’s social, economic and cultural realities” (Blackman, 2005: p.1).

Similarly, Roberts (1997) states that young people often express collective lifestyle-based identities; while Chatterton and Hollands (2003) advocate the use of the broader term ‘lifestyle’ in opposition to ‘youth subculture’ within discussions of young people’s collective identities:

“One of the advantages of using the term [lifestyle] is that it is broader than either ‘club culture’ or ‘subculture’, and potentially accounts for a diversity of youth cultures and styles – mainstream as well as alternative. Additionally, one can think of lifestyle as being at least ‘contoured’ by social divisions and transitions” (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003: p.79).

Both the emphasis on individual identity formation, and the counter-argument for greater conceptual focus on the group context of youth practices offer useful avenues of exploration within the context of examining the processes and impacts of studentification. Acknowledging increasing levels of individualisation among young people may aid explanations of the tendency for students to abstain from community engagement and interaction within the neighbourhoods in which they reside. The failure of students to subscribe to the social norms imposed by established residential communities, and the ensuing intergenerational conflict that can unfold as a result, have been identified as key components of unfolding processes of marginalisation and ‘othering’ of students in residential settings (Hubbard, 2008). Indeed, notions of uneasy processes of youth identity formation, as alluded to by Valentine (1999), lend themselves to explaining the perceived ‘unsettled’ behavioural practices of students as they struggle to negotiate their position in relation to disparate parental, peer and community norms. However, Blackman’s (2005) critical stance, hinging on the contention that *group* identities and practices are fundamental aspects of the organisation of young adults’ lives, also has purchase. More specifically, evidence of the expression of group student identities may be apparent in the tendency of students to cluster

residentially, and the delineation of 'student areas' onto which collective meanings are ascribed via specific sets of cultural and consumption practices.

Holdsworth (2009b: p.228) examines the complexities of the student / resident dichotomy in her study of the production and perpetuation of mutually exclusive 'local' and 'student' identities "through limited interactions between 'students' and 'locals'":

"Student identity...is used as an identifier of 'not' local, and is part of the ongoing social organisation of difference within urban communities" (Holdsworth, 2009b: p.228).

Holdsworth deploys the conceptual distinction between 'student' and 'local' to highlight the uneasy position of students attending a local university as they "negotiate the assumption that students are not 'locals' and *vice versa*" (*ibid.*). Her analysis highlights mobility as a central tenet differentiating 'student' from 'local', hooking up to broader theories of local identity formation (Savage *et al.*, 2005). Holdsworth (2009b) notes that in a globalising, mobile world the heterogeneity of local communities is strengthened; with old boundaries and divisions being re-enforced and new ones created; "often based on identities of resistance" (Paasi, 2003, quoted in Holdsworth, 2009b: p.228). Within this context, although clearly defining the student and the local in opposition to one another, Holdsworth warns against overstating the distinction based on the premise that student and local identities are irrevocably tied in their mutual affirmation of each other's exclusivity.

Importantly, Holdsworth identifies overlaps between student identities and other broader class-based identities:

"Student identities clearly overlap with other identities. References to 'student' are often shorthand for white, middle-class and mobile groups" (p.228).

This focuses attention on the external construction of student identities, the subject of Holt and Griffin's (2005) analysis of young adults' distinctions between students and locals in commercial leisure spaces; rooted in constructions of 'class'. Reflecting earlier findings by Hollands (2002) of tensions existing between 'students' and 'locals' in night-time consumption spaces, Holt and Griffin (2005: p.253) reveal a strong spatial theme to expressions of these conflicts:

"Student / local opposition [is] constituted through a discourse of territoriality...whereby students go to 'our' places, and locals go to 'their' places...talk about space and place played a key role in the production and reproduction of traditional discourses around class. Constructing students and locals as oppositional categories relied on locating these groups in different territorial locations".

Contested night-time consumption spaces are highlighted by Holt and Griffin (2005: p.255) as particularly important signifiers of the student / local divide:

“Drawing on discourses of territoriality, Michelle constructs bars and pubs as spaces to be won or lost in a battle for the control of space. Both students and locals are presented as active agents...students are described as hassling locals coming into student pubs and as ‘taking over’ previously local venues...the locals meanwhile are described as ‘hurling abuse’ at students”.

Mobility and fixity also emerge as strong themes of the binary opposition between students and locals, with transience and social mobility forming central facets of the construction of student identities:

“Students are represented as temporary and mobile subjects who therefore belong somewhere else...[this] emphasizes the fixity of working class ‘Kevs’ and ‘Shazzes’; unable to see the attraction of university, they are constructed as unlikely to be able to escape their class position. The positioning of ‘Kevs’ and ‘Shazzes’ as working-class, immobile, and lacking prospects therefore positions Michelle, Sam and Robert in an unspoken middle-class position of relative opportunity, mobility, and cultural appreciation” (Holt and Griffin, 2005: p.256).

The focus of this work on night-time leisure spaces reflects contemporary arguments that consumption is increasingly important in the constitution of identities (Hollands, 2002; Phoenix and Tizard, 1996), harking back to Bourdieu’s (1986) seminal work delineating the coalescence of social class, identity, ‘taste’ and cultural consumption practices around the concept of habitus. Chatterton (2002: p.162) notes that going out and drinking constitutes two of the most important spending priorities for young people in the UK, alongside the contention that leisure and consumption coexist in “a symbolically meaningful and active relationship, which also produces experiences and identities”. The construction of specific student consumption spaces, in particular those tied to the night-time leisure economy, has been observed by Chatterton (1999); with Chatterton and Hollands (2003: p.126) coining the term ‘studentland’ to describe the:

“Bounded social and geographical [student] space which leaves a distinct imprint on many localities, especially at night. While it is a growing, differentiated and indeed fluid space, our argument is that mainstream corporate nightlife operators are increasingly targeting ‘traditional’ students as part of their general strategy of attracting ‘cash-disposable’ groups (like professional women, young urban-livers and gentrified gay cultures)”.

Importantly, within the context of student consumption practices, Smith (2009) notes the absence of recognition of the positive benefits of studentification on urban areas, associated with the economic inertia of student populations, and the cultural vibrancy they can imbue upon their spaces of consumption, residence and interaction:

“Discussions of the possible advantages of large student populations for urban environments, such as regeneration, increased spending power in the local economy, higher demand for private and public services, the revalorisation of housing, student volunteering, and enhanced cultural vibrancy associated with the ‘student buzz’, rarely permeate into theorisations of urban change” (Smith, 2009: p.1797).

Chatterton and Hollands (2003) espouse the importance of drinking practices as one of the hallmarks and rituals of contemporary student cultures and identities, with the production of spaces

for drinking central to the construction of ‘studentland’; as Silver and Silver (1997: p.111) describe:

“There are peer pressures to drink, and the bar – rather than the political party or the campaign, the concert hall or even the disco – has become for many students the balancing focus for their studies, part-time jobs and tensions. Drinking and getting drunk are for some students a personal and collective response to campus and social pressures, and to some extent an acceptance of traditions associated in the past”.

The geographies of drinking and drunkenness, and their intersections with urban change, regeneration and the use of urban space are highlighted by Jayne *et al.* (2006) as salient research agendas for further study. Indeed, the interplay between drinking and drunkenness, student identity construction, and student / local tensions arising from disparate behavioural norms represents an under-theorised aspect of studentification and its impacts on community cohesion.

Understandings of the interconnections between unfolding processes of studentification and the threat or reality of disintegrating community cohesion can arguably be advanced by considering the changing conceptual terrain of citizenship, its integration into contemporary political discourses, and its role in young people’s identity construction. Citizenship has been reconceptualised politically since the 1980’s (Hall *et al.*, 1998) to be understood more as a normative ideal than as a set of entitlements or legal rights. This conceptualisation of citizenship bears significance to these debates in its central notions of “belongingness, independence and equality, responsibility and participation and shared existence and identity” (Hall *et al.*, 1999: p.503). The conceptual re-shaping of citizenship can be embedded within the shifting political discourses, as discussed briefly in Section 2.6, which emerged following the racialised riots in Bradford in 2001. The political messages communicated in the aftermath of the Bradford riots advocated ‘active citizenship’, participation, community identity and belonging as central tenets of the ‘ideal’ model of community cohesion espoused as the solution to the perceived ethnic polarisation of the UK’s urban areas. As stated by David Blunkett (2001), then Home Secretary, shortly after the riots:

“If we are going to have social cohesion we have got to develop a sense of identity and a sense of belonging” (David Blunkett, 2001, quoted in *The Independent* on Sunday 9/12/2001).

These reactionary politics should however be contextualised within a greater pre-existing political preoccupation with citizenship that had gathered pace within the New Labour government following election in 1997. State concerns of fostering citizenship had particular credence in relation to young people. For example, following the recommendations of the Advisory Group on Citizenship (1998), a legal requirement was imposed on schools in England to deliver citizenship education for all 11-16-year-olds from September 2002 onwards. From September 2006, opportunities for further citizenship study also became more readily available for young people aged over 16 via access to Post-16 Citizenship Development Programme. The launch of the Respect Agenda in 2006 reflected these concerns of citizenship and young people, although stating

that “tackling disrespect is not a ‘youth issue’ any more than anti-social behaviour is” (Respect Task Force, 2006: p.7), “much of the agenda is geared towards preventing and tackling the behaviour of a minority of young people” (Pain, 2005: p.20). Thus issues of citizenship and its blurred conceptual boundaries with respect, identity and belonging have gained currency in recent years in terms of their value to conceptualising youth and transitions to adulthood, and more specifically to advancing understandings of community relations and cohesion in studentified areas.

Hall *et al.* (1999) highlight the relevance of the more specific concept of ‘active citizenship’ to conceptualising young people’s identity construction and how this relates to political concerns of healthy cohesive communities:

“The notion of the ‘active citizen’ has been central...emerging on the right of the political spectrum in the late 1980s, active citizenship stressed the importance of personal responsibility and, also, working outwards from this, a wider duty of care for one’s neighbours and community. This new emphasis on responsibility – for oneself and towards others – has not been connected to any one political party, however. Under the present Labour government, notions of good citizenship show some considerable continuity with the idea of the ‘active citizen’” (Hall *et al.*, 1999: p.503).

This statement reveals political preoccupations with community responsibility and participation, tied to wider concerns of enhancing and perpetuating cohesive and sustainable communities (discussed in Sections 2.6 and 2.8, respectively). Such political discourses expose the incongruence of segregating student populations within contemporary community ideals, and further reveal the unbecoming position of young people transitioning from youth to adulthood within these idealised social structures. Moreover, Raco and Imrie (2003) contend that such focus on idealised community behaviours and relations in fact creates and reifies social divisions between groups recognised to be ‘active’ citizens and those who are not (i.e. young people and students):

“It is our contention that one consequence of ‘government through community’ in British cities is likely to be the creation of new social divisions between those considered to be competent (or active) citizens, from those who are not” (Raco and Imrie, 2003: p.6).

Studies of the tensions between young people’s transitions and the political and social embedding of community cohesion thus reveals itself as fertile conceptual terrain for developing fuller understandings of disintegrating senses of community and belonging in studentified areas.

The tangible links between youth transitions to adulthood, and notions of citizenship, respect, participation and responsibility reiterates questions of how studenthood is conceptualised and located on this transition. Are students conceptualised as youth, or indeed, as young adults? Hall *et al.* (1999) highlight previous preoccupations within youth transitions literatures with the acquisition of independence (often closely tied to economic independence) as the key to citizenship, this conception has shifted more recently however, it is suggested:

“To a consideration of young people’s entry to citizenship in terms of competency, participation and responsibility – all aspects of the contemporary discourse of adulthood” (Hall *et al.*, 1999: p.504).

This further highlights the slippery conceptual position of the ‘student’ on the transition from youth to adulthood; as alluded to earlier in the chapter. Accounts of decaying community cohesion in studentified areas resulting from the reticence of student populations to engage and invest in their local community structures (Hubbard, 2008) suggest that studenthood does not embody the aspects of contemporary adulthood outlined in the quote above. However, students engage with other aspects of independent adulthood such as maintaining a household, managing debt (Christie and Munro, 2003), and becoming financially independent (Christie *et al.*, 2001). This further stresses the uneasy transitional position of students as they transgress the youth-adulthood boundary, and the ties between these transitions and the acquisition of citizenship.

In summary, this Section has outlined the interplays between citizenship; transitions from youth to adulthood; and student identity constructions rooted in consumption practices, social constructions of ‘class’, and in opposition to constructions of the local. It has been noted that as the fixity of age is rejected, the importance of social, cultural and historical influences on young people in shaping more uncertain, individual identities and transitions to independence is emphasised. As such, the role of space and place has gained significance, meaning that people may “actively create and resist particular age identities through their use of space and place” (Pain *et al.*, 2001: p.151). Discourses of student identity construction are replete with references to the spatiality of studenthood (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003), the importance of contested territory (Griffin and Holt, 2005), and the (re)affirmation of community boundaries (Holdsworth, 2009b). The production of student identities through the use of residential and commercial urban space, the displacement of established place-based identities and the concomitant intergenerational conflict and community resistance that unfolds as a result of these processes therefore emerge as salient context to debates of studentification; particularly within the context of dominant political discourses of community cohesion (Section 2.6) and sustainable communities (Section 2.8).

2.8. Conceptualisations of sustainable communities: the ‘place-making’ agenda

‘Community’ is a term that persistently eludes precise definition (Hoggett, 1997). Despite this, as noted by Gilchrist (2003), it does “seem to capture some important ideas concerning mutuality, interaction, social networks and collective identity” that pervade idealised contemporary social structures. New Labour have adopted the concept of community as a core theme of political discourse in the UK, constructing ideals of cohesive, homogenous spaces where divided groups occupy “a common sense of place” (Community Cohesion Review Team, 2001: p.71) in what is referred to by Amin (2002; quoted in Raco and Imrie, 2003: p.8) as a “unitary sense of space”:

“For Labour, community is a natural and desirable social formation, based on the diminution of difference and conflict, and the inculcation of shared values” (Raco and Imrie, 2003: p.8).

The juxtaposition between these ideals of cohesive communities with shared values and identities, and the emphasis of recent urban sustainability discourses on mixed and balanced populations, is summarised (within the context of crime and community safety) by Raco (2007: p.305):

“A paradox lies at the heart of the government's new agendas. On the one hand, they promote community balance, mix and diversity as a vehicle for the creation of more functional and less crime-ridden places. On the other hand, they simultaneously identify diversity as a threat to community safety”.

As such, Mayo's (1994) description of a 'community veneer' of cohesion, concealing underlying conflicts and tensions appears well-suited, where the concept of community:

“Invokes a sense of belonging, of solidarity, of shared identity and interests, conveniently obscuring the many real and imagined tensions lurking beneath the lustrous surface” (Gilchrist, 2003: p.16).

Moreover, crucial to debates of the politics of studentification, Smith (2008) highlights the paradox between notions of mixed and balanced communities (as core objectives underpinning the UK sustainable communities agenda), and State policies to widen participation in higher education:

“There is a paradox between New Labour's utopian vision of sustainable communities and the geographic effects of the promotion of higher education...this contention hinges on the absence of a national policy on the production and supply of student housing, which dictates when, where and how enlarged student populations should be integrated into established residential communities, or dispersed to other parts of university towns and cities...the lack of government policy, and the relative incapacity of institutional actors to effectively intervene or regulate the residential geographies of students, is yielding 'unbalanced' populations” (Smith, 2008: p.2541).

This section further examines of the concept of the 'sustainable community' in contemporary political discourse, and its relevance to debates of studentification. As noted above, the State conceptualisation of a sustainable community, espoused by the Department for Communities and Local Government's (DCLG, previously Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, ODPM), has been problematised and contested within academic discourses (Smith, 2008; Raco, 2007), and also within discourses of community resistance to studentification, forged by The National HMO Lobby, who have developed an alternative definition reflecting the experiences of communities dominated by HMO. The DCLG's conceptualisation is examined first, shedding light on the dominant political structures that contextualise concerns regarding residentially segregating social groups (of which students are one example in the UK context), community cohesion, and the juxtaposed ideals of diverse populations, housing and tenure. This conceptualisation is then disrupted by contrasting it to that developed and advocated by The National HMO Lobby; exposing concerns of loss and dispossession among established residential communities as they witness

contemporary processes of urban change unfolding in their own communities, as noted by Smith (2008: p.2541):

“Some community activists argue many of these ‘lost’ communities signified lucid exemplars that the sustainable communities policy seeks to engender”.

The launch of the ‘Sustainable Communities Plan’ (ODPM, 2003) marked New Labour’s commitment to the concept of sustainable communities. Since 2003, a range of discussion documents, reviews, and programmes of action published by the DCLG, have explored the concept of the ‘sustainable community’. The primary document among these, ‘Sustainable communities: building for the future’ (ODPM, 2003), asks “what makes a sustainable community?”, and outlines “some of the key requirements of a sustainable community”:

1. “A flourishing local economy to provide jobs and wealth;
2. Strong leadership to respond positively to change;
3. *Effective engagement and participation by local people*, groups and businesses, especially in the planning, design and longterm stewardship of their community, and an active voluntary and community sector;
4. A safe and healthy local environment with well-designed public and green space;
5. *Sufficient size, scale and density*, and the right layout to support basic amenities in the neighbourhood and minimise use of resources (including land);
6. Good public transport and other transport infrastructure both within the community and linking it to urban, rural and regional centres;
7. Buildings – both individually and collectively that can meet different needs over time, and that minimise the use of resources;
8. *A well-integrated mix of decent homes of different types and tenures to support a range of household sizes, ages and incomes*;
9. Good quality local public services, including education and training opportunities, health care and community facilities, especially for leisure;
10. *A diverse, vibrant and creative local culture, encouraging pride in the community and cohesion within it*;
11. *A “sense of place”*;
12. The right links with the wider regional, national and international community” (ODPM, 2003: p.7, *emphasis added*).

The fundamental hallmarks of studentification including PBSA, characterised by residential patterns of clustering student populations, and the attendant population, housing and tenure imbalances engendered, are in direct conflict with the sustainable communities objectives emphasised in italics above.

The key criticism here, as identified by Smith (2008), is the incongruence of policy imperatives propounding the desirability of diverse populations living in “a well-integrated mix of decent homes of different types and tenures to support a range of household sizes, ages and incomes” (ODPM, 2003: p.7) with the, albeit unintentional, clustering and segregation of students populations (Munro *et al.*, 2009) resulting from educational policies encouraging the expansion of higher education. This conflict between concentrating student HMO, and the achievement of balanced sustainable communities is reiterated by the following quote from The National HMO

Lobby's literature, forming a core strand of The National HMO Lobby's critique of the sustainability policy agenda:

“Concentrations of HMOs present a unique threat to these communities. They tend not only to have a detrimental impact on the character and amenity of the neighbourhood – they also undermine the very prerequisite for a sustainable community, which is a balanced and stable population. By their very nature, concentrations of HMOs distort the population balance and introduce a transient population” (National HMO Lobby, 2009b).

The National HMO Lobby have been vigorously critical of the DCLG's conceptualisation of a sustainable community, contending that it represents a description, rather than a definition, and that it is lacking in the sense that it does not describe the causes or structures enabling sustainable communities to flourish, instead simply listing the characteristics of a community that has achieved sustainability (Tyler, 12/5/2006). The National HMO Lobby thus propose their own definition of an *unsustainable* community, framing this as the reality experienced by established residents living in communities dominated by HMO. This highlights, according to the National HMO Lobby, the short-comings of the DCLG's (2005) approach to conceptualising sustainable communities:

- “First of all, with regard to community cohesion, it has lost its community spirit.
- With regard to governance, it is apathetic, there is minimal participation
- Regarding green issues, it is simply Polluted
- Regarding the built environment, its users see it as no more than a Mine for rents
- Its communications are Congested
- Its economy has become a ‘Resort’ economy.
- Its [sic] suffers from Depleted services (like closed schools)
- Most distressing of all, those who use it show it No Respect” (Tyler, 12/5/2006).

Discourses of loss, distress and suffering are replete within The National HMO Lobby's definition of an unsustainable community, above, which echoes the uniformly negative view of studentification articulated throughout The National HMO Lobby's literature (summarised in Section 2.4). The primary cause of unsustainable communities is identified by the Lobby as “social polarisation” resulting from the “transience of HMO's, and the fact that they *dominate* our neighbourhoods” (Tyler, 12/5/2006). Indeed, the National HMO Lobby's literature rebukes the DCLG for overlooking the fundamental conflict between the polarisation of transient populations (i.e. students) and the achievement of mixed populations with some degree of permanence, perceived here as key to underpinning sustainability:

“It is self-evident that the pre-requisite for sustainable community is a resident population willing and able to sustain that community...polarisation...can take a variety of forms – exclusive communities (gated developments) or excluded communities (ghettos). Another is *transience*. A transient population lacks the *ability* to maintain sustainability...it also lacks the *will* (necessarily, members of the population are only briefly committed to the neighbourhood)” (Tyler, 12/5/2006).

Thus, the National HMO Lobby's conceptualisation of a sustainable community explicitly places demographic balance and permanence at its heart.

It is important to note at this juncture that despite the challenges studentification imposes on the realisation of New Labour's sustainable community ideology, as highlighted by The Lobby and Smith (2008), some characteristic impacts of studentification (UUK, 2006; Smith and Holt, 2004; Smith, 2009) can be recognised as positively encouraging and perpetuating sustainability; as it is conceptualised by the DCLG (ODPM, 2003). For example, UUK (2006) identify a number of ways in which studentification brings economic benefits enabling a "flourishing local economy" (ODPM, 2003: p.7):

"Student presence ensures the viability of some retail businesses...goods purchased locally by students make a significant contribution to the local economy" (UUK, 2006: p.13).

Similarly, the positive effects of expanding student populations on local public transport networks have been noted, suggesting encouragement of "good public transport and other transport infrastructure" (ODPM, 2003: p.7) within studentified communities:

"A critical mass of students can ensure transport links to the benefit of the whole community" (UUK, 2006: p.13).

Finally, the cultural benefits of studentification have been noted by Smith (2009: p.1797), associated with the "enhanced cultural vibrancy associated with the 'student buzz'". Unfolding processes of studentification could therefore aid the development of a "vibrant and creative local culture, encouraging pride in the community" (ODPM, 2003: p.7).

2.9. Summary

In summary, the thesis has been aligned with scholars advocating the reconceptualisation of gentrification to encompass contemporary expressions of urban change, such as studentification. This validates the application of broader theories of gentrification and the lifecourse of the gentrifier (Smith and Holt, 2007) to developing conceptualisations of the contemporary expressions of studentification, and the gentrification of studenthood (Hubbard, 2009).

Established academic conceptualisations of studentification have been reviewed, and it is suggested that these have become outdated in light of new, diverse expressions of studentification (Hubbard, 2009); diversifying student populations (Holdsworth, 2009a; 2009b); and increasingly complex university housing pathways (Holdsworth, 2009a). This sets an agenda for the reconceptualisation of studentification.

The work of Munro *et al.* (2009: p.1805) has highlighted the scarcity of research examining the spatial patterns of student residence, in particular at the sub-city level: "there is much unexplained variation between cities...which suggests the need for more localised work". Alongside this contention is widespread recognition of the varied, geographically uneven outcomes of studentification, tied to the contingencies of student populations (Hubbard, 2008; Smith, 2005; UUK, 2006); of the history of town : gown relations in the town / city in question (*ibid.*); and of the demographic, social, cultural and economic characteristics of established residential communities

witnessing studentification (Smith, 2005; UUK, 2006; Smith and Holt, 2007). This validates the microgeographic focus of the thesis on the complex processes of studentification, as they unfold in varied and nuanced ways according to their specific urban contexts.

The significance of contemporary political discourses of community to debates of studentification has been identified. Segregating student populations, community and intergenerational conflict, and disintegrating senses of belonging are core themes running through accounts of the impacts of studentification at the community level (Smith, 2002; Hubbard, 2008; Tyler, 12/5/2006; National HMO Lobby, 2009c).

A complex interplay of theories of youth transitions to adulthood, identity formation, citizenship, intergenerational conflict; with urban theories of segregation, marginalisation and 'othering'; and political discourses of cohesive and sustainable communities are bound up in the social dynamics of segregation generally, and studentified urban enclaves in particular. The potential value of these concepts and theories to informing conceptualisations of the processes and impacts of studentification at the community level is thereby recognised; constituting a clear agenda for further examination (Hubbard, 2008).

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This Chapter will provide a discussion of the methodological approach taken to meeting the research aims outlined in Chapter 1. A mixed-methods approach was considered the most appropriate, initially deploying both quantitative and qualitative techniques (GIS analysis of the spatial patterns of residence of the student population, analysis of 2001 Census Key Statistics, and local media content analysis) to identify and socio-demographically contextualise five case study sites in Brighton. This was followed by a phase of qualitative research (adopting focus group and semi-structured interview techniques), enabling the perceptions of student-related urban change among established residents' in each of the case study areas; and the role played by local institutionalised actors to be captured. Key findings from these data formed the basis for the development of a door-to-door survey; the final phase of empirical data collection. The survey enabled the 'scaling up' of key findings from the qualitative phase of research, and facilitated further exploration of the micro-geographic specificities emerging from the five case study sites.

The mixed-method approach adopted has used quantitative and qualitative techniques complementarily, employing mapping and secondary data analysis techniques to initially ascertain a general overview of the socio-spatial patterns inherent in the study population, then shifting away from this approach to ascertain a deeper, more differentiated understanding of the micro-geographic specificities of urban change; and how these may relate to local contingencies in the five chosen research sites. The researcher has cross-referenced these disparate data throughout the analyses; checking the validity of inferences drawn from one data source against another. Crucially, differences emerging between data sources were not dismissed, instead being viewed as Eyles and Smith (1988) suggest, as equally as significant as the inherent similarities, and contributing to the achievement of a greater depth of analysis.

At this juncture, it is appropriate to outline the disciplinary and theoretical context of the thesis. As a mixed-methods investigation of urban change at the micro-geographic scale, specifically investigating the influences of the dynamic residential geographies of transient student populations, the thesis spans a number of geographical sub-disciplines. Chief among these are population geography and urban-social geography. Over a decade ago, White and Jackson (1995) called for population geographers to become more engaged in ongoing debates within the broader discipline. The thesis, to some extent, bridges the gap between population and urban-social geography by employing both quantitative and qualitative techniques to examine and engage with the populations of interest, and capture their perceptions of urban change at the community scale in Brighton.

Indeed, as Graham (2004: p.76) contends, a mixed-method research design, such as the one employed here, “offers population geographers the opportunity to break out from the confines of a dominant research tradition and participate with other human geographers”. This statement draws on arguments asserted by McKendrick (1999), who contends that the possibilities for multi-method research in population geography are vast, and as yet relatively under-explored, with epistemological concerns often unnecessarily precluding the integration of multiple mixed methods into population geography research designs.

Discussions of the key findings (Chapters 5, 6 and 7) will draw theoretically on a number of sub-disciplinary fields to inform a holistic and nuanced conceptualisation of studentification at the micro-geographic scale. As such, the thesis represents a cross sub-disciplinary engagement, grounded in empirical findings, aiming to contribute conceptually to both population and urban-social geography. Finally, the thesis both considers and engages with local and national policy, policy-makers and institutional actors. As such, it could be termed ‘policy-relevant’ research (Pain, 2006; Valentine, 2001b). This raises important considerations in terms of the research design, outcomes, and the dissemination of key findings. These issues will be discussed in more detail towards the end of the Chapter in Section 3.8.

The Chapter is structured herein to reflect the research timetable, which was established before the commencement of research in October 2006. Section (3.2) considers the analysis of local media discourses. This was the inaugural phase of research, undertaken from October 2006, with a view to illuminating how, when and where processes of studentification had unfolded in Brighton since 2001, a fundamental result of which was the identification of a number of ‘neighbourhoods of interest’ in the city. Building on this analysis, term-time address data (postcodes) at the individual student level were obtained from enrolment databases at Brighton’s two universities (the University of Brighton and the University of Sussex). These data were mapped, and a local method clustering technique was applied, enabling the identification of significant clusters of student residence in Brighton. Cross-referenced with local media discourse analyses, this spatial analysis enabled the location of a defined set of micro-geographies for further study. Subsequently, five case study sites were delimited via the identification and amalgamation of Census Output Areas in areas with high concentrations of student residence. The establishment of these boundaries enabled the extraction and analysis of 2001 Census Key Statistics, required to contextualise each case study site (see Section 3.4) socio-demographically.

A phase of qualitative empirical data collection followed, taking place between January 2007 and August 2008. The methods employed here, as outlined previously, were focus groups (see Section 3.5), and semi-structured interviews (Section 3.6) designed to explore the perceptions of studentification among local established residents and local institutional actors. Finally, a questionnaire survey of 70 established local residents was administered in each of the five case

study sites (Section 3.7); outputting 350 questionnaires in total. Each of the methods outlined above will now be described and discussed individually, with the final Section (3.8) addressing issues of positionality, power-relations and the dissemination of research findings.

3.2. Local media and policy document content analysis

In order to establish some initial insights into where, when and how processes of studentification had unfolded in Brighton, content analysis of a local newspaper ‘The Argus’, the University of Sussex student newspaper ‘The Badger’, and the relevant local policy documents relating to the Local Development Framework and Housing Strategy in the city was undertaken between October 2001 and October 2009. The Argus was chosen as the most widely distributed local newspaper in the Brighton area (The Argus, 2009), with the University of Sussex student newspaper, ‘The Badger’, favoured over the equivalent student publication at the University of Brighton (‘The Pebble’), for its easy-access web-based archive, which enabled the researcher to search back-issues over a given period of time using pre-defined search terms. This method was also applied using a similar archive search tool, provided by The Argus website. Archives of both publications were interrogated between 2001 and 2009 using the following search terms: ‘student accommodation’, ‘student housing’, ‘students’, and ‘studentification’. The archive material returned was analysed quantitatively, using a simple count of the number of articles returned per year including each search term. Concurrently, the qualitative content of the articles identified was textually analysed based on whether the articles represented studentification positively or negatively, what their primary foci were in terms of the specific impacts of studentification, and their references to specific communities in Brighton and Hove. Local policy documents (including the LDF Core Strategy 2005, and the Brighton and Hove Housing Strategy 2004-2009) were scrutinised for references to student housing in the city. These analyses were undertaken with the following research aims in mind.

The first aim was to illuminate how and where studentification may have developed or emerged since the completion of Smith and Holt’s (2004) research, which, as noted in Chapter 1, had indicated that processes of studentification had not become embedded in particular enclaves of Brighton at that time. Considered to be of particular value were media reports, articles and letters referencing particular neighbourhoods in the city. These were analysed with a view to establishing some initial insight into any spatial patterns to these processes that may have developed since the completion of Smith and Holt’s (*ibid.*) research.

Second, in addition to gaining preliminary indications of where, when and how expressions of studentification were emerging in Brighton, analysis of the latent content of local media articles (i.e. the meanings implied by the written content; Gray *et al.*, 2007) provided valuable insights into how the impacts of student in-migration were *perceived* locally; and the meanings ascribed to students as a social group. Finally, in line with the approach adopted by Freeman (2006) to

observing processes of urban change *as they unfold 'in-situ'*, initial media and policy document textual analyses undertaken at the beginning of the research process in October 2006 were updated on a regular basis. This enabled emerging expressions of studentification and deepening tensions between established residents and student populations to be traced *during* the research process, thus contextualising the empirical findings as they were collected and analysed.

As Chapter 4 demonstrates, the primary beneficial outcomes of the application of this method of media and policy document content analysis were three-fold. First, a preliminary subjective indication of several 'neighbourhoods of interest' for further study was gained; which latterly informed the selection of five case study sites. Second, the research agenda set out in Chapter 1 was further validated by findings suggesting that a shift had occurred in the dominant local codification of 'the student'; suggesting deepening tensions between established local residents and expanding student populations. Third, evidence of community resistance to the conversion of owner-occupied and head-leased property into private-rented student HMO in Hartington Road were identified in *The Argus* in 2008. In tandem with this, evidence of increasing institutional awareness and response to these issues became apparent; highlighting a new emergent expression of studentification in Brighton.

3.3. GIS mapping and cluster analysis of student residence in Brighton

A central question underpinning the research aims set out in Chapter 1, was to establish the degree to which student populations have clustered residentially in Brighton. Previous research (Smith and Holt, 2004: p.58) suggested that student residence is more evenly distributed in Brighton than in other university towns and cities (for example Leeds (see Smith, 2002); and Loughborough (see Hubbard, 2008)), with the identification of a 'student area' seen as relatively insignificant to the residential and internal migration decision-making processes of students in Brighton:

“The lack of a distinct student enclave within Brighton expresses a major residential and cultural difference between students in Leeds and Brighton. For instance, many students in Leeds seek a location which has the identity of a 'student area', and residence in the 'student area' enables students to realise a student identity, lifestyle and group membership and belonging to the wider student community”.

Thus, it was crucial to establish the extent to which students had concentrated unevenly in particular enclaves of the city since Smith and Holt's study; as was suggested had occurred by initial analyses of local media discourses. This section outlines the selection of suitable data for this purpose, and the use of a desk-top Geographical Information System (GIS) and cluster detection software to facilitate spatial analyses of these data.

A useful distinction can be made here between the use of a GIS to *visualise* data, and its application to the *analysis* of a dataset (Batty, 2003). Indeed, as Martin (2005: p.270) points out “GIS in general are better for data manipulation than analysis and it will often be necessary to use other

software as well”. The following paragraphs describe the process by which the researcher established the short-comings of using a stand-alone GIS in terms of extracting the necessary ‘intelligence’ from the data, in order to adequately and robustly address the research questions. The use of an additional software application, Openshaw’s Geographical Analysis Machine (GAM), in order to more intelligently analyse the spatial clusters emerging from the data is outlined, with the use of GIS being ultimately constrained to the manipulation and final presentation of the data. The remainder of the section begins by discussing the identification of suitable data to inform the research questions, with more detail provided with regard to the analysis of these data, and the application of the key findings of these analyses towards the end of the Section.

Munro *et al.* (2009: p.1808) addressed the key question of “whether growing student numbers increase the extent to which students are concentrated into particular neighbourhoods, with the attendant potential for positive and negative effects”, using an index of dissimilarity derived from 2001 Census data. This analysis concluded that “statistically the population of students shows a high degree of segregation from non-students” (p.1805). It was noted, however that “much local variation” (*ibid.*) was present within the Primary Urban Areas (PUA’s) studied, making the case for a fine-grained approach to analysing the spatial patterns of residence of the student population, and how these may be tied to local contingencies.

Pickles (1995) and Martin (2005) warn that it is “incumbent on the user of GIS to think broadly around their research questions in order to understand whether their results will be fundamentally limited because the data or analysis do not capture some of the most important dimensions” (Martin, 2005: p.286). With this in mind, the process of identifying and sourcing a suitable data set was initiated. The 2001 GB Census, being the first to enumerate students at their term-time address, provides a valuable national overview of patterns of student residence, and has as such formed the basis of Duke-Williams’ (2009) and Munro *et al.*’s (2009) key contributions to the analysis of student migration, and their residential geographies respectively. However, a number of incumbent limitations of GB Census 2001 data in terms of its potential to inform this thesis are identified. First, it is not possible to differentiate between Higher Education (HE) and Further Education (FE) students (Munro *et al.*, 2009; Duke-Williams, 2009), thus limiting its usefulness to analyses seeking to illuminate processes tied to the expansion of HE in the UK. Second, all Censal outputs are released at restricted geographies, the smallest of which is the Census Output Area (COA), each of which represents approximately 125 households (Office for National Statistics, 2009). The use of data referenced to a geography rather than a grid reference, restricts analysis to the smallest geography available, thus potentially masking patterns occurring at a smaller scale. This is a primary consideration for a micro-geographic study such as this. Third, very limited detail is available on students enumerated in the 2001 Census, preventing analysis of key nuances such as their housing type (e.g. private rented HMO, University managed) or year of study, both of

which were considered key variables to informing a conceptualisation of studentification in Brighton.

The final issue lies in the relevance of data referring to populations almost a decade ago, a concern for any analysis undertaken towards the end of a Censal period. This is a particularly significant issue within the context of student populations in the UK. As noted in Chapter 1, the expansion of HE student populations driven largely by State policy introduced in 1997, has seen over a 30% increase in the number of students nationally during this period (HESA, 2009). Exploring such a recent phenomenon using data collected eight years ago does not, therefore, represent a robust approach.

Central to the research design, therefore, was the securing of data at the individual student level (allowing very local analysis of the inherent spatial patterns of residence), and for multiple years (enabling time-series analysis of any emerging patterns of change). These data were identified and sourced from Brighton's two universities. Extracts were taken from enrolment databases at The University of Brighton and The University of Sussex, providing anonymised individual student records with fields denoting term-time address, accommodation type and year of study. Due to database and data collection constraints, robust extracts were available from 2006-2008 from the University of Brighton; and 2002-2008 from the University of Sussex. This has unfortunately restricted holistic investigation of the temporal dynamics of student residence; constraining analyses of change over time largely to the University of Sussex student population. This has limited the outcomes of this phase of research given that the majority of students living in private rented HMO in Brighton attend the University of Brighton (with a much greater proportion of University of Sussex students being accommodated in PBSA on-campus, see Chapter 4, Section 4.4). Thus, the lack of historical data from the University of Brighton has hindered the analysis of changing clusters of HMO residence over time. The major limitation of data received from the University of Sussex was the lack of detail relating to the students' year of study; it was only possible to attain this from the University of Brighton database. Data from both universities were anonymised by registry staff before being released, thus did not include any personal information enabling the identification of individual students.

As has been outlined above, one of the primary aims of this phase of research was to establish the extent to which students were concentrating unevenly in particular enclaves, or spreading out more evenly across the city area. Having secured data at the individual record level, it was possible to map each individual student by plotting their postcode. Interpretation of data projected in such a way, given the size of the data sets (over 30,000 records included in the University of Brighton extract alone), is very difficult to achieve in a robust way. Typically, 'point data' in such vast quantities would be aggregated to polygon boundaries, providing a representation of the number of students per area. However, as outlined above in relation to GB Census 2001 data, this method of

presentation undoubtedly masks very local level spatial patterns; which in light of the research aims marks a serious limitation to this method. Simple visual interpretation of the *number* of students also raises concerns regarding the underlying total population of a given neighbourhood, in the sense that robust conclusions regarding the spatial concentration of students are difficult to achieve without some comparison with the overall population of the area in question.

Finally, fundamental to successfully addressing the research aims was to establish the extent to which students concentrate, or *cluster* in particular parts of Brighton. This suggested the need for a more tailored analysis technique, beyond a visual interpretation of the number or proportion of students living in particular neighbourhoods. Thus, a cluster detection technique employing Openshaw's Geographical Analysis Machine (GAM) was applied to the data (Openshaw *et al.* 1988). This technique seeks localised clusters of 'point data', defined as an excess incidence rate over what might be expected in a point referenced dataset. It does so using a 'moving circular window' which tracks its way over the projected data, comparing the observed number of student residents with the statistically expected number for that circle size; based on the total number of students in the data set, and a usual resident population denominator. If an excessive number (i.e. a cluster) is found, the circle is 'inked in'. The output is a visual representation of statistically significant clusters identified in the data, which can be confidently used to interpret 'hotspots' of student residence at the very local scale. Crucial to the interpretation of the maps output from this technique is to understand that they represent the tendency for students to cluster in certain parts of Brighton, a fundamental tenet of the existing conceptualisation of studentification. As such this analysis will enable a key part of the research aims to be addressed, whilst also identifying locales in the city for further investigation.

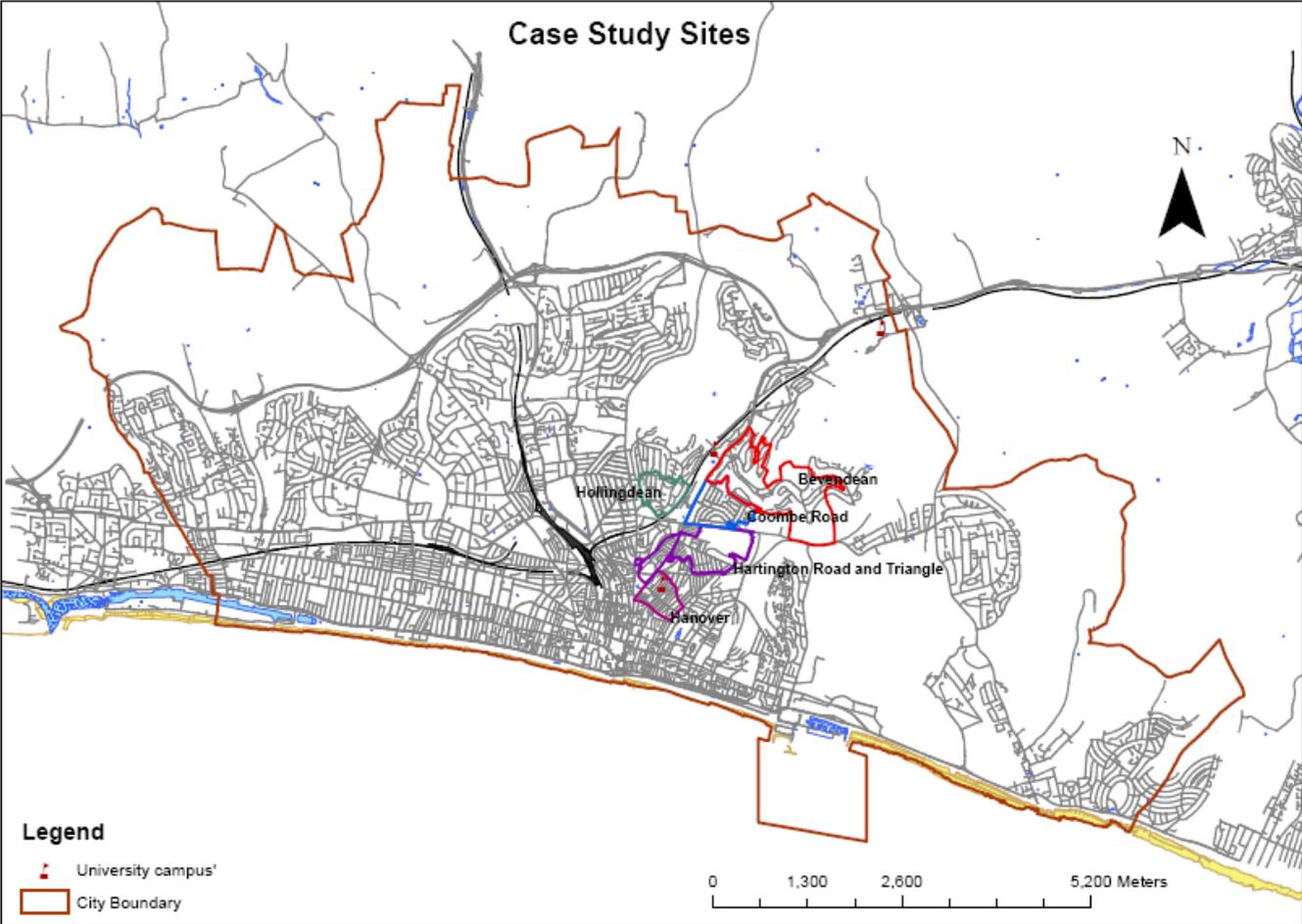
Visual interpretations of the cluster maps were cross-referenced with findings from the analysis of local media content, and based on these integrated findings, four of the five case study areas were identified for further research. These were more rigidly delimited via the selection and aggregation of Census Output Areas that intersected the targeted case study areas, resulting in four bounded case study sites: Bevendean, Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle and Hanover (see Figure 5). These were established as the micro-geographies within which the proceeding qualitative phase of research, and finally the door-to-door survey would be undertaken. Census output areas were chosen as the base units from which the boundaries were built in order to facilitate the extraction of Census 2001 Key Statistics, required to contextualise the case study sites socio-demographically (Chapter 4). This method of building the case study site boundaries introduced some limitation to the research design, given that Census output areas do not tessellate with 'real geography', i.e. roads, buildings etc. This raised issues at a later stage of the research process during the implementation of the questionnaire survey. The boundaries delimiting the case study areas were used to guide the researcher on the ground while collecting survey data. This process was hampered by the inclusion of areas with limited populations (for example, the

inclusion of the Woodvale Cemetery and Crematorium within the Hartington Road and Triangle site), and the tendency for Census output areas to 'ignore' the concrete limitations of the urban landscape.

Findings gathered during later phases of research were also cross-referenced, in order to ensure that the case study sites maintained their relevance, and any new expressions of studentification in Brighton were explored. Just this eventuality occurred as a result of semi-structured interview research with local letting agents during summer 2008. It became apparent that letting agents were advising investors looking to increase their portfolio's of student housing in the city to move into the Hollingdean area, West of the University of Brighton Moulsecoomb campus. Hollingdean had also become home to a newly established letting agent dealing exclusively with the student market, the first of its kind in Brighton. Thus, despite less significant evidence of clustering, and an absence of local media coverage of studentification in this area, Hollingdean was later added as a fifth case study site (see Figure 5). The majority of the qualitative research phase had been completed by this stage of the research process, thus in-depth qualitative research with local residents in Hollingdean is limited. The new case study site was integrated into the door-to-door survey design, however, and 70 doorstep surveys were carried out in the neighbourhood. The absence of qualitative data for Hollingdean has limited the depth of analysis of the processes of studentification in this case study site, and given further resources, pursuing qualitative research with established residents to develop richer discussions would have been desirable.

Openshaw's GAM was also used to explore specific variables within the student data set, including clusters of private rented student HMO; clusters of first year students and how these compare with those of returning students; and finally to analyse the temporal dynamics of student residence based on year-on-year comparison of changing cluster patterns. The results of these analyses are discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.4.

Figure 5: Map showing five case study sites



3.4. GB Census 2001 analysis

Fundamental to the adoption of a micro-geographic approach to investigating processes of urban change, is to establish the specific local contexts of the case study sites in question. This enables more informed discussion of the (dis)similarities between the key empirical findings that emerge from each case study site, by situating the findings in socio-economic and demographic context.

The limitations of the GB 2001 Census with specific reference to investigating change in student populations were noted in Section 3.3. In relation to exploring the characteristics of the wider usual resident population in each case study site, however, it is argued here that despite being eight years out of date, the GB 2001 Census remained the only suitable data set for this purpose.

Section 3.3 describes the process by which the case study sites were rigidly delimited via the aggregation of COA polygon boundaries, using a GIS. COA's are the smallest geography at which GB Census 2001 data was released by the Office for National Statistics. Each COA has an individual identifier code. A list of codes for the COA's that were aggregated to build each case study site was extracted from the GIS, and used to extract Key Statistics from the GB 2001 Census, via the 'Census Area Statistics on the Web' (CASWEB) tool. CASWEB is a web-enabled database service provided by the Centre for Interaction Data Estimation and Research (CIDER), based at the University of Leeds; via the Manchester Information and Associated Services (MIMAS) (CIDER, 2006), and provides access to spatially referenced GB Census data.

CASWEB was used to extract a number of variables from the GB 2001 Census for each case study site, chosen specifically to best inform discussions of urban change in these neighbourhoods, and how these may be affected by local contingencies. Given that no extant academic research investigating the micro-geographic nuances of studentification has been identified, it was not possible to seek guidance on the variables thought suitable to contextualise these arguments. However, research adopting a micro-geographic approach to investigating processes of gentrification has typically contextualised areas based on age profile, ethnic group, educational attainment, occupational group and tenure (for example, Freeman, 2006).

Chapter 4 presents these data for each case study site, along with images taken by the researcher in each neighbourhood, providing an integrated visual and statistical contextualisation of each case study site.

3.5. Focus groups

Section 3.1 situated the thesis as, to some extent, bridging the gap between population geography and urban / social geography. Focus groups as a method of empirical data collection have been enthusiastically embraced by a variety of human geography sub-disciplines, including urban / social geography; in particular with reference to research addressing citizenship, community and identity in the city (Secor 2003; 2004). Skop (2006) cites the relative lack of attention paid to the

methodological potential of focus groups in population geography, compared to other qualitative methods. Indeed, she convincingly makes the case for the relevance of focus group research in furthering “our understandings of population processes” and connecting “population geography research to ongoing debates within the broader discipline” (p.114). As such, the use of focus groups here to delve more deeply into the processes underlying the spatial patterns of student residence (identified using quantitative methods outlined in Section 3.3); represents a conflation of methodological approaches typically adopted by urban and population geographers.

Key to conceptualising processes of studentification at the micro-geographic scale is to understand the perceived impacts of student in-migration among the established residential community of each micro-geography, and how these may differ from one-another. Indeed, Freeman (2006) emphasises, within the context of gentrification research, the importance of engaging with local residents in order to understand individuals’ motivations, perceptions of, and influence on the broader processes and patterns of urban change:

“To really get a sense of what was happening in the neighbourhoods, I began talking with residents. Who would better understand their motivations for staying or the struggles they went through to be able to stay?” (Freeman, 2006: p.8).

As noted above, particular credence is paid to the potential for focus groups to delve more deeply into the processes driving the formation of observed spatial patterns (Skop, 2006). Also fundamental to furthering conceptual understandings of community cohesion and conflict between students and established residents, is to ascertain established residents’ perceptions of students as a social group. It is with these two research aims in mind that focus groups have been deployed in the thesis.

Focus groups were considered a suitable and efficient method by which to engage with local residents, and explore their perceptions of students and urban change for three core reasons. These were: the ability afforded by focus groups to efficiently analyse the spectrum of views that individuals hold regarding a particular issue; the suitability of focus groups to exploring complex patterns of behaviour and motivation (Morgan, 1988); and finally to ascertain the nature of participants’ *interaction* and *dialogue* (Conradson, 2005). The latter of these three facets, describing inter-participant interaction and dialogue, a form of qualitative data uniquely captured by focus groups, was thought particularly pertinent to this research given the desire to explore the impacts of studentification on ‘local communities’. Dialogue among a number of residents of one community of interest amounted to a powerful mechanism to gaining insight on the impacts students had had at the community level. Insights of this nature would not have been afforded by individual semi-structured interviews alone.

Finally, as noted by Skop (2006: p.2) “focus groups are useful for gaining background information, clarifying ideas, developing questions”. In addition to addressing the research aims, as outlined

above, key findings from the focus groups also informed the development of a survey questionnaire, implemented during the final phase of research. Focus group participants' perceptions of the impacts of students on their neighbourhoods shaped the nature of the questionnaire survey questions, and the semi-structured interview schedule used for interviews with local residents, providing valuable prior knowledge of the issues emerging in each case study site. Having established the methodological suitability of focus groups, the following paragraphs outline the implementation of the method, and the limitations considered important to note in relation both to the collection of data and to its analysis.

This phase of research, which took place in the early part of 2007, involved the identification of participants via local community and residents groups in the following case study sites: Bevendean (two focus groups); Hartington Road and Triangle (one focus group), and Hanover (two focus groups). At this stage of the research programme, the final case study site (Hollingdean) had yet to be identified (see Section 3.3). Coombe Road, unlike the other case study sites, did not have a local residents' group through which focus group respondents' could be recruited. In order to maintain the methodological consistency of focus group research, qualitative research was undertaken with local residents' in Coombe Road by way of semi-structured interviews instead (Section 3.6).

The researcher attended a number of local residents meetings in Bevendean, Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover; establishing herself within the research context, and building trust and rapport with the local resident attendees. On introducing the aims of the thesis during these meetings, it became clear that issues of studentification were of considerable concern to the residents present. One resident group (the Bevendean Local Action Team) had formed specifically to deal with anti-social behaviour, which it was felt had become a more flagrant issue since the immigration of student populations to the neighbourhood.

Attendance at these meetings was crucial in terms of identifying participants for subsequent focus group research. It also formed an important part of the research process, in that it allowed the researcher to gain valuable insights into the range of issues surrounding students in these communities prior to conducting qualitative research. These insights, along with findings from the media content analyses, informed the questions and prompts devised for use during the focus groups and semi-structured interviews. The value of accruing this form of background information has also been noted by Freeman (2006) within the context of his own research investigating gentrification in New York City, USA:

“I also attended...community meetings, some that were designed specifically to address the issue of gentrification. These forums proved to be invaluable as sources of additional insight on residents' perspectives toward gentrification” (Freeman, 2006: p.12).

Indeed, Freeman (*ibid.*) suggested that this form of research undertaken over a period of time (to include attending meetings, engaging with local residents, spending time socially in his research areas) had been particularly beneficial to illuminating processes of gentrification as they unfolded ‘in-situ’ within his case study sites. Akin to Freeman’s experiences, this is felt to have been a key strength of the research design applied to the thesis. The researcher attended local meetings and established strong links within the communities studied over a prolonged period of time (January 2007 - May 2009), yielding a valuable temporal lens of enquiry on the unfolding processes of studentification in these areas. Findings from this research have proved particularly valuable with reference to Bevendean, which, as is shown in Chapter 4, experienced significant and rapid studentification during the course of the research programme, and Hartington Road, where the unfolding of studentification was witnessed in 2008. In light of the value attached to this form of research, with the benefit of hindsight, attending community meetings in Hollingdean would have contributed to the depth of findings in this area. As described earlier in the chapter, Hollingdean was identified as a case study site at a relatively late stage of the research programme, thus it was not possible with the resources available to engage in qualitative research with the community in this area to the same degree as the other case study sites, thus marking a limitation to the outcomes of the research conducted in this area.

In line with Bloor *et al.* (2001), between four and ten participants were sought for each of the five focus groups undertaken. The researcher acted as facilitator, guiding the discussion to address the key issues pertinent to the research aims using a small selection of broad questions / prompts, whilst allowing the discussion to flow naturally, enabling participants’ dialogue on these issues to be captured. The prompts typically included: ‘when and where have students in-migrated to the neighbourhood?’; ‘what impacts have students had on your neighbourhood?’; ‘how would you describe the typical student in your neighbourhood?’). The focus groups lasted between 45 minutes and one hour each, and were audio-recorded with the consent of the participants. These audio recordings were later transcribed by the researcher, and form the basis of discussions presented in Chapter 5. Respondents were offered the opportunity to receive feedback on the focus groups by way of a short summary report, to be circulated following completion of this phase of research. An initial pilot focus group was undertaken with four respondents’ from Bevendean, which was recorded using a digital camcorder mounted on a tripod. This method of recording the focus groups was rejected however, when it became clear that the respondents’ were uncomfortable with being visually recorded.

Grounded theory has been adopted as methodological framework (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) for the collection, treatment and analysis of empirical data; to include that collected during focus groups, semi-structured interviews (Section 3.6), and the questionnaire survey (Section 3.7) (see Charmaz, 2006 for a full discussion of the grounded theory approach). This methodological frame has been adopted in order to promote transparency (Baxter and Eyles, 1997) and rigour (Valentine, 2001b)

both during collection and analysis of results, and to make sense of the quantities of ‘rich’ qualitative data collected. The final paragraphs of this Section outline some of the limitations of the focus group methodology.

Hyden and Bulow (2003) stress that focus group research must be analysed in a manner that considers the impact of the group setting. Attention is being drawn here to the potential for group identity development, or ‘group think’, whereby individual respondents are encouraged to align themselves with the general consensus emerging from the collective group. Hollander (2004) describes her own difficulties in managing the collision between the group dynamic and the sensitive subject matter of discussion (violence), which caused her participants to feel constrained and reticent to share their thoughts and feelings. This was an important consideration within the context of the thesis, as it was expected that participants would share difficult experiences of conflict and negative interaction with students during the focus groups; potentially raising a number of issues. First were ethical considerations associated with the potential impacts on participants or researcher of hearing about or sharing such difficult experiences. Second was the possibility that the discovery of such mutual shared experiences could monopolise discussions, and prevent positive perceptions of students from being articulated. Finally, the position of the researcher as a postgraduate student was of particular concern in terms of the impact it could have on the data generated, given that participants were encouraged to freely share their opinions on students as a social group. A fuller discussion of the researcher’s positionality is provided in Section 3.8.

Hollander (2004: p.604) summarises this collection of concerns as those associated with the “social contexts” of focus groups, “that is, the relationships among the participants and between the participants and the facilitator, as well as the larger social structures within which the discussion takes place”. Of course, these issues arise with any qualitative method that relies on the self-reporting of respondents’ thoughts, beliefs and opinions. However, as Hollander (*ibid.*) asserts, the methodological literature on focus groups, to date, has paid considerably less attention to these issues. These issues were kept in mind by the researcher throughout the operationalisation of the focus group methodology.

3.6. Semi-structured interviews

As discussed in the previous section, it was not possible to recruit focus group respondents via a local residents’ group in Coombe Road. In order to maintain consistency in the focus group methodology used, an alternative method of conducting qualitative empirical research in Coombe Road was required. Furthermore, during attendance at residents’ meetings in Bevendean, and Hartington Road and Triangle, the opportunity to meet with four additional local residents’ who could not attend the focus groups arose. Semi-structured interviews were identified as the most

suitable technique for these purposes, providing the core qualitative findings in Coombe Road, and supplementing analyses of focus group research in Bevendean and Hartington Road and Triangle.

In addition to establishing an understanding of local residents' perceptions of urban change at each case study site, the value of further illuminating the processes driving these changes through engagement with 'local institutional actors' was identified. Semi-structured interviews were considered the most appropriate method for engaging these actors, and a second phase of interviewing was initiated in August 2007, ending in December 2007. The remainder of this section outlines the deployment of the semi-structured interview technique both to explore local residents' perceptions of studentification in Coombe Road, Bevendean, and Hartington Road and Triangle, and to unravel the roles and responsibilities of a range of local institutional actors in shaping and managing the processes of studentification in Brighton. First, the method deployed to identify local resident interviewees in Coombe Road, and the rationale behind the selection of institutional actor interviewees is outlined, this is followed by a description of the implementation of the semi-structured interview methodology.

In Bevendean, and Hartington Road and Triangle, substantial links had been made with the local community via attendance to local residents' meetings. When focus group respondent volunteers were being recruited in these case study sites, four further residents intimated their enthusiasm to be involved in the research process, however were unable to attend the focus groups on the specified dates. Semi-structured interviews were therefore organised with these respondents to take place after the focus groups. In Coombe Road, the absence of a residents' group necessitated an alternative recruitment strategy. Contact was made with a local councillor in the area, who subsequently acted as gatekeeper, introducing four local residents to the researcher. The interviews were structured in two stages: the first being largely exploratory, enabling interviewees' perceptions of how, when and where studentification was unfolding in their local area to be determined. The second stage was more structured, with a schedule of themed questions and prompts prepared in advance. These were based on the issues raised during focus group research and attendance to residents' meetings in other case study sites, and preliminary content analyses of local media and policy documents prior to engaging in empirical research.

Local institutional actors were identified for interview with a more targeted approach. Drawing on debates within the gentrification literature centred around critical perspectives on 'who' and 'what' constitutes a gentrifier (Rose, 1984; Lees, 2007; Smith and Holt, 2005; Lees, 2003; Clark 2005), and accounts of the influences on processes of studentification in other university cities (Smith, 2002; Hubbard, 2008); a number of relevant local institutional actors were identified. Based on this literature, local institutional agency in response to housing market forces (i.e. landlords and letting agents), state policy (i.e. universities expanding participation), and local governance structures (i.e. local councillors and council officers), were felt to be theoretically important.

Findings from focus groups, attendance at local residents / community meetings, and local media content analyses concurred with these targeted actors. For example, it had become clear from focus group discussions with local residents that landlords and letting agents had played an influential role in shifting tenure profiles at each case study site, with particular significance in Bevendean, Coombe Road, and Hartington Road and Triangle. During resident and community meetings, local councillors emerged as key players in terms of communicating local residents' concerns to the local authority, and raising the political profile of studentification at the local level. In turn, local councillors (links with whom had been well established via attendance to various local residents' and community meetings) became gatekeepers at the local authority, introducing the researcher to the relevant council officers in the Housing Strategy, Planning and Environmental Health Directorates. Finally, the fundamental role played by the universities themselves had become apparent, in terms of the strategic planning and provision of student bed-spaces in the city via student Halls of Residence and head-leased student accommodation. Interviewees were therefore targeted in the Student Accommodation and Catering Services Department at the University of Brighton and the Residential Services Office at the University of Sussex. The targeting of interviewees therefore, was both theoretically driven, and informed by key findings from previous phases of research.

In concurrence with the method applied to conducting interviews with local residents, interviews with institutional actors were structured in two stages. The first was largely exploratory, enabling interviewees' perceptions of how, when and where studentification was unfolding in Brighton to be gauged. The second stage was more structured, employing a schedule of themed questions and prompts tailored to the specific student-related practices or interests of the interviewee. For example, themes to be covered during interviews with letting agents included complaints regarding student households managed by the letting agency (i.e. who tended to make complaints, how frequent they were, how they were dealt with); local housing market forces, and housing / planning legislation such as the introduction of HMO licensing (i.e. how these had / were influencing investment practices locally). Crucially, these themed schedules were not applied rigidly, instead being treated as 'hangers' upon which to support dialogue as it unfolded (Valentine, 2001a). This flexible semi-structured approach allowed the interviews to develop organically, enabling unexpected themes of discussion to be introduced by the interviewee.

A total of twenty interviews were conducted with local institutional actors, and eight with local residents (four in Coombe Road, two in Bevendean, and two in Hartington Road and Triangle), and three with local councillors, each lasting between 30-60 minutes. The interviews were audio recorded with the prior consent of the interviewee, and the audio recordings were later transcribed by the researcher. Interviewees were offered the opportunity to receive feedback from this phase of research on completion. As noted above in Section 3.5, the collection, treatment and analysis of

empirical data were framed by the Grounded Theory methodology (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Charmaz 2006). Key findings emerging from this phase of research are discussed in Chapter 5.

3.7. Door-to-door questionnaire survey

The final phase of empirical data collection involved conducting a total of 350 doorstep questionnaires across five case study sites. A formal structured questionnaire (see Appendix) was administered to a random sample of seventy 'established local residents' at each case study site. An 'established resident' has been explicitly defined for the purpose of this study as an individual who has lived in their neighbourhood for five or more years. This definition was adopted with a view to exploring residents' perceptions of urban change over time; a primary research aim of the thesis. Changes perceived by residents to have occurred during the previous five year period had particular resonance, building on the conclusions of an earlier research report investigating studentification in Brighton (Smith and Holt, 2004); chief among these being an absence of evidence to indicate entrenched processes of studentification in the city. Thus, targeting residents established in the area for five or more years enabled questions of student-related urban change over this period to be posed, this in turn enabling the temporal layers of studentification to be unfurled, enabling the conceptualisation of studentification at each case study site to be situated in time as well as in space.

In addition to addressing the temporal facets of studentification, building on analyses of focus group and interview data, the questionnaire was designed to further illuminate the specific impacts of student in-migration at each case study site; i.e. to enable further exploration of the micro-geographic differentials of studentification. Further to findings from earlier phases of qualitative research with local residents, the administering of a standardised questionnaire survey enabled quantitative comparisons to be drawn between case study sites, and crucially, enabled these findings to be related to the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondent sample. This analysis yielded a number of key findings chief among these being the significance of the proportion of graduates residing in a studentified area, and the relevance of the lifecourse effect in terms of conceptualising the perceived processes and impacts of studentification. These findings have proved invaluable to advancing conceptual understandings of studentification at the micro-geographic scale. The primary aims of the survey then, were to further extend conceptual understandings of the micro-geographic and temporal nuances of studentification in Brighton. Further discussion of the key findings from the survey are presented in Chapter 6. The following paragraphs describe the design of the questionnaire survey, followed by the sampling frame and administration, with the final part of the Section addressing the analysis of the data.

The survey questionnaires were undertaken by the researcher 'on the doorstep' face to face with the respondent. This survey methodology was felt most appropriate in terms of gleaning the optimum amount of rich, detailed data (Denscombe, 2007) whilst also enhancing the researchers ability to

understand the context of the respondents' answers (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). The questionnaire was framed as an investigation into 'quality of life'; this being the title of the questionnaire, and forming the foundations of the context provided by the researcher in the opening blurb (see Appendix). It was felt that introducing the primary concern of the questionnaire survey as general quality of life issues, as opposed to those specifically related to student populations, would limit the danger of leading respondents to assume that students were having negative impacts on their neighbourhood. Thus, it was hoped this approach would provide a more neutral questionnaire setting, allowing a range of opinions to be expressed by the respondent (Davies, 2007). Also established in the opening blurb, which was delivered by the researcher before commencing with the questionnaire proper, was a description of how the data would be stored, handled and eventually destroyed. This was followed by an invitation to receive feedback on the results of the survey, and a statement ensuring each respondent was aware that commencing with the questionnaire indicated their consent to this treatment of the data. No data was collected which could subsequently be used to identify individual respondents (i.e. names, addresses, postcodes etc.), thus enabling the researcher to assure respondents that the survey was anonymous.

As noted by McLafferty (2003) and Fowler (2002), the design and wording of a questionnaire survey can have significant impacts on the answers obtained. Thus, careful consideration was given to the structure, tone and content of the questionnaire survey. The format of the questionnaire was structured to begin with three closed or short-answer questions ('how long have you lived in this neighbourhood?'; 'what is the name of your neighbourhood?'; 'how would you describe your sense of belonging in this neighbourhood?'). These were designed to ease the respondent in to the questionnaire, before deploying more probing open questions requiring more thought and consideration (such as 'why did you decide to move here?'; 'how would you describe the typical student in your neighbourhood?'). This was followed by an 'attitude battery' (Parfitt, 1997) section designed to quickly ascertain how respondents felt students had impacted on thirty two aspects of their neighbourhood (for example, 'noise nuisance from people on the street', 'the likelihood of local established residents to move out of the neighbourhood', and 'the vibrancy of the neighbourhood'). Respondents were asked to rate the impact students had had on these neighbourhood characteristics (i.e. whether they had improved or worsened them) on an extended scale ranging from 'much worse' through to 'much better', with an option to respond 'no impact' or 'don't know'. The neighbourhood characteristics chosen for this section were largely influenced by findings from earlier focus group research with local residents. The final section of the questionnaire was focused on collecting classificatory data on the socio-demographics of the respondent and his / her household. This included the university graduate / non-graduate status of the respondent; this variable proving pivotal to the analysis of the resultant data, as described in detail in Chapter 6.

As stated at the beginning of the Section, the sampling frame for the survey targeted the established residential population; defined as those who had been resident in the neighbourhood for five or more years. The units of study used were the case study sites delimited earlier in the research process (see Section 3.3). Some preliminary analysis of GB Census 2001 Key statistics revealed the usual resident population for each case study site; this is presented in Table 1 below. Based on this information, an achievable target of seventy respondents from each case study site was set, to provide a total of 350 completed questionnaires.

The household composition profiles of the case study sites raised some concern regarding the sample size required in order to secure seventy completed questionnaires with respondents meeting the definitive requirements of an ‘established resident’. This was due to the disproportionate representation of multi-person households resulting from the dominance of private rented tenure (particularly in Hartington Road and Triangle and Hanover), the occupants of which tend to be relatively transient, thus less likely to have been resident in the neighbourhood for five years or more. Calculation of the expected sample size required at each case study site (Table 1 below), therefore, took account of the proportion of multi-person households (based on GB 2001 Census data, Census Area Statistics Table 053). The sample size was calculated based on a response rate of 30%, and a target number of 70 completed questionnaires, as outlined above.

Table 1: Questionnaire survey sample size calculations for each case study site.

Case Study Site	Number of households	Number of Multi-person households	% Multi person households	Resultant sample size (working on 30% response rate and a target of 70 participants)
Bevendean	1067	120	11	260
Coombe Road	1632	271	17	274
Hollingdean	991	96	10	257
Hartington Road and Triangle	2596	599	26	295
Hanover	1710	307	18	277

On completing the questionnaire design, and finalising the sampling frame, a pilot survey of ten questionnaires was carried out in Bevendean. This highlighted a number of weaknesses in the design, most of which involved simplification of the wording of questions. One major adaptation to the questionnaire design in response to the pilot results was a reduction of the number of questions included in the ‘attitude battery’ section. It was found that respondents were becoming fatigued at this stage, and often failing to complete this section. The number of questions was therefore reduced from forty to thirty two.

On commencement of the survey proper, each questionnaire was filled out by the researcher on the doorstep. On some occasions, when the researcher gauged that the respondent was particularly

forth-coming with information, consent was requested to audio-record the proceedings. These audio-recordings were later transcribed by the researcher. It was not feasible in light of limited time resources to approach each questionnaire survey in this manner, and similarly, a relatively limited proportion of respondents were able to commit the time required to complete the questionnaire to this level of detail. However, where this eventuality did occur, the opportunity to gather ‘rich’ in-depth data was maximised by the researcher, the results of which have proved invaluable to enhancing the depth of discussion presented in Chapter 6.

In terms of the treatment and analysis of the data, all closed-ended questions were coded prior to the completion of the survey. A coding schedule was constructed by allocating a number to each possible response, ultimately enabling the data to be analysed quantitatively. On completion of data collection, open-ended questions were also coded. This involved categorising open-ended data into a range of codes, categories and themes, aligned with the Grounded Theory approach of ‘open-coding’ (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The resultant coding schedules were used to numerically code the qualitative data, enabling it to be analysed in a similar manner to the closed-ended responses. Closed and open-ended data was input to an excel work-book in its raw pre-coded form, and subsequently coded according to the schedules generated. These coded data were imported to SPSS 14, which was used to generate frequency distributions, and following this preliminary stage of analysis, more complex cross-tabulations. The scrutiny of these data forms the basis of discussions in Chapter 6.

3.8. Positionality, power relations and dissemination of research findings

“Critics need to let go of their distanced and false stance of objectivity and...expose their own point of view – the tangle of background, influence, political perspectives, training, and situations that helped form and inform their interpretations”. (Christian, in Cloke 1994: p.149)

Cloke (1994) uses the quote above to emphasise the salience of acknowledging and unravelling his own positionality; broadly summarised as the “politics, morality, training, faith and situation” (p.149) that have influenced his readings and writings of the rural over the course of his academic career. This also constitutes a crucial element of the research process within the context of the thesis, given the position of the researcher as a postgraduate student investigating processes of studentification. The researcher’s position as a postgraduate student is acknowledged here both in terms of its potential to influence the likelihood of respondents expressing candid negative perceptions of students as a social group, and in its inevitable impact on the researchers own analyses, including the ways in which these are packaged within the written thesis. The relatively recent lived experience of undergraduate studenthood, and the close working relationship with undergraduate students at the University of Brighton, enjoyed by the researcher throughout the research process, will be woven in to the implementation of research techniques, the recording of findings, and the interpretation of emerging patterns and trends. It is not the aim of the researcher to hope to ‘resolve’ the issues this raises, instead to adopt a critical attitude to the research design,

imbuing its implementation with a critical awareness of the inextricable links between the researcher and the research.

Also notable at this juncture are the inherent institutional power-relations bound up in the research process, these resulting from two primary ethical facets of the research project: the implications of the funding stream that supported the research programme; and the political relevance of the research in the local setting. The research programme was funded by a full-time university studentship, provided over a three year period by the University of Brighton. Although not imposing any direct influence on the research design, implementation, analysis or key findings, undoubtedly this constitutes an institutional frame to the research warranting acknowledgement and consideration by the researcher throughout the research process. The research methodology was deemed compliant at 'tier 1' of the University of Brighton ethical approval process.

One aspect of the research process that *was* directly influenced by both the University of Brighton as funding body, and Brighton and Hove City Council (due to the relevance of the research to policy makers, councillors and council officers involved in the planning and implementation of housing strategy in the city), was the dissemination of key findings. As was noted in the introductory paragraphs of this Chapter, engagement with local institutional and political actors during the research process, and the topical relevance of the research in terms of local political priorities (of which housing was one) situates the thesis as 'policy-relevant' in the local context. Indeed, during the course of the research programme, the researcher was requested to share and disseminate her key findings with the Strategic Housing Partnership (SHP: the partnership responsible for the implementation of local housing strategy) at Brighton and Hove City Council, and to serve as an 'expert witness' to a Scrutiny Panel inaugurated by the Leader of Brighton and Hove City Council and Chairperson of the Housing Management Consultative Committee specifically to address studentification in Brighton.

Pain (2006) has noted the tendency for 'policy-relevant research' in Human Geography to be denigrated among accusations of "prejudicing academic liberty" through engagement with institutional actors and policy makers. However, it is hoped that by assuming a critical perspective on the aspects of the research process outlined in this Section, that the research outcomes can both contribute to advancing academic conceptualisations of studentification, and support the improvement of local policy development.

Chapter 4: Context

4.1. Introduction

This chapter contextualises processes of student-related urban change in Brighton, disentangling social, cultural and economic variations across the city; thereby providing the foundations for a micro-geographic investigation of studentification. This builds upon the key research aims which were outlined in Chapter 1, and the rationale of Brighton as a case study of studentification.

This chapter is divided into five sections. First, evidence of the processes and impacts of studentification in Brighton, gathered from content analyses of local media sources is presented (Section 4.2). Second, local policy, planning and regulation related to the production of student accommodation in Brighton is reviewed in Section 4.3. Third, spatial patterns of student residence in the city are investigated via mapping and cluster analyses of student term-time address data (Section 4.4). Fourth, the selection of five case study sites is discussed (Section 4.4.2). Finally, the differentials of these case study sites are outlined in Section 4.5 revealing diverse socio-demographic and tenure characteristics with analyses of 2001 GB Census data.

4.2. Local media content analysis

This section presents findings from content analyses of two local media sources between October 2001 and October 2008. The purpose of this phase of research was two-fold. First, it was important to explore local representations of students as a social group, and to tease out local accounts of the processes and impacts of studentification, to inform the subsequent empirical research (based on content published between October 2001 and October 2006). Second, in line with the approach adopted by Freeman (2006) to observe unfolding processes of urban change ‘in-situ’ (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5 for a fuller discussion), this analysis sought to unpick shifting representations of students and studentification *during* the research process (October 2006 - October 2009), thus contextualising findings from primary empirical research undertaken during this period ‘in the field’. Analyses of local newspaper web-based archives (The Argus), and a University of Sussex student newspaper (the Badger) were undertaken, using a series of search terms related to students and student accommodation (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2 for a full discussion of this methodology).

4.2.1. Quantitative content analysis of The Argus

Two approaches were adopted for the analyses of The Argus. First, a collection of specific search terms to interrogate The Argus web-archive for student-related articles and published ‘letters to the editor’ was utilised. The search terms used were: ‘students’, ‘student accommodation’, and ‘student housing’. The number of articles per year that included each of these terms was recorded

(Table 2), and the findings from this analysis are discussed in this section. Qualitative analysis of this source and ‘The Badger’ is discussed in sections 4.2.2, 4.2.3 and 4.2.4.

Table 2 shows the number of articles returned from The Argus web-archive search tool following interrogation using the search terms indicated in row 1. Column 2, shows the number of articles published in The Argus year-on-year between 2001-2009, that included the search term ‘students’, where the content of the article was related to HE students in Brighton. The count experiences two marked peaks; during 2002-03 and 2007-08 where between approximately 40 and 60 articles and letters relating to HE students were identified (as opposed to approximately 30-40 during the remaining period of analysis). The first of these peaks resulted largely from local debates sparked by a group of University of Sussex student activists on a ‘peace mission’ to the West Bank, Palestine, who had been imprisoned for a number of days. The story of their experiences and safe return to the UK generated a surge of student-related articles in 2002-03. The second, more recent peak during 2008-09, was specifically tied to increased reporting of studentification in the city, and local institutional actors’ responses to these issues. This is reflected in the marked increase in the number of articles citing the processes and impacts of studentification in 2008-09; totalling 31 articles and letters, compared to fewer than ten in all years preceding 2007-08 (column 4, Table 2). The frequency with which issues of studentification were reported therefore increased notably during the research process, suggesting increased awareness of expanding student populations and their concomitant impacts across the city as empirical research progressed. Section 4.2.2 below presents a qualitative analysis of this material, detailing how representations of students and accounts of studentification shifted to become more negative between 2001 and 2009.

Table 2: Content analysis counts for The Argus by year of article and search term, 2001-2009

Academic Year	Search term: ‘students’	Search terms: ‘student accommodation’, ‘student housing’	Articles referring to processes / impacts of studentification (search terms: ‘student housing’, ‘student accommodation’, ‘students’)
2001-02	38	3	6
2002-03	52	5	10
2003-04	48	2	5
2004-05	32	3	3
2005-06	32	3	9
2006-07	40	2	6
2007-08	44	9	14
2008-09	63	15	31
<i>Mean</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>11</i>

4.2.2. ‘Bright(on) Young Things’ or ‘The Young Ones’: shifting representations of students.

This section provides an account of the changing representations of students as a social group, and the processes and impacts of studentification in Brighton in the media discourses of The Argus

newspaper (2001-2009). An emerging trend is identified indicating the increasing dominance of negative representations of students year-on-year. Similarly, towards the end of this period, increasing column inches are dedicated to 'Letters to the Editor' from local residents recounting negative experiences and examples of conflict with students. As media coverage of the issues emerging from a number of residential communities in Brighton intensifies, evidence is also identified of the rising political profile of studentification, both nationally and locally.

During the early stages of this period (2001-02, 2002-03 and 2003-04), a common theme identified was the representation of the 'struggling student'. Article headlines such as "Housing crisis for students" (The Argus, 21/4/2001), "Can city students survive" (The Argus, 20/9/2002), and "graduate workless rate is on the rise" (The Argus, 12/11/2002) all emphasise a series of challenges perceived to be faced by students living in the city: including difficulties in securing suitable accommodation; and the financial burden of residing in a city with a relatively high cost of living, as illustrated by the following quote:

"Forget sex, drugs and rock'n'roll. Today's student stereotype is a glum graduate staring at a bank balance severely in the red" (The Argus, 12/7/2002).

Increasing student debt was noted as a regularly occurring theme in articles such as 'funds dilemma' (The Argus, 1/5/2003) and 'Student fears over top-up fee's' (The Argus, 24/1/2003), to some extent reflecting national debates around the proposed introduction of top-up fees (The Guardian, 9/9/2003; 26/10/2003), with the content undoubtedly representing students as financially burdened, struggling members of society. Several articles published in 2001 outlined the 'housing crisis' witnessed by students in Brighton, whereby demand for student accommodation was outstripping supply. Again, these articles were imbued with sympathy for the "student plight", describing students as "desperate" and "cash-strapped" (The Argus, 21/4/2001). Other themes identified during this period include poor rates of pay, long hours (within the context of part-time work undertaken in addition to students' studies), and the relatively high cost of living in Brighton. An article from the Argus, (20/9/2002) refers to Brighton as "the place to be hard-up", suggesting that Brighton is becoming a "playground for the rich and famous". The article states that the increased cost of living in the city is marginalising students on low incomes, thus making Brighton a less attractive destination for prospective students. It is also highlighted that students who work part-time are often being paid the youth minimum wage, rather than the adult minimum rate of pay, and often work long hours: "1 in 5 university students puts in a gruelling week of up to 50 hours on top of their studies" (The Argus, 2/7/2003).

It should be noted at this point, that not all media coverage 2001-2003 gives rise to such representations of suffering. For example, one letter to the editor of The Argus (12/5/2001), states that "the same young people who bemoaned their impoverished condition, magically produced the needful to buy alcohol, fags and drugs and enjoy Brighton's nightlife". On balance, however, the

majority of content during this period reiterates the perception of students in Brighton as ‘hard-up victims’.

Articles such as “Bright young things are key to cities future” (The Argus, 14/3/2003), and “City students impress experts” (The Argus, 26/10/2002) represent Brighton’s students as an asset to the city, where they play a key role in defining the unique cosmopolitan and alternative culture of Brighton (Carter, 1996). These articles reflect favourably both on Brighton’s students, the two universities, and other educational establishments (City College and the Brighton Institute of Music) as they are perceived to be “playing a part in transforming Brighton & Hove into a young and vibrant city” (*ibid.*). These articles posit students as pivotally in terms of nurturing the culture of the city, and securing the city’s future prosperity. As indicated by the following quote:

“Students give Brighton a real sense of community. If you look around the town, the students add to the wonderful vibrancy and atmosphere that has made Brighton become so popular” (The Argus, 20/9/2002).

An article reporting on the Brighton and Hove City Forum (The Argus, 14/3/2003) further emphasises this representation of students, by stating that Brighton should:

“Keep hold of it’s bright young people if it wants to join the top flight...students provide a significant proportion of the population in cities such as Brighton & Hove and higher education is a big employer as well as providing talented people” (The Argus 14/3/2003).

In these articles, students are identified as critical to encouraging the cultural and economic prosperity of the city. It should be noted that these articles are clustered between 2002-03 and 2003-04, with limited content on this theme evident post-2003-04.

‘Life next to the young ones’ (The Argus, 26/10/2005), ‘No more noise’ (The Argus, 17/9/2005) and ‘University of Strife’ (The Argus, 11/9/2005) typify a raft of articles and letters to the editor from 2004 onwards, that focus on the frustrations of local residents, who cite issues such as low-level anti-social behaviour from resident student populations. The following quotes from letters published during 2004 and 2005 demonstrate this point:

“I can now understand why people dislike living near student houses. I live next door to one where there are constant parties, often until 5am. No consideration is shown to the neighbours (who all go out to work) nor to the young children living nearby. When you ask them to quieten down, you receive verbal abuse and rudeness. I like and get on well with young people but the selfish attitude of so many students is totally unacceptable” (The Argus, 26/10/2005).

“There’s overloud so-called music from cars and house windows, being woken up by slamming car or taxi doors and screaming at 3am on Fridays and Saturdays, dangerous double parking, complete inability to park anywhere near your own house because of the plethora of shiny new cars hogging all available spaces. What is the cause? Answer – our poor little impoverished students have returned from their Christmas holidays! I thought they were supposed to integrate with the community – not destroy it” (The Argus, 4/2/2004).

Such representations of thoughtlessness and irresponsibility are not limited to the student population within this context, however, but also identify the short-comings of local ‘absentee’ landlords who let shared HMO to student tenants. A letter to the editor from a resident of Hanover states:

“Those same students had no idea when our rubbish collection takes place because, I assume, neither the letting agent or the landlord had told them. When I go on a self-catering holiday, one of the items in the welcome pack invariably concerns rubbish disposal. Why can’t new tenants be provided with the same information by their letting agent or landlord? Why are there no signs on rented properties stating who the letting agent or landlord is and how to contact them?” (The Argus, 15/9/2005).

These letters assert a clear representation of the student population of Brighton as anti-social, thoughtless and with limited ability to interact or integrate with their surrounding communities. This message should, however, be understood within the context of an emerging counter-voice, the inaugural articulation of which marked the beginning of an on-going debate in the ‘Letters to the Editor’ section post-2003-04. The dominantly negative perception of students post-2003-04 outlined thus far was challenged by a collection of letters posted in response to those summarised above. For example, a letter entitled ‘Happy memories’ (The Argus, 15/8/2005), states:

“Students do not destroy a community...they are a stimulating addition to the small, samey areas of outer Brighton where they congregate. Would there be a life there after 10pm if it wasn't for the student community? In Preston Circus, where my properties are, the pubs now have Wi Fi and comedy nights and open-mic. Shops also find it worthwhile to open late...Yes, students do see things from a different perspective and favour a different arrangement of time and objects from those we're used to, but as a student landlord since 1988, I would never let my property to any other occupants. Their happiness and joy in life is a pleasure - if this is studentification then long live the student princes and princesses!”(The Argus, 15/9/2005).

Similarly, another resident comments:

“Any small disadvantages caused by students living in the city are greatly outweighed by the benefits attributed to having universities and a strong community of young people” (The Argus, 16/8/2005).

The emerging discourses of debate considered the physical aspects of student related urban change (for example over-spilling domestic refuse); issues affecting residents’ ‘quality of life’ (such as noise nuisance); more entrenched examples of urban change (e.g. increasing population imbalance); and the marginalisation of local residents from the housing market in Hanover, illustrated by the following quote:

“There is no shortage of households wanting to move into the neighbourhood [Hanover] – it is a popular area. Unfortunately, they cannot afford to. The intervention of landlords prepared to pay top dollar for houses has helped push up prices” (The Argus, 22/8/2005).

As illustrated above, a range of conflicting opinions regarding students and their role in local communities unfolded in *The Argus* post-2003. These emerging contestations were effectively summarised by a councillor in a letter to the editor, where he identifies the need for “an informed debate in Brighton and Hove about this issue, which is fair to students and considers the position of permanent residents” (*The Argus*, 22/9/2005). The debates mark a distinct departure from the largely sympathetic representation of the ‘struggling student’ as typified by the dominant representations of students in previous years. Indeed, 2003 appears to mark the cusp of change in terms of shifting representations of students and residents’ perceptions of the impacts of studentification in Brighton. Thereafter reports exemplifying the negative aspects of student-related urban change became more prominent, with debates of studentification gaining momentum both at the local scale, and nationally. This was reflected in the emergence of a political response to these issues witnessing the establishment of a Councillors Campaign for Balanced Communities (CCBC), an All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Sustainable Communities, and the Houses in Multiple Occupation (HMO) Taskforce in 2007. The charting of such developments at the national scale formed a notable part of the increasing number of student-related articles identified in 2007-08, with articles such as ‘Student ghettos to be restricted’ (*The Argus*, 26/6/2008) and ‘Review aims to curb student ghettos’ (*The Argus*, 11/4/2008) citing these initiatives, alongside evidence of their pertinence within the context of Brighton. These articles drew principally on interviews with councillors, their comments placing particular emphasis on the issue of a lack of suitable family housing in the city, resulting in “many families struggling to find suitable places to rent” with over-concentrations of HMO in “family streets” tending to “drive out families in that area” (*The Argus*, 26/6/2008). Indeed, the efforts of councillors and MP’s to raise the local political profile of studentification was a notable theme within articles published in 2007-08, with statements such as those illustrated by the following quote from a councillors’ letter to the editor of *The Argus* (15/4/2008), reiterating the issues facing local ‘Brightonians’ residing in the Hanover and Elm Grove ward:

“ ‘This used to be a wonderful area, but not anymore’, one life-long resident told me when I met him and his neighbours to talk about the problems. He can trace his family roots in Brighton back to the 19th Century. His three daughters who are all working and in their 20s are living at home because they cannot afford to buy or rent. Now he is thinking about joining other long-term residents who have already moved out. And little wonder. He lives in an area where...there are 72 houses in multiple occupation (HMOs)...many are recent conversions with conservatories at the back...most are occupied by students...The two Universities...have given little thought to the housing and infrastructure needs that have accompanied their growth. In my view they should be allowed no further expansion...I urge the Government to halt the further expansion of student housing in those areas that have suffered enough” (local Councillor, *The Argus*, 15/4/2008).

The quote above exemplifies the use of the local media by councillors to ensure that the ‘struggles’ of local established populations, as a result of expanding student populations, are widely

understood; thus validating the local political mandate for their appraisal and mitigation. Persistent use of *The Argus* for this purpose was evident throughout the period 2007-2008. Such comments were countered to some degree, unsurprisingly given the complex nature of earlier debates unfolding during the period 2003-2005. In the main this counter-voice was expressed by local landlords however, rather than local residents, as had been identified in previous years. Broadly speaking, letters from local landlords encouraged the readership not to “blame landlords for the ghetto effect” (*The Argus*, 19/4/2008), with ‘blame’ deflected instead onto the universities and Brighton and Hove City Council (BHCC), with statements such as “there should be more citizenship and social responsibility lessons at the University – operated by the council for unruly students” (*ibid.*).

During 2008, local institutional actors’ recognition and response to the unfolding issues of studentification gathered pace. Chronologically, the development of a policy response at Brighton and Hove City Council began with the commencement of an evidence-gathering exercise by the Strategic Housing Partnership (SHP), under instruction from the Local Strategic Partnership (LSP); the umbrella partnership responsible for guiding the overall strategic vision for the city. An adjustment to the organisational structure of Brighton and Hove City Council in Spring 2008 introduced a cabinet with a number of themed Overview and Scrutiny Committee’s, charged with scrutinising the delivery of services and partnership working in the city. 1st October 2008 witnessed, as outlined in Section 4.3 to follow, the inauguration of a ‘Scrutiny Review’ of the impacts of students on local communities, by Brighton and Hove City Council’s Adult Social Care and Housing Scrutiny Committee. In December 2008, the development of Supplementary Planning Guidance (SPG) in the form of a ‘Student Housing Strategy’ document was commissioned; to enable a tailored strategic response to the findings of the scrutiny review and the SHP’s evidence gathering exercise. These policy developments were reported in *The Argus* (4/10/2008; 10/11/2008; 8/12/2008; 20/2/2009), and debates regarding the impacts of students on the city in the ‘Letters to the Editor’ section of *The Argus* were reinvigorated. The majority of published letters were written by local residents highlighting the challenges they have faced as a result of increasing student populations in their neighbourhoods; accounting for the observed peak in the number of articles and letters referencing the processes and impacts of studentification in 2008-09, discussed in Section 4.2.1. The content of the letters in question tended to provide focused accounts of particular student-related issues such as noise nuisance. The articles published during this period, such as ‘Brighton students are taking over’ (*The Argus*, 21/10/2008), ‘Communities plea for an end to studentification’ (*The Argus*, 29/10/2008) and ‘Householders demand action over students’ (*The Argus*, 27/10/2008) provided more general overviews of the issues, citing the “desperate pleas” of residents living in “student cities” (*ibid.*). In contrast to earlier discourses of debate (unfolding during 2003-2005) which remained relatively low-profile, confined in the main to exchanges of opinion via published letters to the editor of *The Argus*, those

unravelling during the period 2008-09 were spear-headed by articles citing local Students Union and university representatives. These called for “more understanding from residents” (The Argus, 27/4/2009), citing the:

“Many positive benefits (of students) ...from boosting the economy to making it a more vibrant place to live” (*ibid.*), with some emphasis on the establishment of positive “co-operation and mutual working” among local institutional actors and communities, with a shared commitment “to foster more cohesive town and gown relations” (The Argus, 30/10/2008).

These were complimented by a modest number of letters from local residents and landlords bringing balance to the debate with calls for Brighton residents to “consider the important benefits students bring to University cities...and also the country as a whole once they are employed” (The Argus, 11/3/2009). These more positive representations of students were vigorously countered, however, with statements such as “students bring me no joy whatsoever. In fact, all they bring me is a great deal of stress” (The Argus, 22/3/2009), and further reports of the multiple challenges faced by established residents living in studentified areas:

“Several times a week they go out at 11pm in taxis, shouting as they go. They then return around 4am in taxis, again shouting and laughing. Once inside, doors are banging, loud music starts and general crashing about. Often they sit in their conservatory until 6.30am shouting, singing, stamping their feet and playing guitars...Each week we have two bags of refuse for the binmen, the student houses have around 12 each. We pay council tax, but the HMOs don't. This is just not fair. I have to say I am sick, tired, and thoroughly fed up with it. If I wanted to live on a campus I would have bought a house there!” (The Argus, 22/3/2009).

“The next door property was let out to 14 Italian students. They were nice enough lads but so noisy, especially when the football was on the TV....a young chap used to sit out on the top floor, playing bongo drums at 2am. Extra cars, mikes and motorcycles added to the noise. All the lovely little front gardens were made into bin areas” (The Argus, 20/11/2008).

Thus, published content from this period (2008-09) predominantly lent weight to calls from councillors in 2007-08 for action; and the subsequent launch of evidence-gathering and strategy-making activities at Brighton and Hove City Council in 2008. The increasing recognition of the challenges facing local communities within the local media between 2007 and 2009, arguably marks the unfolding of processes of studentification during this period, while empirical data collection for the thesis was underway. These distinctive insights of how, where and why student-related urban change has occurred in Brighton further emphasises the value of Freeman's (2006) approach to observing unfolding processes of urban change, over a period of time, ‘in-situ’.

The following section considers the micro-geographies associated with the debates outlined above; identifying specific neighbourhoods in Brighton within which negative perceptions of students

have dominated local media discourses. This analysis will inform the identification of five case study sites in Section 4.4.2.

4.2.3. The micro-geographies of the emerging negative representations of students.

This section considers the micro-geographic patterns inherent within the increasingly negative representations of students emerging from The Argus post-2003, discussed in Section 4.2.2. The articles and letters discussed above frequently reference particular neighbourhoods within the city, and the specific impacts of student populations therein. The following discussion identifies an initial proliferation, during the period 2003-2005, of articles and letters reporting the effects of student populations on the Hanover community, with some secondary focus on the Triangle area. Further analyses of the content of these articles and letters reveal that while there are clearly hostilities between some local established residents and student populations in these areas, articles and letters recounting these conflicts do not unanimously capture the perceptions of a united established residential community. Rather, a counter-voice emerges in response to these largely negative views, asserting alternative perceptions of students as valued members of a diverse community. It is argued, therefore, that this highlights the complexities of local debates regarding these issues, with some suggestions as to the possible factors influencing these complexities offered in Section 4.2.5.

The second identified peak in the number of student-related articles (during the period 2007-2009) witnessed some intense focus on issues unfolding in the Hartington Road area, tied to the sale of a number of previously head-leased university-managed student properties by the University of Sussex to a private developer, and their subsequent conversion into private rented HMO. It is argued that this recent focus on issues emerging from the Hartington Road community provides a fascinating lens on emergent organised community resistance to studentification, stimulated by a specific set of processes involving the transformation of university head-leased property to private rented HMO, and the growing tensions this has caused among the established residential community. These issues are explored in more detail in Section 4.3, where evidence submitted to Brighton and Hove City Council's Scrutiny Review Panel by local residents is analysed, revealing the magnitude of concern among the established residential community in Hartington Road.

As outlined above, Hanover and Hartington Road form the primary foci for local media coverage of the issues around studentification during the periods 2003-2005 and 2007-2009, respectively. There was limited evidence of specific references to the processes and impacts of studentification on the Bevendean, Coombe Road or Hollingdean case study sites. The dominant focus on Hanover suggests that residents here have particularly extreme or persistently negative experiences of student populations, as suggested by the following excerpt from a Hanover residents' letter to the editor of the Argus:

“Can someone tell me why students thought it was okay to play their drums during the day in a non-sound-proofed terraced house? Surely the place for playing drums is in a sound-proofed room somewhere?” (The Argus, 17/8/2005).

However, this perception of the student population in Hanover is countered by a collective voice, illustrated by the following quote, also from a Hanover resident who argues that Hanover benefits from the diverse mix of its resident population, including those living in rented accommodation in the area:

“I am fed up of having to counter the myth that Hanover is a middle-class, muesli-eating area. It is richly varied. Commuters live cheek-by-jowl with born and bred Brightonians, students with teachers and artists with accountants. There is much rented accommodation among the bijou homes on the hill and council housing mingles with new loft developments. We have friendly shops and businesses, fantastic local pubs and a busy community centre. We also have our own local festival, Hanover Day, which was a great success again this year” (The Argus, 28/8/2003).

Similarly, a landlord letting two properties to students in Hanover responds to such expressions of negative sentiment regarding students resident in the area both by directly contradicting these representations, and by giving voice to local landlords:

“As ‘absentee landlords’ of two of the student houses in Hanover, Brighton, we feel we should defend ourselves...the vast profits which we are supposed to be making barely cover the cost of keeping our own daughter at university. We have done up our houses to a high standard in the hope that the students will appreciate and look after them. So far so good – last year we found one of our students polishing the brass on the front door and both gardens are immaculate. There isn’t a rat in sight and certainly no vandalism...they [students] are part of families themselves and are the same as our children who are studying in other cities in other peoples neighbourhoods...I’m sure we would all be delighted for our children to live in such a nice, safe and friendly area rather than the slummy and dangerous areas which are often all that is available in other cities” (The Argus, 15/8/2005).

Some divided opinion is apparent among local perceptions of students in Hanover, therefore, indicating that established local residents’ experiences of student populations are complex and diverse. This complexity may, at least in part, result from the specific micro-scale influences on the residential streets in close proximity of the University of Brighton Phoenix Halls of Residence; a purpose-built Halls of Residence accommodating over 300 first year students during term-time and offering short-term lets during the summer vacation period. An article published by The Argus (21/9/2007) asserts clear representations of the suffering of established local residents, resulting from persistent and extreme noise nuisance and intimidation from the resident population of the Phoenix Halls of Residence. The specific challenges presented by the location of the Phoenix development were reported to be “making their (local residents) lives a misery” (*ibid.*), with one resident stating:

“We just don’t get a break, it’s a year round problem. The noise can be quite ferocious” (The Argus, 21/9/2007).

This comment refers to the persistent year-round challenges associated with the annual churn of HE students during the academic year, followed by large cohorts of 'language students' arriving for the summer months. The perceived ineffectual management of these populations by the University of Brighton, it was reported, had resulted in local residents forming a campaign group "to do more to stop the noisy antics of students at the Phoenix Halls of Residence" (The Argus, 21/9/2007). This further highlights the diverse representations of students in Hanover, and importantly, how these representations and the experiences they are based on depend upon the micro-scale processes and impacts of studentification occurring within the community.

As noted above, the Triangle area also featured specifically in The Argus' coverage of the issues surrounding studentification in Brighton during the period 2003-2005, albeit to a more limited degree. An article entitled "University of Strife" (The Argus, 11/8/2005) provides an account of the impacts of unfolding processes of studentification on the urban landscape and the fabric of the Triangle community. The article states that "The Level and Upper Lewes Road are being run down by the large numbers of undergraduates" (*ibid.*), highlighting the purchase and conversion of owner-occupied family properties to student HMO by landlords, who are declared to be "taking a great deal from the community and not putting much back" (*ibid.*). A suite of impacts associated with the in-migration of students to the area are outlined based on information gathered from local residents. Among the impacts listed were over-spilling domestic refuse, noise nuisance and "rubbish in the yard" (*ibid.*). Akin to the conflicting views emerging in relation to similar issues in Hanover, discussed above, this article inspired a response via the 'Letters to the Editor' section of The Argus (16/8/2005), from a local resident who expressed concern that many of the disparaging statements made regarding the impacts of local landlords were in fact "designed to incriminate students, not landlords" (*ibid.*), accompanied by the accusation that "this is dangerous and irresponsible journalism, as the front-page weighting of this story could well be said to augment this 'problem' and stir up rancour against the student population" (*ibid.*). No further debate ensued following this exchange, marking a less extended period of discussion regarding the issues emerging from the Triangle, compared to that emerging with regard to Hanover.

The academic year 2008-09 witnessed some considerable media focus, as indicated earlier in the section, on emerging community resistance to expanding student populations in Hartington Road. The issue of "over-building" dominated many letters to the editor regarding the impacts of student populations on this neighbourhood, marking some divergence from the typical issues noted in Hanover and the Triangle area; such as noise nuisance and refuse disposal. Among these letters were reports of residents feeling "hemmed in by student houses, as landlords extend properties outwards and upwards, building conservatories on the back and dormers in the roof" (The Argus, 29/10/2008). The repercussions such development had had for residents' sense of privacy in their homes and gardens was also emphasised, with a letter from a resident stating:

“We’re blocked in, because landlords are putting conservatories in the gardens, to be used as living rooms and students are sitting on the flat roofs in the summer. They can see right into our garden. We’ve lost all our privacy” (The Argus, 29/10/2008).

Letters to the editor from local residents constructed representations of studentification as a relatively well-established phenomenon in Hartington Road, with statements such as:

“At long last the problems affecting the Hanover and Elm Grove area of Brighton, due to the large number of houses which have been purchased for the sole purpose of accommodating university students are receiving publicity” (The Argus, 12/11/2008).

The letter continues to describe the history of change to Hartington Road, stating that “the overpopulation (by students) of this area has been increasing for more than 20 years” (The Argus, 29/10/2008). A similarly lengthy temporal perspective on the unfolding processes of studentification in Hartington Road was asserted by a letter to the editor citing a retired couple, stating that they had been resident in the Hartington Road area:

“For the past 40 years...during which time...they have seen the street change drastically, as more families desert the area and landlords turn the properties into...HMOs” (The Argus, 29/10/2008).

These accounts suggest that processes of studentification have been unfolding in Hartington Road for a relatively extended period of time, thus raising questions as to why the profile of these issues rapidly escalated within the local media during 2008-09. As is described in more detail in Section 4.3, the rapid onset of organised community resistance to studentification was observed in Hartington Road in the latter stages of 2008, the climax of which involved the constitution of a new residents group named the ‘Elm Grove Area Residents Action Group’ (EGRAG) on 15th October 2008 at a public meeting that attracted individuals from eighty local households. The primary objective of this community group was to “campaign against the studentification of our neighbourhood” (EGRAG, 2008). Seemingly, the catalyst for this ground-swell of resistance was the sale of a number of local properties previously head-leased to students by the University of Sussex to a private developer, and their subsequent conversion into private rented HMO.

The inauguration of EGRAG inspired an article entitled ‘Households demand action over students’ (The Argus, 27/10/2008), and was referenced by numerous letters from local residents, councillors and MP’s, all citing its significance in terms of mandating Brighton and Hove City Council to respond to the issues raised by the group. Thus, the constitution of EGRAG had a significant impact on the proliferation of student-related media coverage during 2008-09; effectively raising the local profile of studentification occurring in Hartington Road. More crucially, in terms of informing conceptualisations of studentification at the micro-geographic scale, this catalogue of events identifies the potential magnitude of relatively specific micro-scale processes of change (in this case to the ownership and management of a small number of local student HMO) in terms of impacting upon the perceptions of studentification among local established communities, and how these are represented by the local media.

Based on the search terms identified in Section 4.2.1, and a further search carried out on the articles / letters returned for the terms 'Bevendean', 'Moulsecoomb', 'Coombe Road', and 'Hollingdean' no content specifically referring to the impacts of students on these neighbourhoods was identified. Interestingly, however, an article published in November 2006, reporting on a national survey of student opinion, highlighted Brighton as the destination most favoured by undergraduate students, with Bevendean being voted the "best area for students to live in" (The Argus, 5/11/2006):

"Within Brighton itself, Bevendean had the best reviews with a score of 64 per cent, ahead of the Lewes Road area with 62 per cent. Hanover and Hove scored 58 per cent, while Moulsecoomb and Falmer received 56 per cent scores" (The Argus, 5/11/2006).

This quote further emphasises the diversity of local media representations of studentification, with the absence of content relating to the negative aspects of student related urban change in Bevendean, Coombe Road and Hollingdean illustrating the micro-geographic unevenness of local media representations of studentification in the city. These complexities are considered in more detail in the summary of this section (Section 4.2.5), following discussion in the following section of the student media's position on the local debates played out in The Argus.

4.2.4. "Integration, integration, integration": local debates of the benefits and challenges associated with expanding student populations infiltrate the student media

Debates of the positive and negative aspects of increasing student populations in Hanover and The Triangle unfolded via the 'letters to the editor' section of the Argus between August and October 2005, as discussed in Sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 (see above). These debates infiltrated the University of Sussex student magazine, the Badger, in October 2005 with a front-page article entitled "Ghetto Fabulous?" (The Badger, 21/10/2005). The article outlines local residents' views, as expressed via the Argus, concluding that the blame for the challenges associated with the processes of studentification should not be solely apportioned on students in Brighton, citing the importance of paying due credence to the roles played by other social groups, landlords and developers in the city. The article states that "other young people moving into the area could just as easily cause many of the problems that are said to be caused by, and blamed on, students" (The Badger, 21/10/2005), and suggests that student residents lack the relevant information enabling them to embody more considerate and neighbourly practices:

"It is perhaps due to a lack of information that many students end up leaving rubbish out whenever the bin is full rather than on the correct day...though the USSU and UBSU have produced a leaflet called 'Moving In' on the subject of being a good neighbour, it is difficult to get hold of and currently students have to seek it out, rather than having it handed to them as they move away from campus accommodation" (The Badger, 21/10/2005).

An article entitled 'Integration, integration, integration' (The Badger, 16/10/2006), referencing previous research in Brighton (Smith and Holt, 2004), suggested that the city suffered to a more

limited degree with the negative impacts of studentification, compared to some other University towns and cities. This message, however, was couched within the context of local concern expressed more recently regarding the proliferation of student HMO resulting from conversion of previously owner-occupied family properties by landlords in the city. The over-arching message from the article was the necessity for all residents of Brighton to integrate and interact with one-another:

“The Badger... would like to offer this warm friendly advice to all residents of Brighton and Hove, students, yuppies and ‘normals’ alike: interact. Speak with your neighbours, be more considerate about their lifestyles and don’t assume that un-ironed t-shirts are a sign of social ineptitude” (The Badger, 16/10/2006).

These articles mark acknowledgement by the local student media of the gathering momentum of discourses of debate regarding the local impacts of student populations. Although placing some emphasis on the roles played by other social groups and institutional actors in the city, the tone and content of these articles is largely accepting of the challenges, and the necessity to for all parties to engage in mediating the negative aspects of expanding student populations in the city. These are perhaps unexpectedly balanced representations of the issues, given that their origins are located deep within the student community at the University of Sussex Students Union, challenging the perception that students as a social group are ignorant of the impacts they have on their surrounding established residential communities.

4.2.5. Summary of local media content analyses

This section synthesises quantitative (Section 4.2.1), chronological (Section 4.2.2), and micro-geographic (Section 4.2.3) analyses of The Argus newspaper, with a qualitative analysis of issues of The Badger student newspaper. Also drawing on analysis presented later in the chapter of the socio-demographic characteristics of some neighbourhoods in Brighton, some conclusions are drawn regarding the themes and trends identified in sections 4.2.1 - 4.2.4.

Section 4.2.2 noted the increasingly negative tone and content of articles and letters relating to HE students in Brighton over the period 2001-2009, with representations of students shifting from that of the struggling, financially burdened young adult to that of the thoughtless disrespectful neighbour. This general shift in the dominant representation of students was shown to have been punctuated by a series of opposing perceptions highlighting some of the more positive aspects of student populations; such as nurturing the cultural and ethnic diversity of local communities; and maintaining the buoyancy of local buy-to-let property markets. It is concluded, therefore, that local media representations of students, despite becoming increasingly negative over time, are inherently diverse.

The general shift in local media representations of students towards those focusing on their negative impacts could be couched within the context of greater expressions of concern and awareness (both locally and nationally), of issues of youth, respect and anti-social behaviour;

bound up in the politicisation of ‘community’ (see Chapter 2, Sections 2.6 to 2.8). Table 3 demonstrates the increasing number of articles published in The Argus between 2001-2009 referring to teenage anti-social behaviour; rising from 2 to 47 per year during this period. A letter the editor of The Argus entitled “Brighton could well be the UK’s Faliraki” (The Argus, 5/5/2003) further demonstrates the nature of these concerns locally, the author stating that:

“The city centre and seafront have become a no-go area for anyone who does not fit into the club, youth and drug culture...the quality of my life is being negated due to the increased anti-social behaviour which has become the norm in Brighton today” (The Argus, 5/5/2003).

This reflects a wider proliferation of concern regarding anti-social behaviour and youth culture that was identified within the national media during this period (The Guardian, 2/11/2006; The Guardian, 12/10/2004); and within national political discourses of sustainable and cohesive communities; evidenced by the implementation of the ‘Respect Agenda’ (see Chapter 2, Sections 2.6 and 2.8 for a fuller discussion). It is noted, however, that the *specific* impacts of concentrating student residence (for example: over-spilling litter; noise from student households; discarded furniture and white goods dumped in front yards) form the core themes of the media content discussed in previous sections, as opposed to broader concerns regarding anti-social behaviour and youth-culture. This suggests that specific processes of student-related urban change and their impacts on local communities are recognised as such by residents in the city, and the local media.

Table 3: Table showing the number of youth / anti-social behaviour-related articles published in The Argus by year, 2001-2009.

Year	Number of articles referring to teenage / youth anti-social behaviour
2001-02	2
2002-03	9
2003-04	8
2004-05	11
2005-06	13
2006-07	20
2007-08	53
2008-09	47
Mean	20

Section 4.2.3 revealed the concentrated focus of local media coverage on student-related issues emerging and embedding in Hanover, Hartington Road and Triangle. No recognition of similar issues unfolding in Bevendean, Coombe Road or Hollingdean was identified. It is suggested that the factors influencing such uneven micro-geographic coverage of these issues, and the dominant focus of The Argus’ coverage on those emerging in particular enclaves are complex, and do not necessarily indicate more extreme or persistently negative experiences of students in Hanover, Hartington Road or the Triangle. Instead, it is proposed that the focus on these enclaves reflects

the complex intricacies of the processes and impacts of studentification, and illuminates the significance of local micro-scale contingencies upon these. This contention, which is further discussed in the paragraphs below, clearly justifies the aim of the thesis to explore the micro-geographic complexities of studentification, and further emphasises the absence of such analyses in pre-existing scholarship on studentification.

It is first suggested that the focus on Hanover, in part, reflects the temporal irregularities of the unfolding processes of studentification at the micro-geographic scale in Brighton, with processes in this neighbourhood appearing to have unfolded earlier, thus becoming more engrained. As a result of this, local residents in this neighbourhood have more established, long-standing experiences of the impacts of students, thus enabling more well-formed debate regarding these issues to ensue. It is also suggested that the relative vociferousness of the established residential community in Hanover (in terms of their inclination to engage in debate via the local media) may be tied to the relatively high proportion of residents in professional occupations and the high standard of educational attainment among the established residential population, as is noted in Section 4.5.4. This argument can also be applied to Hartington Road and Triangle, the population of which shares similar educational attainment and occupation group characteristics to that of Hanover. Thus, local contingencies, most notably here the temporal context of unfolding processes of studentification, and the socio-demographic characteristics of the established residential community, are identified as potential factors in determining the nature of local media representations of students, and the frequency with which they are referenced to particular enclaves in the city.

An additional dimension to these arguments is borne out of observations of the intense local media focus on emerging issues in Hartington Road. Importantly, media representations of studentification in this neighbourhood indicated that student populations had been increasing for an extended period of time, negating the probability of a recent peak in-migration of students to the area causing the intensity of interest observed. Rather, this interest appeared to be largely tied to the rapid co-ordination of organised community resistance to studentification in Hartington Road, described in more detail in Section 4.3, resulting from the conversion of a number of head-leased university-managed student HMO to private rented HMO, let to student tenants by an independent developer. Causation of local community resistance on such a scale, the emergence of such strong collective feeling among local established residents, and the permeation of these concerns within local media discourses arguably exposes the volatility of the processes of studentification, and the fragile dynamics of the residential communities within which they unfold.

4.3. Analyses of local policy developments and local residents' perceptions

It has been acknowledged that a paucity of urban policy at the national level in relation to the planning, production and regulation of student accommodation has been pivotal to the unchecked proliferation of student HMO and PBSA in urban residential communities; and the subsequent

emergent tensions between student populations, local established communities and institutional actors (Smith, 2008; Hubbard, 2009). This section, formed of two parts, examines local strategy and policy developments in relation to the supply and demand for student accommodation in Brighton between 2006 and 2009 (Section 4.3.1). The second section (4.3.2) presents an analysis of local residents' perceptions of the effects of students on their local communities, drawing on a body of evidence gathered by an investigative panel at Brighton and Hove City Council, constituted in October 2008 to explore the impacts of students on local communities.

4.3.1. Examining unfolding local policy developments 2006-2009

In order to contextualise local policy and strategy developments in relation to student accommodation in Brighton, the interrelationships between wider political structures and strategies at the city, regional and national scales will first be considered. In 2004, central government introduced the concept of 'spatial planning'. This replaced its predecessor, the 'Local Plan', which was largely concerned with "what land uses are most appropriate in which locations and what can be built and where" (Brighton and Hove Local Development Framework, 2005). Spatial planning introduced a more integrated approach, that considers how land-use intersects with "the overall quality of life in Brighton and Hove, including health, education, community safety and transport issues" (*ibid.*). The implementation of 'spatial planning' was hierarchically structured on two tiers: with a regional 'South East Plan' to steer development in the region as a whole until 2026; and a Local Development Framework (LDF) guiding development at the city level, to be delivered by Brighton and Hove City Council. The LDF is described as a "series of documents which, taken together, set out how the city will grow and change, how this change will be achieved and managed and when changes will happen" (Brighton and Hove LDF, 2005). The principal document setting out the overall spatial vision for the city is known as the 'Core Strategy'. According to the Brighton and Hove LDF (2005):

"At the heart of the Core Strategy, running through all its themes, will be the principals of sustainable development. The Government expects that the Core Strategy will...translate the Governments national planning policy into the local context, *particularly Planning Policy Statement 1: Delivering Sustainable Communities*" (Brighton and Hove LDF, 2005, *emphasis added*).

The primary objective of the LDF is clear therefore: to deliver sustainable development, in close alignment with the national sustainable communities agenda. Indeed, the interconnectedness of the LDF and the second of three primary strategies governing change in Brighton; the 'Sustainable Communities Strategy' (setting out "how we intend to improve our quality of life in Brighton & Hove in a sustainable way" (Brighton and Hove LDF, 2005)) is illustrated in Figure 6 below, which summarises the linkages between the national, regional and city-level planning structures described above.

Figure 6: Flow diagram showing UK ‘spatial planning’ policy hierarchy



The Brighton and Hove LDF began public consultation on the content and direction of the city’s ‘Core Strategy’, using a list of twenty seven “key drivers of change” in Brighton identified as discussion points to be considered during consultation meetings, including the following:

“Further expansion of the Universities – enhancing the local knowledge base but implications (*sic*) for housing, employment and transport” (Brighton and Hove LDF, 2005).

This clearly acknowledged the expansion of student populations in the city, and the concomitant impacts this would have on housing, labour markets and transport, as one of a number of key influences on urban change to be considered within the LDF. Analysis of the Brighton and Hove City Housing Strategy 2004-2009 (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2004), however, revealed a total absence of any reference to student housing, acknowledgement of the influence of student populations on the extant tenure profile of the city, or the increasing pressures placed on the balance of housing provision by the expansion of the two universities. Clearly, the chronological development of the LDF (2005) before the Housing Strategy (2004-2009) does not imply that the latter document should reflect the former. However, given the extent of the expansion of student

populations in the city by this point (discussed in Chapter 1), and their recognised influence on the private rented sector (Rugg *et al.*, 2002), it is perhaps surprising that no mention was made of student housing in the pre-existing Housing Strategy (2004-2009) document. Indeed, this exposes a major incongruence between concerns of building and maintaining sustainable populations, housing and communities espoused within national, regional and local planning policy; and the strategic vision for housing in Brighton. These findings are substantiated further in Chapter 5, Section 5.6, where interviews with strategy-makers at Brighton and Hove City Council expose limited knowledge of the processes and impacts of studentification in the city.

The year 2004 also witnessed the commissioning of a regeneration strategy for the London Road and Lewes Road area of Brighton, referred to in the strategy as the ‘LR2 area’, by Brighton and Hove City Council. A consultancy company ‘Urban Initiatives’ were tasked with developing the document. After a series of workshops and consultation activities with key stakeholders in the area, the completed ‘LR2 Regeneration Strategy’ was presented to Brighton and Hove City Council and endorsed as a background document to inform the emerging LDF by the Policy Resources Committee on 26th July 2007 (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2009a). Importantly, this document set out the overall vision for the area as:

“To provide strong and attractive gateways to the city, and create distinctive, integrated quarters which strengthens and enhances the overall character and diversity of the city” (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2009a).

Within this broad vision, three distinct quarters are delineated “each with their own individual visions” (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2009a). One of these is Lewes Road, termed within the strategy the ‘academic corridor’; the core identity of this quarter drawing principally from the university campuses situated within it, as illustrated by the following quote:

“Lewes Road – ‘a neighbourhood of knowledge and enterprise within the academic corridor, focused around the university’” (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2009a).

The key proposals underpinning this vision include:

- “Developing the knowledge economy by encouraging entrepreneurship of graduates through business start-up support
- Creating a vibrant, balanced residential neighbourhood in this accessible location to bring life to the streets and assist viability of local shops and services
- Relocating Moulsecoomb [train] Station to the Southern end of the Moulsecoomb Campus of the University of Brighton to improve its accessibility and place it at the heart of a growth hub” (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2009e).

These proposals clearly situate the universities, students and post-students at the heart of the regeneration identity of Lewes Road, citing positive urban rejuvenation such as increased vibrancy, “bringing life to the streets” (*ibid.*), a healthy knowledge-economy and post-student entrepreneurship as key strategic goals; all of which have been recognised as intimately tied to the presence of a significant student population (UUK, 2006). Paradoxically, the creation of a “*balanced residential neighbourhood*” (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2009a, emphasis added)

is also emphasised as a key strategic aim. There was no evident recognition, however, of how this goal would be practically achieved alongside the fostering of a strong student community and university identity within the area.

The launch of the government's 'Respect Agenda' on 10th January 2006 saw the introduction of new community engagement structures, the primary objective of which was to enable more efficient reporting of issues around anti-social behaviour from members of the community to the relevant institutional actors. The model facilitating this engagement involved, from the bottom up, the constitution of Local Action Teams (LAT's) in residential communities experiencing problems with anti-social behaviour, resourced and supported by local Police Services. LAT's in Brighton bring local residents with concerns regarding anti-social behaviour together for regular meetings with representatives from relevant departments at Brighton and Hove City Council (for example the Anti-social Behaviour Team and Environmental Health), Police Community Support Officers and the Universities; providing a forum for residents' to report issues directly to the appropriate personnel (Brighton and Hove Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership, 2009).

Reports of the issues raised at LAT meetings are submitted to a 'Joint Action Group' (JAG), of which three have been inaugurated in Brighton; covering the East, Centre and West of the city. Multi-agency JAG meetings are attended by representatives in strategic roles at Brighton and Hove City Council (including members of the LSP), Sussex Police and the Universities; the primary aim being to foster more effective collaborative working to address issues of anti-social behaviour on a strategic level, including those arising from local student households.

This mechanism for encouraging 'joined-up working' among institutional actors served to raise awareness of the processes of studentification unfolding in local communities via the presentation of preliminary findings from focus groups and interviews with local residents (undertaken for the thesis) at a JAG meeting. This prompted further dialogue with the LSP; which in turn resulted in the implementation of an ad hoc evidence-gathering exercise (by the SHP) exploring the impacts of students on local communities, the results of which were reported in *The Argus* (29/10/2008) newspaper: "Students bring homes problem, says council".

Growing awareness among institutional actors post-2006, as described above, culminated in a bilateral response from Brighton and Hove City Council. An investigative panel was instigated by the members of the Adult Social Care and Housing Overview and Scrutiny Committee in October 2008, to explore the impacts of students on established residential communities in Brighton. The purpose of this investigation was tied to initial evidence-gathering activities by the SHP, described above, undertaken to inform the draft of a new housing strategy document. It was the view of the Overview and Scrutiny Committee, that a more comprehensive analysis of the impacts of students on the city would be beneficial, as indicated by the following quote from the Committee's summary report:

“The initiative for the work came following the Committee's consideration of Brighton and Hove City Council's draft Housing Strategy. The draft strategy had been formulated with extensive reference to issues relating to student housing, but following discussions with the Directorate, the Adult Social Care and Housing Overview and Scrutiny Committee members felt that there was an opportunity for a more focused piece of work on the issues relating to the effect of students living in Brighton and Hove” (Adult Social Care and Housing Overview and Scrutiny Committee, 2009c).

Second, a Supplementary Planning Document (SPD) entitled ‘Brighton and Hove Student Housing Strategy 2009-2013’ was commissioned by the SHP to specifically address the planning and management of student accommodation. The former involved the commencement of an evidence gathering exercise by the Overview and Scrutiny Investigative Panel; inviting established residents and ‘expert witnesses’ to submit evidence of the student-related issues faced by residential communities in the city. The next section presents an analysis of one section of this body of evidence, consisting of open letters from local residents submitted to the investigative panel, and later published in their summary report (Adult Social Care and Housing Overview and Scrutiny Committee, 2009c). The latter of the two responses involved the development of specific local policy, in line with the draft Core Strategy of the LDF, to plan and manage the production of student accommodation in the city, as indicated by the following quote from the draft Student Housing Strategy document:

“This document sets out a strategic approach for the supply and management of student housing in the city, to ensure that students are integrated into established residential communities in ways that do not unbalance local population structures and housing markets. In doing so, the strategy seeks to harness the many benefits of a large student population for the long-term health and well-being of the city, and engender mixed, cohesive and sustainable communities” (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2009b).

This marks a step-change in awareness and response to the specific challenges presented by student populations at Brighton and Hove City Council. Importantly, the Draft Brighton and Hove Student Housing Strategy 2009-2013 gives credence to the sub-city level specificities of the processes and impacts of studentification as they unfold in different micro-scale urban contexts, as are highlighted in Section 4.3.2. In light of these, the strategy notes the requirement for a flexible area-based strategic approach, as illustrated by the following quote:

“Drawing upon evidence-based research, the strategy emphasises the need for an area-based perspective of student housing to acknowledge the different contexts of local neighbourhoods across the city” (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2009b).

Concurrently with the development of student housing policy at Brighton and Hove City Council, and marking similarly explicit acknowledgement of the issues, the University of Brighton committed to invest in developing PBSA to ease pressure on local rental markets. A Student Housing Needs Assessment was subsequently commissioned to inform decision-making regarding the optimum location and type of PBSA required, and to evidence subsequent planning applications

for its development. The commitment to increase the provision of university-managed accommodation and the potential scale of future developments is suggested by the following quote from the Student Housing Strategy:

“As a starting point, the University of Brighton has recently appointed architects to redevelop the Varley campus in Coldean. There may be other possible options across the city to increase the supply of student accommodation, including large, derelict sites. Overall, it is highly plausible to estimate that in excess of 5,000 additional bed-spaces in university halls of residence will be developed in the city over the next decade, subject to factors such as planning permission and financial arrangements” (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2009b).

These mark particularly pertinent developments given the large proportion of University of Brighton students living in private rented HMO (9,726 University of Brighton students living in private rented HMO or their own property in 2006-07, Adult Social Care and Housing Overview and Scrutiny Committee, 2009c).

Parallels can be drawn between the increased awareness and pro-activity among local institutional actors cited above, and the inauguration of a number of local ‘resident action teams’ and ‘pressure groups’; formed specifically in response to issues regarding student populations in their respective communities. These groups include the ‘Hanover Pressure Group’, cited in reports in *The Argus* (21/8/2007) of increasing noise nuisance disturbances from the Phoenix Halls of Residence; EGRAG, the primary objective of which is to “campaign against the studentification of our neighbourhood including lobbying and working with councillors, MP’s, the Universities and other stakeholders as necessary” (EGRAG, 2008); and the Hanover and Elm Grove LAT, formed in 2009 as a forum for co-ordinating action to tackle the challenges of studentification across the Hanover and Elm Grove ward. These examples of organised community resistance with explicit aims to mitigate student-related urban challenges suggest the interconnectedness of intensifying awareness and resistance to studentification among residential communities, and strategy and policy development by local institutional actors.

In summary, this section has contextualised the unfolding processes of studentification in Brighton between 2006 and 2009, by describing the unfolding responses to this urban change among institutional actors, and in the form of co-ordinated community resistance from groups of established residents. Both community action and evidence gathering / policy development by institutional actors on student housing issues is reported to have increased post-2006, in line with increasing local media coverage of the issues from this period onwards, outlined in Section 4.2. This arguably suggests the increasing intensity of the impacts of studentification as the processes have unfolded and embedded in a selection of enclaves in the city.

4.3.2. Local residents' perceptions: analysis of evidence submitted to an investigative panel

The analysis presented in this section draws on letters and statements from local residents submitted as evidence to the Scrutiny Review Investigative Panel at Brighton and Hove City Council, as described above in Section 4.3.1, during October to December 2008. It provides some preliminary indication of the specific impacts of students at the micro-geographic scale in Brighton, and illuminates issues emerging towards the end of the empirical research process, during which time community resistance in Hartington Road was gathering pace. As such, this analysis indicates the depth of feeling among established residential populations in Hartington Road, and further demonstrates suggestions made earlier in the chapter of the fragility of studentified communities. It is argued in light of these findings that the vulnerability of studentified communities increases the propensity for relatively small-scale community-specific processes of change to generate disharmony, resulting in unrest and resistance to in-coming student populations. Furthermore, this analysis further validates the selection of the case study sites for the thesis (described in Section 4.4.2), with limited evidence of studentification emerging from communities outside those identified for empirical research.

Evidence from local residents will now be summarised for each case study site, beginning with Bevendean (see Section 4.4.2 for a detailed rationale for selection of case study sites, and sections 4.5.1 to 4.5.5 for a summary of the local characteristics of each site). The following quote from a Bevendean resident indicates the magnitude of change that has occurred in Bevendean as a result of the in-migration of student populations, suggesting that student related urban change has impacted upon noise levels and the upkeep of the urban landscape:

“The student population in my area has caused massive changes to a once quiet, tidy and clean residential estate” (Bevendean resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

Evidence was also identified of relatively extreme experiences of local student populations in Bevendean, when compared to the other case study sites, one example of which is described below. The extent of the residents' intimidation by his / her student neighbours is belied by their reluctance to divulge any information that could result in their identification:

“I live next door to five student house (*sic*). The last two lots have been fine but the previous lot were very violent men. They were in their twenties so not young lads and they made my partner and I ill over the year they rented the house. Previous to that we had very noisy students, who dealt drugs we believe. With this in mind I am withholding my name and address as I do not want retribution from anything I have said in the statement” (Bevendean resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

The othering of student populations by the established residential community in Bevendean emerged as a common theme inherent within a number of letters from residents of this

neighbourhood. This theme is illustrated by the following two quotes, the first of which suggests that students are not welcomed locally, the second more pointedly positing established residents as ‘real’ neighbours, thus asserting an implied representation of students as ‘other’:

“I feel that the student population has reached saturation point in my area. They are not part of the community and on the whole are not liked. The value of our houses has gone down. Who after all wants to move into a bunch of noisy people who might get abusive” (Bevendean resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

“Me and my fellow neighbours in Bevendean are fed up with the problems that they bring, like always playing loud music, having parties, being loud into the early hours of the morning, their cars blocking up the street and taking away the REAL neighbours parking places” (Bevendean resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

These excerpts suggest the existence of some level of conflict between students and the established residential community in Bevendean. This theme was also evident to some extent among residents’ perceptions of students in Coombe Road, although this rejection of students as ‘other’ was couched within more considered accounts of conflicting lifestyles and differing perceptions of ‘home’. The quote below exemplifies this, with the resident author of the letter suggesting that student’s accommodation requirements are basic compared to those of “townspeople”, largely as a result of the transience of student populations:

“Students are a continually changing population, so in streets with many houses rent to them (*sic*), the character of the area has become less friendly as there are fewer neighbours to get to know and build a community spirit...Houses rent (*sic*) to students will never become homes to them. From personal experience, I know that all a student requires is a room in which to sleep and study, not a house and gardens to maintain. Students have different lifestyles to townspeople” (Coombe Road resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

In addition to issues commonly cited across multiple case study sites, such as noise nuisance and the physical degradation of the urban landscape, letters from residents of Coombe Road highlighted a number of specific student-related challenges within their neighbourhood, including decreasing class-sizes at the local primary school, increasing rates of domestic burglary due to targeting of student households, and ‘street blight’ due to the proliferation of ‘to let’ signs in the area. Some evidence of more balanced opinion among residents was also identified, however, as illustrated by the following quote highlighting one resident’s view of the positive impacts of students on the Coombe Road neighbourhood:

“On the positive side, the area has become much younger and more diverse, which makes it a more vibrant area to live in than it was 10 years ago. There are also several small local shops that would not, I believe, survive without the large numbers of sharers” (Coombe Road resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

It was noted earlier in the section that the dominant proportion of letters were submitted by residents living in the Hartington Road area; and some parallels can be drawn here with the

proliferation of local media content reporting on the studentification of this area in 2008 (see Section 4.2.3), hinging on the bulk sale of a number of head-leased student HMO on Brading Road to a private developer. It was noted in earlier discussions, based on analyses of resident's letters to the editor of The Argus newspaper, that the in-migration of students to the Hartington Road area had been recognised by residents for many years. This is reiterated by the following quote:

“I have lived in Hartington Road for 17 years now and watched the area change from a lovely mixed residential area, with lots of families and people of all ages to one which is dominated by a people (*sic*) within a narrow age range who are transient and have little or no commitment to the community” (Hartington Road resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

However, a notable shift in the nature of the unfolding processes of studentification in more recent years was cited. This was reported to involve developers relying increasingly upon extending local properties by way of additional rooms, conservatories and dormers, in order to optimise their rental income by maximising the number of student tenants per property. This recently emerging issue is described by the following quotes:

“This area has been a tolerant, diverse place, but the community is disintegrating. So many of my neighbours, especially those with young children, have moved away from this area in the last 5 years because of the growing problem of noise” (Hartington Road resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

“In the last couple of years an increasing number of developers have out-bid family or first-time buyers and consequently these properties have been over-developed and are now student accommodation” (Hartington Road resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

As noted earlier, the ‘bulk sale’ of a number of properties from the University of Sussex’ head-leased portfolio to a private developer, and their subsequent conversion to private rented HMO had augmented local residents’ concerns, as illustrated by the two quotes below. Growing concern regarding the in-movement of developers and production of HMO in the area mushroomed in response to this sequence of events, resulting in the formation of a new residents’ action group specifically mandated to lobby local institutional actors for change. The levels of concern demonstrated by such co-ordinated community resistance suggests that the *management* of student HMO is perceived to be a key factor influencing its impacts on neighbouring residential households; university-managed HMO clearly perceived as preferable over private rented HMO in this community.

“Personally speaking we do not have an anti-student mentality. We have lived next door to a property that until last year was owned by the University of Sussex and enjoyed for 6 years a very positive relationship with the ever-changing 4 students. Last year however the property was sold in a batch (it was not possible for a family or an individual to purchase a single property) to a private developer who has turned a three bedroom house into a HMO for 6 tenants” (Hartington Road resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

“Houses in the...area were purposely built for a family of 4. Overdeveloping these properties to house 6+ students, their cars, their noise, their rubbish and their friends has obvious consequences for the rest of the non-student community. Now that the area is being flooded with these properties the result is that families are choosing to move away” (Hartington Road resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

These quotes summarise a specific set of processes unfolding in a unique urban context, as such emphasising the conceptual significance of the micro-geographies of studentification. Letters submitted by residents of Hanover reiterate this point, the majority of which cited the unique challenges associated with living in close proximity to the University of Brighton Phoenix Halls of Residence, illustrated by the following quotes:

“Over the past 11 years we have had to endure countless sleepless nights due to the noise levels emanating from the halls of residence to such an extent that residents have had to move into private sector rented accommodation because this impacted on their working lives” (Hanover resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

“I have seen how the Phoenix Halls, which accommodates 300-plus students (potentially up to 600 at weekends), has transformed the area from one which had a balanced mix of older and younger residents into one which has been gradually saturated by students” (Hanover resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

In distinct contrast to these perceptions, a series of positive views of the impacts of students on Hanover were also articulated, infused with discourses of tolerance. These alternative representations of students mark a division of opinion among the letters submitted by residents of Hanover, suggesting that the impact of the halls of residence on this community has been profound, as such cultivating perceptions among residents in close proximity to the development that conflict to some extent with those expressed by the wider community:

“I don’t really feel that the students around me actually intrude on my life in a negative way, any more than other neighbours (which, pubs aside, isn’t a lot, for the record). Most students are young people living away from their homes for the first time. They need a little looking out for. If they leave their rubbish out early / have wild parties, often all they need is to have the impact of their behaviour on their neighbours pointed out to them, as we would to our own young people. They are here learning all sorts of things, including how to be part of society” (Hanover resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

“Generally I think that Hanover has a good solid long term residential core that can absorb the students. I have no sense of being ‘invaded’. I like the younger demographic of the area. I like the diversity it brings. I like to go past windows and hear guitars being played, people laughing” (Hanover resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

Such positive perceptions of students as those expressed above could rely upon some level of shared experience between the established residential community and local student populations in Hanover. This is indicated by the quote below, where one resident’s tolerance to the conflicting

lifestyles of his / her student neighbours is attributed to a fond reminiscence of his / her own experiences of student life:

“Sometimes the sight of girls staggering home from a good night out as I set out on my morning jog makes me feel a little nostalgic about my own student days” (Hanover resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

Finally, evidence submitted from Hollingdean was limited to one short letter from a resident citing the incorrect disposal of domestic refuse, illustrated by the following quote. This suggests that students have had a more limited impact on this neighbourhood, indicating more limited embedding of processes of studentification.

“They mostly don’t bother to put bins in and out on the correct collection days, they just leave them out all the time, blocking pavements” (Hollingdean resident, letter submitted as evidence to the studentification investigative panel, Overview and Scrutiny Team, BHCC).

In summary, this section has illuminated a range of specific processes and impacts of studentification at the micro-geographic scale in Brighton. Diverse perceptions of these processes and impacts among established residents have been uncovered, both between and within case study sites, providing some preliminary indication of the complexities and dynamism of the micro-processes and impacts of studentification. These are evidenced and unpacked further in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, drawing on empirical findings from the case study sites. Finally, the analysis presented above provides a valuable snapshot of processes of studentification across the city in the latter stages of 2008. A significant proportion of the evidence was submitted from residents of Hartington Road, highlighting emerging resistance to the ‘over-development’ of the area, ignited by the ‘group-sale’ of a number of university-managed head-leased properties to a private developer for conversion to private rented HMO. The rapid emergence of these community-specific processes of change, and the ways in which they were perceived by local residents emphasises the dynamism of studentification at the micro-scale. The important contribution these findings make to informing the micro-geographic conceptualisation of studentification also validates the adoption of Freeman’s (2006) approach to observing unfolding urban change over a period of time, in order to best understand its intricacies and contingencies.

4.4. Examining the spatial patterns of student residence in Brighton

This section presents a spatial cluster analysis of student residence in Brighton during the period 2002-2008. The aims of this analysis were two-fold. First, in order to address the research aims and rationale for the selection of Brighton as the macro case-study, set out in Chapter 1, it was considered crucial to establish the extent to which students were clustering in particular enclaves of the city. Further to this, the complexities of these spatial patterns, for example the clustering of particular student accommodation types (e.g. private rented HMO), the location preferences of first-year students as opposed to returning-year students, and the temporal dynamics of the cluster patterns identified were highlighted as significant in terms of informing nuanced conceptualisations

of studentification at the micro-geographic scale. These complexities are considered in Section 4.4.1 below. Second, in order to focus proceeding phases of primary empirical data collection at the micro-geographic scale, it was necessary to identify a set of case study sites. This was accomplished, via cross-referencing of findings from a micro-geographic analysis of local media content (described and discussed in Section 4.2.3 above) against findings from spatial cluster analyses of student populations, discussed herein. The resultant identification of five case study sites for further research is discussed in Section 4.4.2.

The cluster analysis presented in this section is based on term-time student address data at the individual record level, enabling micro-scale cluster patterns to be identified. A full discussion of the limitations of these data, and the mapping / cluster analysis methodology can be found in Chapter 3 (Section 3.3). A number of issues, however, should be noted at this juncture, prior to discussion of the key findings. The maps presented in the remainder of the section are statistical representations of the clustering of student residence in particular parts of Brighton. They highlight *statistically significant* areas of student clustering, thus should not be interpreted as visual representations of the total number of student residents in particular parts of the city; i.e. students may reside in parts of the city that are not highlighted on the maps if these areas are not recognised as accommodating *significant clusters* of students, as compared to other enclaves with more concentrated student residence. In this sense, the cluster-analysis enables robust conclusions to be drawn with regard to the extent to which students are concentrating (clustering) in particular enclaves of the city, and where these significant clusters are forming / changing over time. This technique does not, however, facilitate the extraction of total numbers or proportions of student residents by small area. On identification and delimitation of five case study sites based on the cluster analysis maps presented herein (discussed in Section 4.4.2), an additional analysis was carried out in order to extract the number of students residing within these boundaries; the findings from which are also discussed in Section 4.4.2. This additional analysis will enable forth-coming conceptualisations of the micro-geographies of studentification to consider the impact of varying *densities* of students on the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification, as they are reported in each case study site.

4.4.1. The complexities of clustering student residence in Brighton

As noted in Chapter 3 (Section 3.3), some variation was apparent between the data extracts provided by the University of Brighton and the University of Sussex in terms of the variables provided, and the intake years for which data was available. Robust extracts of address data from the University of Brighton were limited to the period 2006-2008, whereas those from the University of Sussex were available from 2002-2008. In terms of variables, it was possible to conduct cluster analyses by accommodation type (i.e. private rented, university-managed or parental home) on extracts from both universities, enabling clusters of private rented sector HMO residence to be considered in isolation. Analysis of first-year student residence, in comparison to

that of returning year students, however, was limited to data provided by the University of Brighton. Also noteworthy at this point is the significant variation in the total number of students attending the two universities and the greater number of bed spaces in university-managed accommodation provided by the University of Sussex, as compared to that provided by the University of Brighton. The University of Sussex recorded a total of 12,450 students in 2007-08 (HESA, 2009) and accommodated 100% of their year 1 student intake, (University of Sussex Residential Services Manager, interview undertaken 5/12/2007), predominantly on-campus which is situated out of town at Falmer. The University of Brighton, however, recorded a total of 21,220 students in 2007-08 (HESA, 2009), and accommodate a more limited proportion of their annual intake at 59.5% of level 1 undergraduate students, with no provision for level 2 or level 3 students (University of Brighton, 2009). This results in a far greater proportion of University of Brighton students seeking accommodation within the private rented sector. This results in some notable differences in the scale of private rented sector clustering among University of Brighton students, as compared to those studying at the University of Sussex.

Figure 7 demonstrates that student residence is significantly clustered within particular enclaves of Brighton. The most significant clustering of University of Brighton students emerges along the 'Lewes Road corridor'; an area of the city referred to by Brighton and Hove City Council as the city's 'academic corridor' (BHCC, 2008). The location of the three primary campus' in the city are marked in Figure 7, indicating that University of Brighton student residence is significantly clustered in areas directly adjacent to these. It should be noted that Figure 7 represents student residence in all accommodation types, thus including those students residing in university managed halls of residence, the majority of which are located on or near these campus sites. Figure 8 represents the clustering of University of Brighton students residing in private rented accommodation in the city in 2008. This reveals a more condensed pattern of clustering than that apparent in Figure 7, with fewer student clusters forming in more central wards (Regency and St Peter's and North Laine), and more concentrated clustering occurring around the Lewes Road corridor in Hanover and Elm Grove and Moulsecoomb and Bevendean wards.

Figures 9-11 illustrate the distinct patterns of first-year student clustering, compared to that of returning-year (years 2, 3 and 4) students. Figure 9 shows heavy clustering of first year students around the primary university campus sites. This reflects the accommodation of a significant proportion of first-year students in university managed halls of residence on or near these sites. Figure 10, showing returning-year student residence (in all accommodation types), is markedly different, with returning-year student clusters forming across a greater variety of locations, spread further afield from the University campus'; indicating more diverse accommodation preferences both in terms of type and location. These diverse location preferences suggest that previous experience of residing in Brighton has enabled returning-year students to consider accommodation in enclaves not directly adjacent to the University campus. However, this 'sprawl' remains limited

to the Lewes Road corridor and central parts of Brighton, with no evidence of an 'even spread' across other parts of the city.

Figure 11 isolates first-year University of Brighton students living in the private rented sector, thus removing the skew applied to the overall clustering patterns of first-year students by the proportion living in halls of residence on-campus. These patterns of clustering, therefore, are more comparable with those of returning students (Figure 10), the vast majority of whom reside in the private rented sector. Some spatial disparity remains evident between the cluster locations of first-year and returning-year private rented sector residence, with first-year clusters tending to be more focused in Bevendean and Moulsecoomb, and to the North of Hanover and Elm Grove ward (Figure 11). Comparatively more evidence of clustering in centrally located ward areas (to the South of Hanover and Elm Grove ward, St. Peters and North Laine and Queens Park) is apparent among returning-year students however (Figure 10).

Figures 12-16 demonstrate the temporal variability in University of Sussex private rented sector clustering year-on-year during the period 2002-2006. As noted earlier in the section, a more limited proportion of University of Sussex students reside in private rented sector accommodation in the city as compared to University of Brighton students, due to greater provision of bed-spaces in university managed halls of residence on-campus, and the comparatively smaller total intake at this university. The cluster patterns emerging from these figures vary considerably from those expressed by University of Brighton students, with dominant, and relatively tight clusters forming around the Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle and Hollingdean areas. These cluster formations also vary significantly year-on-year, indicating that clusters of student private rented sector residence are dynamic and fluid. This may suggest the significance of the agency of students in terms of influencing their PRS residential patterns, with student populations willing and able to migrate internally within the city in order to secure their desired private rented sector accommodation.

Figure 7: Clustering of University of Brighton student residence (all accommodation types), 2008 intake.

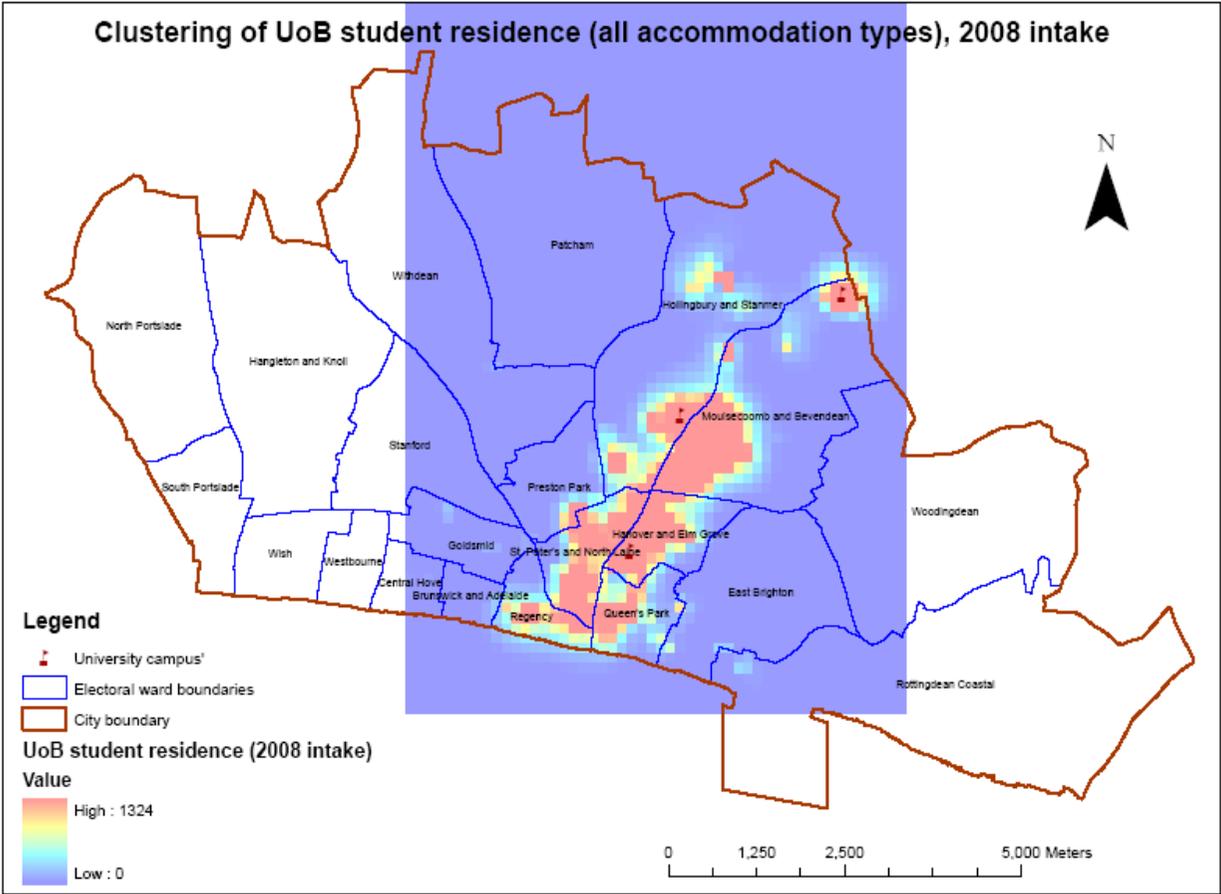


Figure 8: Clustering of University of Brighton student private rented sector residence, 2008 intake.

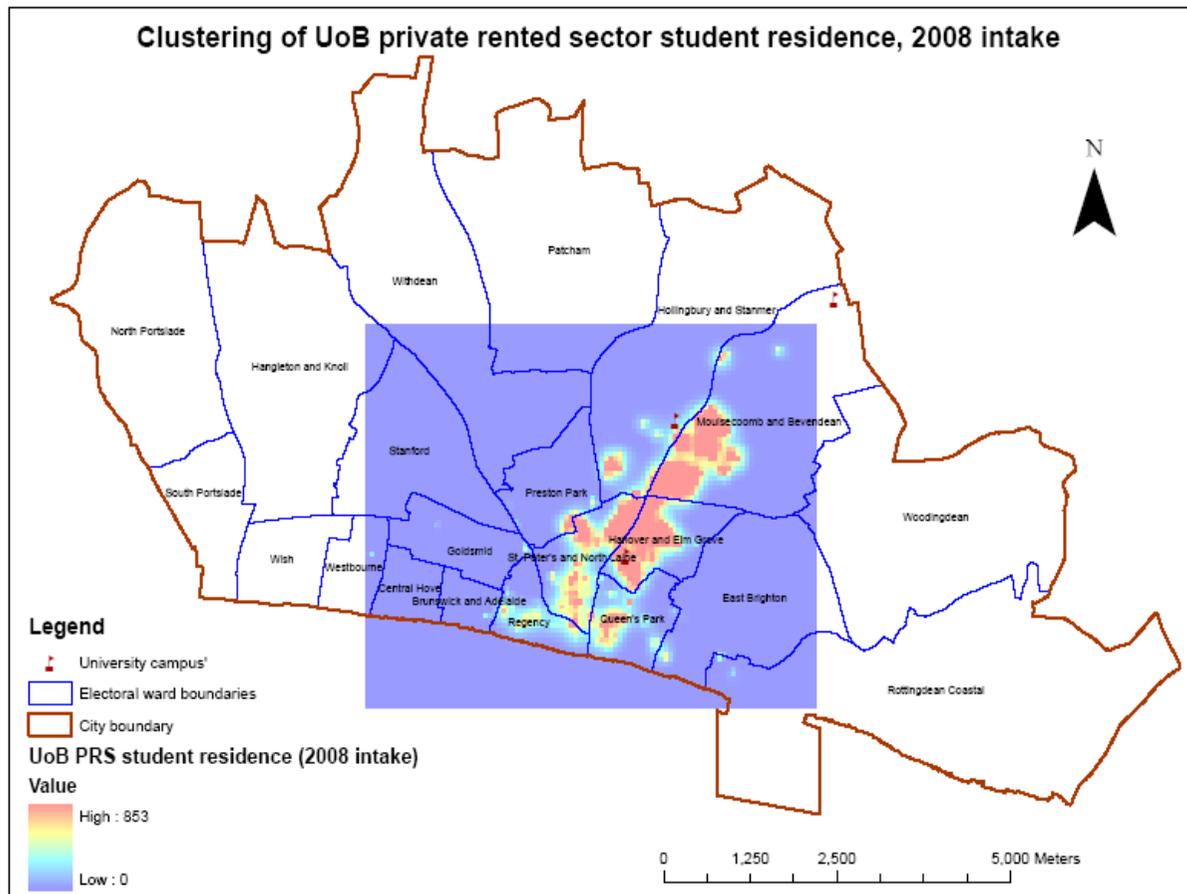


Figure 9: Clustering of University of Brighton year 1 student residence, 2008 intake.

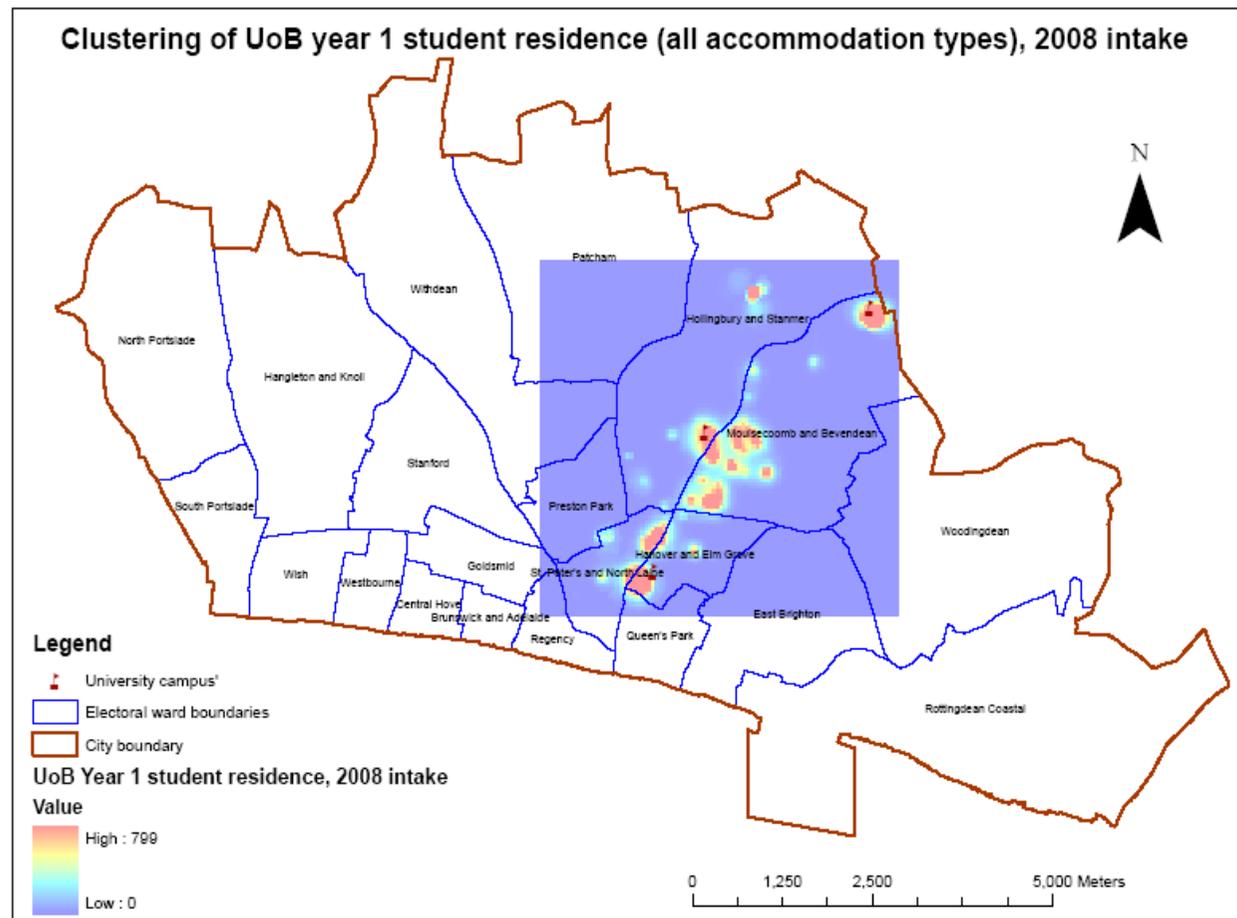


Figure 10: Clustering of University of Brighton returning student residence (all accommodation types), 2008 intake.

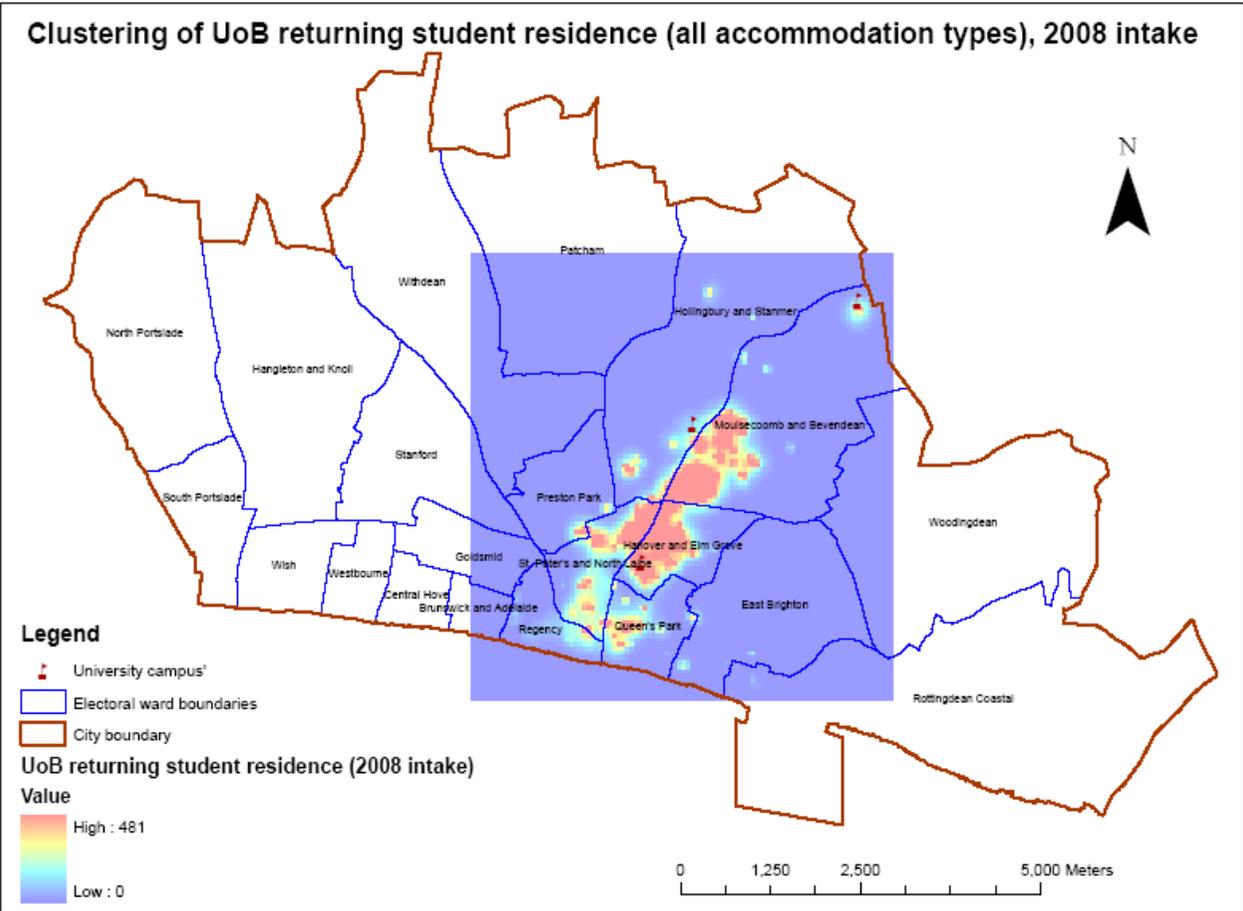


Figure 11: Clustering of University of Brighton year 1 student private rented sector residence, 2008 intake.

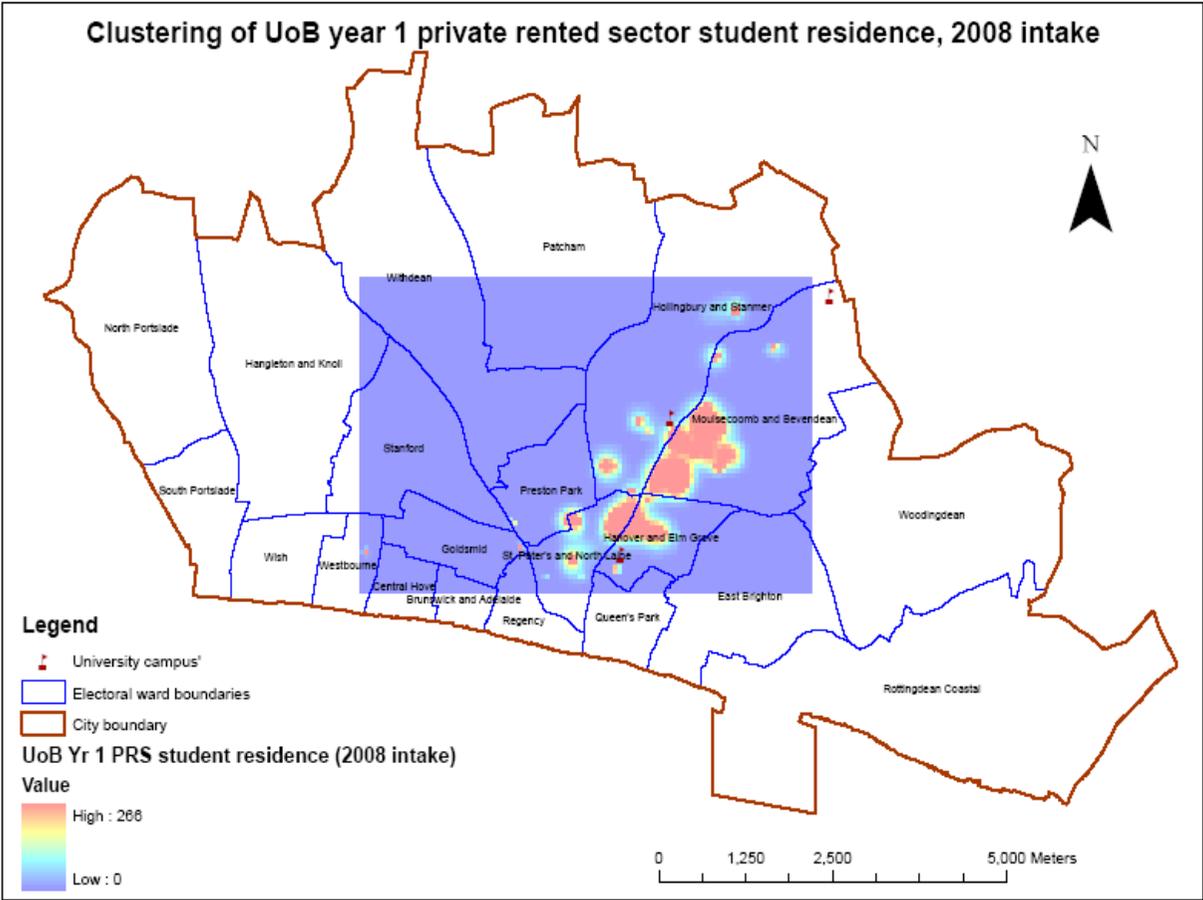


Figure 12: Clustering of University of Sussex student private rented sector residence, 2002 intake.

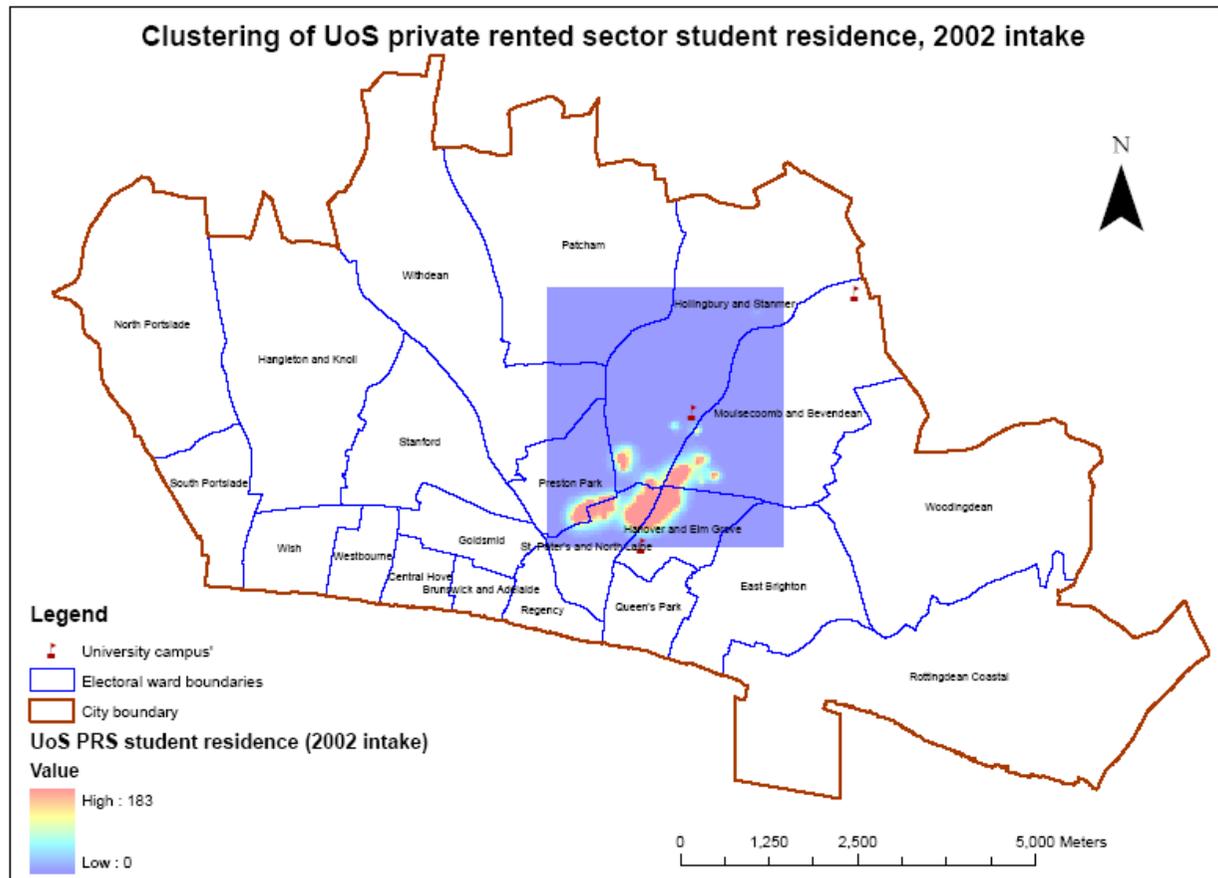


Figure 13: Clustering of University of Sussex student private rented sector residence, 2003 intake.

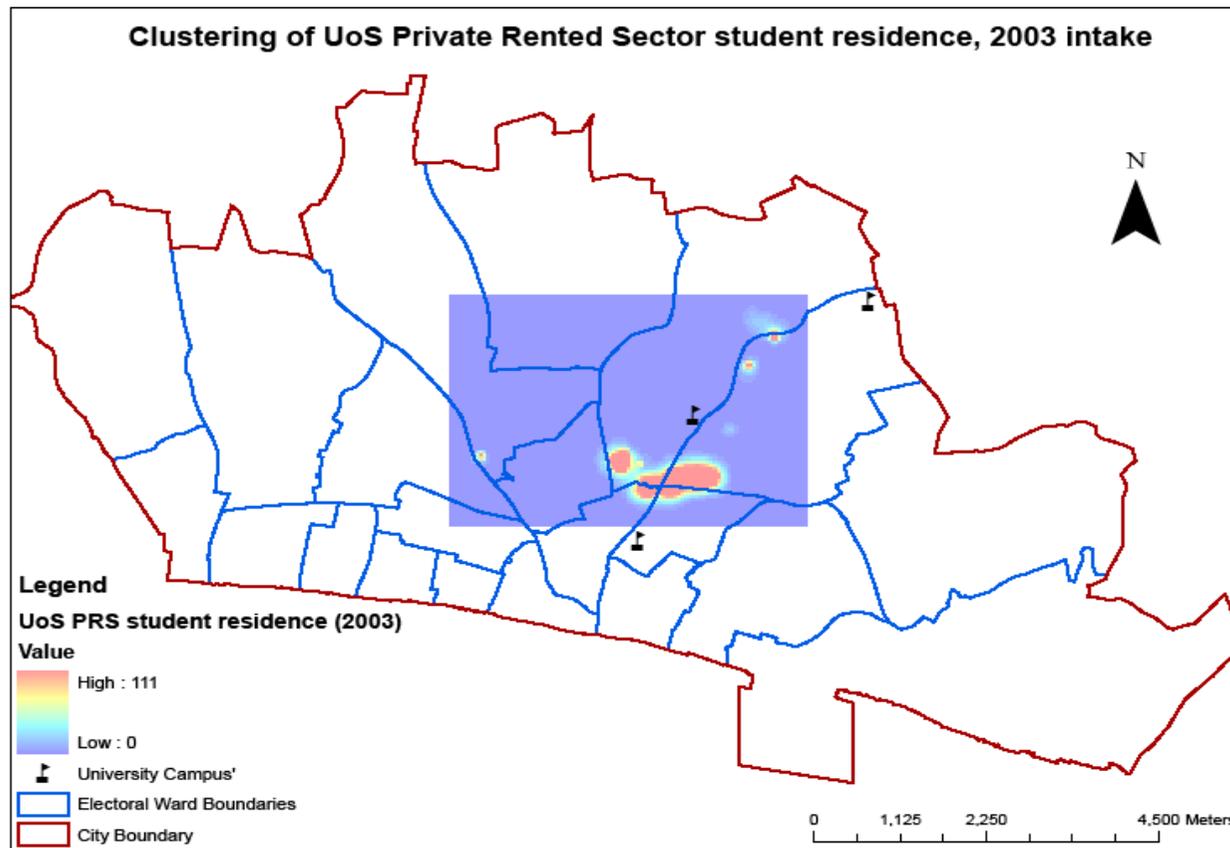


Figure 14: Clustering of University of Sussex student private rented sector residence, 2004 intake.

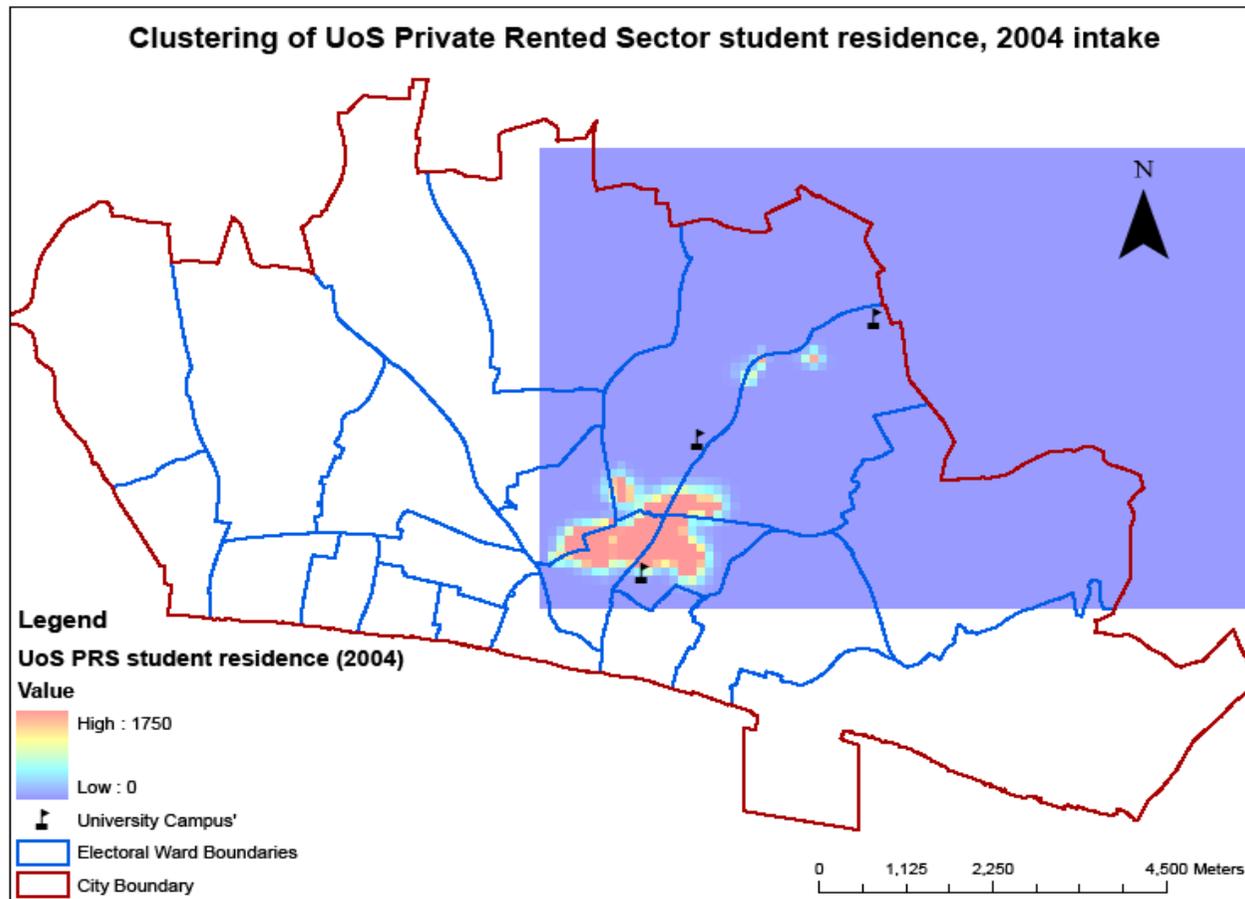


Figure 15: Clustering of University of Sussex student private rented sector residence, 2005 intake.

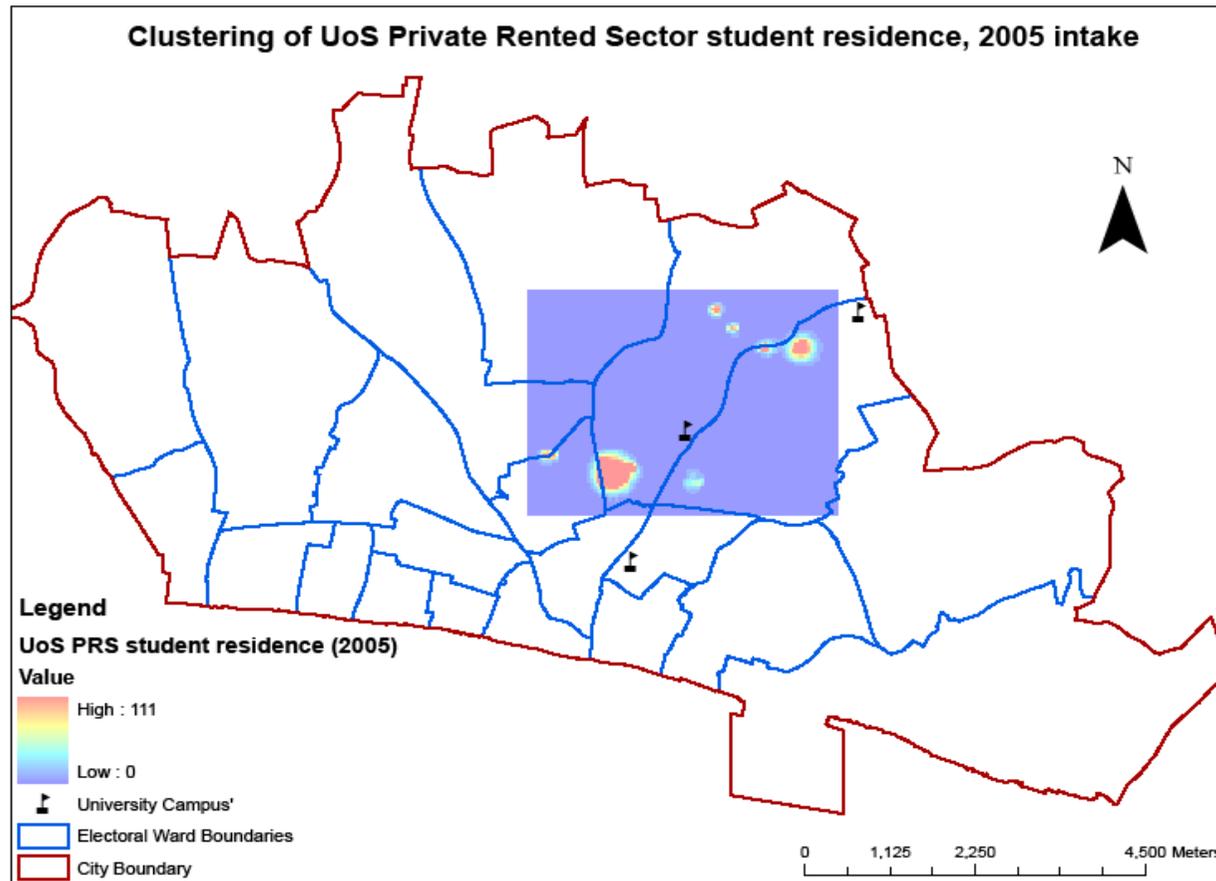
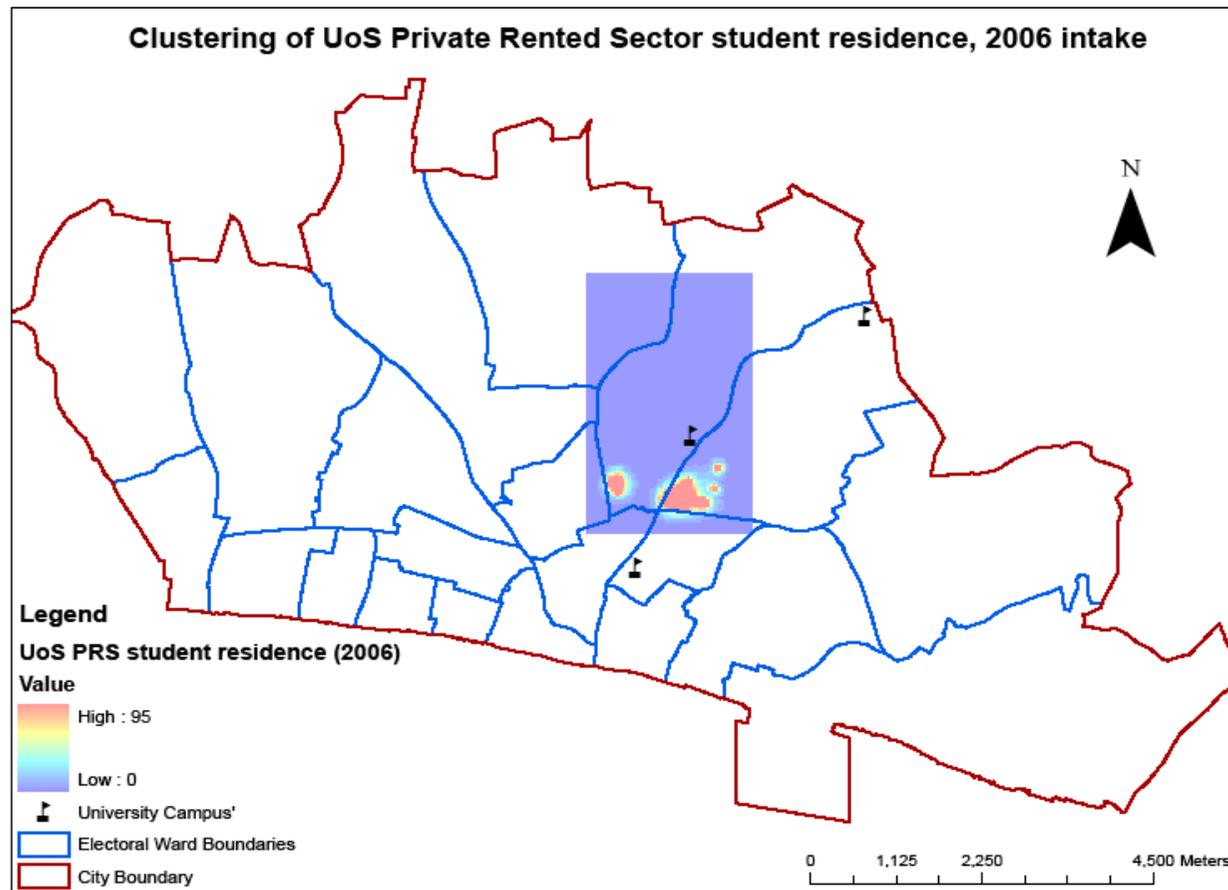


Figure 16: Clustering of University of Sussex student private rented sector residence, 2006 intake.



4.4.2. A micro-geographic investigation of studentification: identifying five case study sites

Comparison of the key findings from cluster analyses of student residence (Section 4.4.1), and a micro-geographic analysis of local media sources (Section 4.4.2) resulted in the initial identification of four case study sites for further research: Bevendean; Coombe Road; Hartington Road and Triangle; and Hanover. Interview research with local institutional actors between August and December 2007 resulted in the identification of a fifth case study site: Hollingdean. This was largely based on findings from interviews with local lettings agents who cited increasing movement of buy-to-let investors into this part of the city with a view to converting family housing into student HMO.

Figure 17 shows the location of the five case study sites in relation to the clustering of student residence. As noted in Chapter 3 (Section 3.3), the case study site boundaries were constructed via the aggregation of census output areas, in order to allow contextual analyses of population and tenure characteristics in these areas to be undertaken using 2001 GB Census data. The limitations of this method of aggregating boundaries from census output areas are discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.3; the most notable of which being the inclusion of unpopulated areas, such as green spaces. Figure 5 shows the five case study boundaries overlaid onto a road network map of Brighton. It is clear from Figure 5 that parts of the Bevendean, and Hartington Road and Triangle sites are unpopulated. In Bevendean this results from the inclusion of some small areas of the South Downs to the East of the site, and in Hartington Road and Triangle the unpopulated area largely indicates the site of the Woodvale Cemetery and Crematorium on Lewes Road. Aside from these small areas, the case study sites focus on enclaves of the city showing evidence of significant clusters of student residence. This is demonstrated more clearly still by Figure 18, showing the case study sites overlaid onto clusters of private rented sector student HMO.

The case study sites identified in this section form the spatial units of analysis referred to throughout the remainder of the thesis, forming the micro-geographies within which the complexities of unfolding processes and impacts of studentification have been examined and conceptualised. As stated earlier in Section 4.4.1, the cluster analysis presented in the previous section does not enable the extraction of numbers or proportions of student residents by case study area. An alternative method was applied to combined University of Sussex and University of Brighton data sets indicating the total number of students in 2001, 2006 and 2008; enabling the extraction of the number of students per case study area, and consequently the calculation of percentage student population based on a usual resident population denominator derived from the 2001 GB Census. Findings from this analysis are presented in Table 4 below. It should be noted here that student intake data for 2001 supplied by the University of Brighton was not deemed robust enough to enable cluster analysis of the residential patterns of students at this time. This results from two major limitations to the 2001 data extract. The first of these limitations results

from the entry of students' term-time postcodes during the online enrolment process being non-mandatory in 2001 (this became a mandatory field in 2006, hence provision of robust data for the 2006 intake onwards), thus enabling students to leave this field blank, resulting in an incomplete data set. The second limitation results from the lack of representation of students living in the Phoenix Halls of Residence (located in the Hanover case study area) in the 2001 extract. This purpose-built development is the only hall of residence located in a case study site, and accounts for more than 300 students living in Hanover. The exclusion of these students from the 2001 data extract therefore largely under-estimates the student population in Hanover, affecting the analysis presented in Table 4 for this site.

Table 4: Number and percentage University of Brighton student population by case study site: 2001; 2006 and 2008

Case study site	2001			2006		2008		
	No. students	Usual resident popn. (2001 Census)	% student popn.	No. students	% student popn.	No. students	% student popn.	% change student popn. 2001-2008
Bevendean	284	4360	6.5	615	14.1	638	14.6	+ 55.5
Coombe Road	367	3897	9.4	662	17	724	18.6	+ 49.3
Hartington Road and Triangle	612	5938	10.3	758	12.8	863	14.5	+ 29.1
Hanover¹	73	4034	1.8	605	15.0	672	16.7	+ 89.1
Hollingdean	91	2193	4.1	148	6.7	165	7.5	+ 44.8

Despite these limitations, it was felt that the broad over-view of changing student populations over the period 2001-2008, as provided by the data presented in Table 4, was valuable to gauging approximate comparisons of the density of student residence between case study sites, and how these densities have changed over this period. As noted above, the data pertaining to Hanover is largely unusable, given the omission of students living at the Phoenix Halls of Residence in 2001. The inclusion of students living in the Phoenix development in *later* extracts (provided for intakes in 2006 and 2008) has resulted in a false representation of percentage change in student population between 2001 and 2008 (Table 4, final column), therefore rendering the analysis presented for Hanover redundant. Findings for the remaining four case study sites suggest that Bevendean has experienced the greatest percentage change in student population between 2001 and 2008 at 55%. Coombe Road has the highest percentage student population at 18.6%, however has shown slightly less increase over the period 2001-2008 than that occurring in Bevendean, suggesting the student population has been established in Coombe Road for longer. Hartington Road and Triangle's comparatively low percentage increase in student population between 2001-2008 (29.1%) suggests

¹ Data for Hanover is incomplete due to omission of students living in Phoenix Halls of Residence in 2001.

that fewer students have in-migrated to this site during this period. Hartington Road and Triangle had the highest percentage student population in 2001 at 10.3%, however, suggesting that processes of studentification began to unfold here prior to 2001. These findings indicate some variation in the temporal unfolding of processes of studentification between case study sites. Finally, although a percentage change in student population of 44.0% in Hollingdean between 2001-2008 suggests some considerable expansion of student populations here, the percentage student population in 2008 amounts to only 7.5%, less than half that calculated in any of the four remaining case study sites, thus indicating a more limited student presence in this area.

As noted above, this analysis should be treated with some caution in light of the data limitations discussed, however it gives a general overview of the extent to which student populations dominate within these micro-geographies, and provides some indication of the temporal differences in the expansion of student populations between case study sites, both of which will nourish later conceptualisations of the processes of studentification at the micro-geographic scale. The next section provides a contextual over-view of Brighton as the macro case study area, followed by a brief analysis of the physical, social and cultural characteristics of each case study site in turn.

Figure 17: Clustering of University of Brighton student residence (all accommodation types, 2008 intake) with case study site boundaries

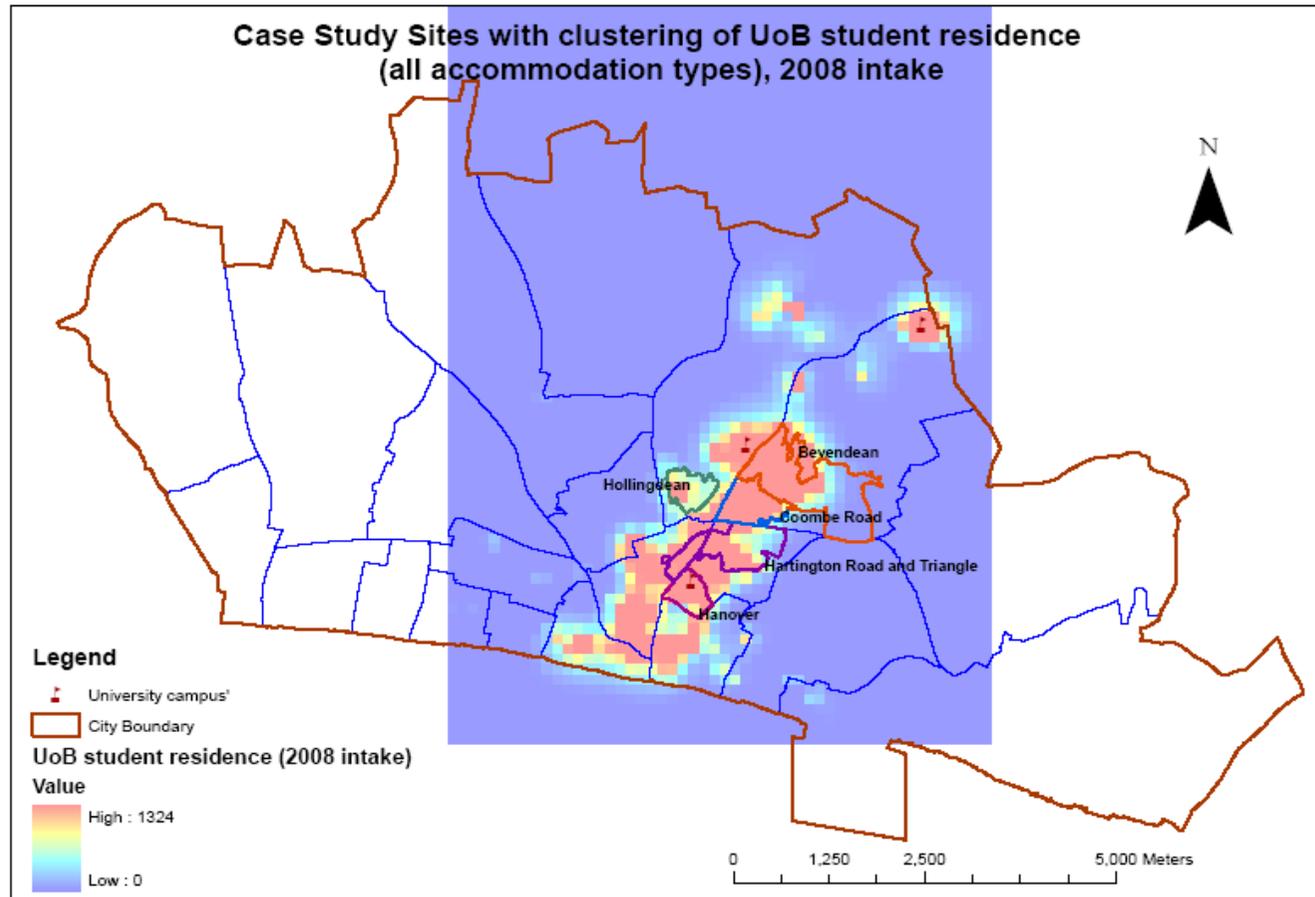
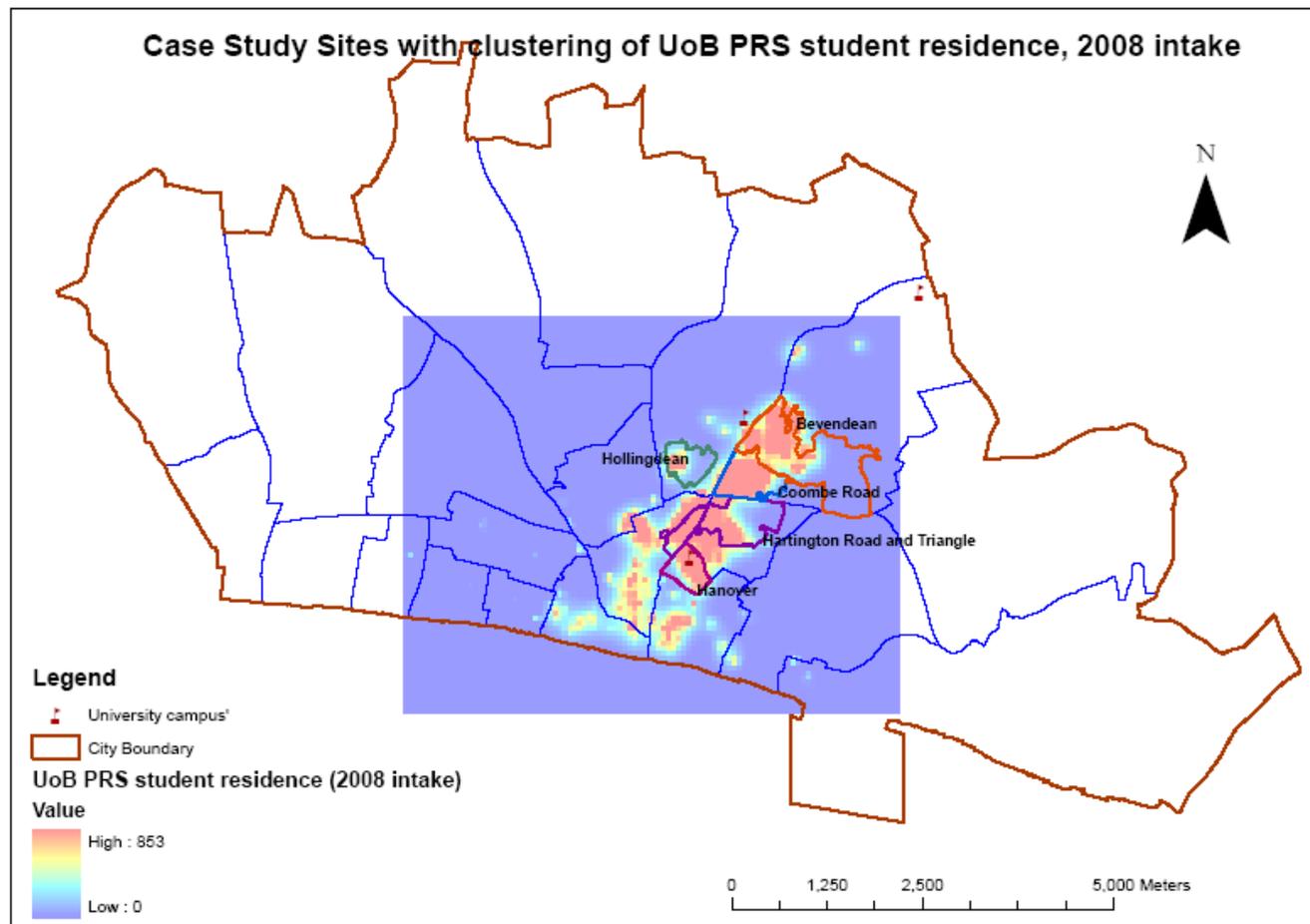


Figure 18: Clustering of University of Brighton private rented sector student residence (2008 intake) with case study site boundaries



4.5. Contextualising the case study sites

This section briefly examines each case study site, providing a descriptive historical, visual, socio-economic and cultural background. A profile of each case study site considers factors such as location, population, the history of urban change, and the cultural significance of each area. These profiles set the context for forthcoming discussions of the micro-geographic specificities of unfolding processes of studentification, and the impact of local contingencies.

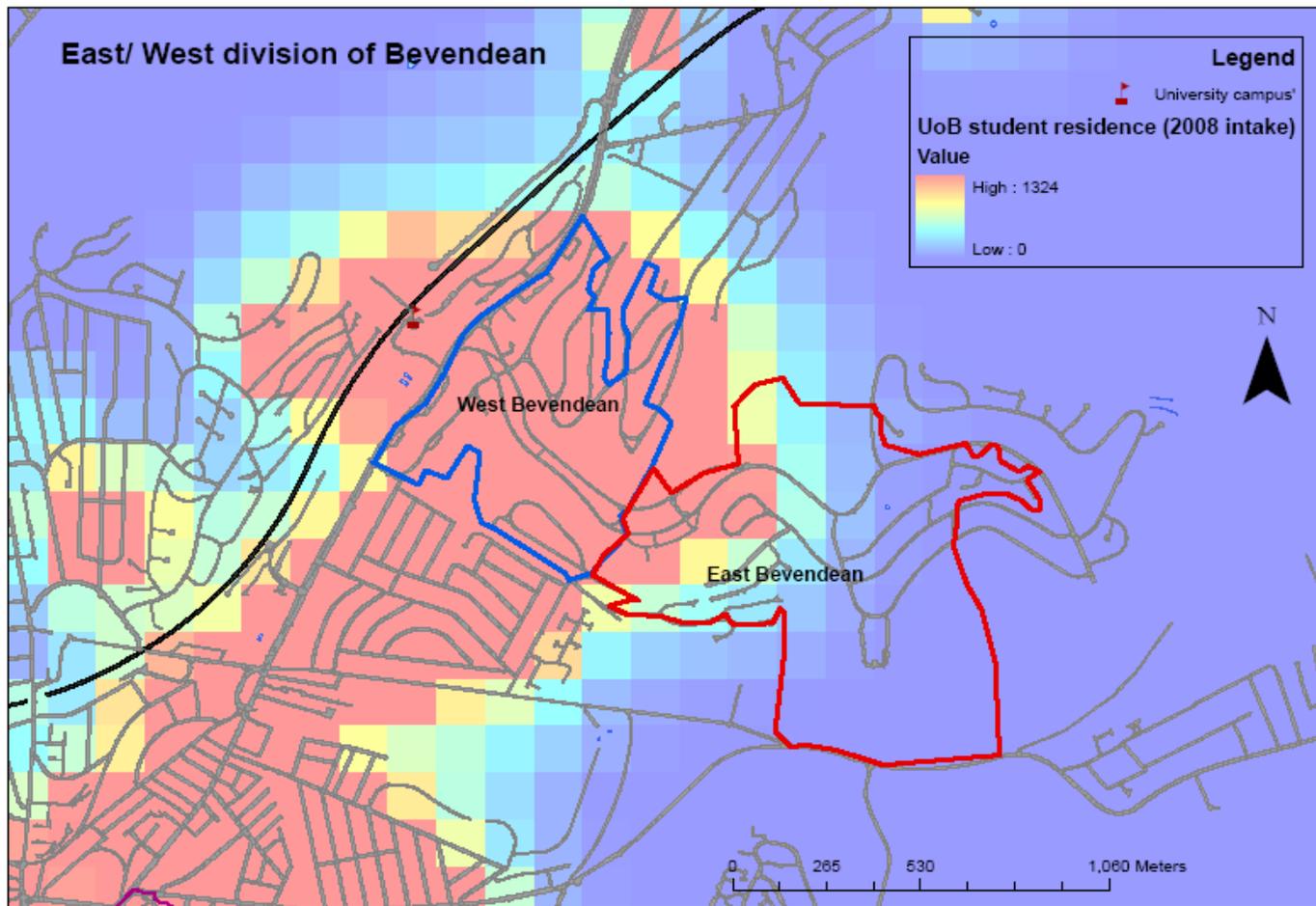
4.5.1. Bevendean

Bevendean is dominated by post-war social rented housing, and is situated in Moulsecoomb and Bevendean ward between Lewes Road and the University of Brighton Moulsecoomb campus to the West, and the South Downs to the East (see Figure 5 for location of Bevendean). The estate is divided in name between the East area closest to the South Downs, known as 'Upper Bevendean', and the West of the estate adjacent to Lewes Road, known as 'Lower Bevendean'. This East / West division is illustrated in Figure 19, which also highlights the significant clustering of student residence, predominantly to the *West* of the case study site; closest to the University of Brighton Moulsecoomb campus. Initial development in Bevendean took place in the Lower Bevendean valley (West Bevendean) in the 1930's, which is dominated by 'The Avenue'; stretching approximately 1000 metres around a central green space referred to locally as 'the green'. The Avenue (see Figure 20), and the residential streets branching off it, consisted of 1930's semi-detached social-rented housing. Much of this housing has now been bought by occupants under the 'right-to-buy' programme. This housing policy enabled tenants to purchase their properties from their local authority, and was introduced in the UK by the Conservative Government in 1980 (Malpass, 1986), as part of a wider programme of deregulation and privatisation. This part of the estate has seen significant and rapid recent in-migration of student residents. Student HMO in this area is predominantly rented to University of Brighton students, as is evident from the significant clusters of University of Brighton private rented sector residence in Figure 18. Figure 11 indicates some particularly significant clustering of first-year University of Brighton students in private rented HMO in this area; perhaps reflecting the tendency for Freshers to seek rented accommodation close to the main University campus, given their limited knowledge of the city on arrival at university. Physical evidence of the studentified landscape of Lower Bevendean is prolific, examples of which are provided in Figure 21.

The pressing need for more homes post-war saw further development of the Bevendean estate from 1948 Eastwards onto the lower slopes of the South Downs; the area now referred to as Upper Bevendean (East Bevendean). This area is characterised by a more mixed housing stock, including terraced family housing, bungalows largely occupied by pensioner households, and some newly developed social rented housing. This part of the estate has also experienced recent in-migration of student populations, although to a more limited degree than in Lower Bevendean, as illustrated by Figure 19.

Bevendean's history as a social rented housing estate is reflected in the high proportion of social rented tenure remaining in the area, with 34.0% of the estate's housing stock recorded as social rented in the 2001 GB Census. This compares to 15.1% in Brighton and 17.9% in England and Wales (see Table 25, Appendix). The population characteristics of Bevendean indicate a more mature population compared to that of Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle and Hanover, with one-fifth of the population aged over 60 years old, and 22.7% pensioner households. Bevendean has a higher than average proportion of lone parent families (14.2%, compared to 8.6% in Brighton, and 9.5% nationally). In terms of qualifications and occupation groups, Bevendean again emerges as a relatively deprived area, with 38.9% of the population reporting no qualifications (compared to 22.1% in Brighton), with double the city average proportion of individuals in elementary occupations (17.6%), and a third of the city average proportion of individuals in professional occupations (5.7%). In summary, these data indicate a relatively deprived social rented housing estate with an ageing population, low educational attainment and a low proportion of professionals.

Figure 19: Map showing East / West division of the Bevendean case study site.



4.5.2. Coombe Road

The Coombe Road area forms part of the wider Moulsecoomb housing estate, developed from 1924 as part of a 'slum clearance programme', implemented to re-house families living in poor conditions in inner-city parts of Brighton (mybrightonandhove.org, 2009). Figure 5 shows the location of the Coombe Road area to the East of Lewes Road, South of Bevendean and North of Hartington Road and Triangle. Coombe Road itself provides the main thoroughfare from Lewes Road, East through the centre of the case study site, and is home to a convenience shop, 'H's cafe' serving all-day breakfasts and hot beverages, a fish and chip shop, and an off-license. Retail provision on the stretch of Lewes Road marking the Western-most extent of this case study site shows further evidence of the local student market, being dominated by take-aways, kebab houses, off-licenses and a launderette. Pervasive evidence of the physical impacts of resident student populations can be found throughout this case study site, illustrated in Figure 22.

2001 GB Census data for Coombe Road (summarised in Table 25, Appendix) indicates a younger age profile than that identified in Bevendean, with 58.8% of the population here aged under 35 years old. One person households (19.1%), couples with no children (16.7%), and couples with dependent children (16.1%) dominate household formation patterns in this neighbourhood, with a high proportion of lone parent families (13.4%) compared to the city (8.6%) and national (9.5%) average. Educational attainment overall is close to the city average, save for fewer individuals achieving Level 4 (degree level education) at 21.6% (compared to 28.7% in the city overall). The occupation group profile of Coombe Road is again similar to that of the city as a whole, the most notable difference being a more limited proportion of residents in management and professional occupations. Finally, more evidence of private renting is apparent in Coombe Road (28%) when compared to Bevendean (12%: see Table 25, Appendix). With social renting accounting for 13%, and owner occupation 59%, the tenure profile of this case study site closely reflects that of Brighton as a whole.

Figure 20: The Avenue, West Bevendean.



Figure 21: Images of the studentified landscape, West Bevendean



4.5.3. Hartington Road and Triangle

Hartington Road and 'the Triangle' are situated opposite one-another to the East and West of Lewes Road respectively (see Figure 5). In contrast to the post-war developments of Bevendean and Coombe Road, colourful Victorian terraced housing typifies Hartington Road and the Triangle (Figure 23), with urban sprawl from the centre of Brighton seeing the development of these residential streets from the 1850's. Hartington Road constitutes a central West-East 'spine', from which a series of smaller residential streets branch to the North where they share a boundary with the Coombe Road case study site, and to the South, where they meet Elm Grove, marking the Southern-most extent of the site. The Triangle, on the opposite side of Lewes Road, is named such due to the triangular birds-eye view boundary of the neighbourhood. The streets forming the Northern-most tip of the Triangle are referred to as the 'Scottish Streets' (owing to the inspiration for their names drawing on Scottish towns and cities). This part of the case study site shows the most physical evidence of studentification, as illustrated by the images in Figure 24. Streets in the Southern half of the Triangle are locally referred to as the 'Saints Streets', (in reference to their names, inspired by Saints), with the Southern-most area of the case study site dominated by 'Park Crescent' one of Brighton's listed Victorian crescents with adjacent private park area (see Figure 25). A division therefore emerges in the Triangle area between the Southern 'Saints Streets' and Park Crescent, where physical evidence of studentification is more limited, and the Scottish Streets to the North, which appear more heavily studentified. This divide is further evidenced in Figure 18, showing more significant clustering of PRS student residence to the North of the Triangle than to the South.

Entrenched processes of studentification in this area are indicated by the skewed nature of retail provision along Lewes Road, running centrally through the Hartington Road and Triangle case study site. This stretch of retail is heavily dominated by take-away's, off-licenses, convenience stores (all of which open late), and discount furniture shops. The images in Figure 26 show six examples of retail outlets located along this stretch of Lewes Road. These include a late-night discount off-license called 'The Booze Factor'; a television rental shop offering deals to students; a discount furniture shop, again offering special deals for students and landlords; an off-license advertising its opening hours to 3am; 'Shabitat' selling low-priced second hand furniture and white goods, and 'MTM Property services' the second branch of Brighton's first letting agency devoted to managing student properties, which opened in 2008.

Important to note here is the comparatively high percentage student population in 2001 (see Table 4) at 10.2%, indicating that processes of studentification may have begun to unfold in this area at an earlier stage than those in Bevendean or Coombe Road. This may also provide some explanation for the strongly established student-oriented retail in this area, discussed above. Indeed, 2001 GB Census data reflects a heavy dominance of private rented

accommodation in this case study site at this time, with 40.3% of all households recorded as private rented in this area, comparing to 21.2% in Brighton and 10.8% nationally. The tenure profile, retail provision and physical evidence of the studentified landscape (Figure 24) in Hartington Road and Triangle, posit this case study site as the most complete reflection of Smith's (2005) conceptualisation of a studentified area (Chapter 2, Section 2.3).

Further analysis of 2001 GB Census data for this case study site reveals a relatively young age profile compared to Coombe Road and Bevendean, with 61.5% of the usual resident population in this area reported to be under the age of 35. One person households are more dominant in this area than the previous two, and a notable proportion of households are reported to fall into the 'other households: other' category, which includes shared HMO households. At 12.6%, double the city average percentage (6.4%), and four times the national average percentage (3.6%) of households in Hartington Road and Triangle fall within this category. The most significant qualifications category in this case study site is 'level 4' (degree-level or equivalent), accounting for 35% of the local population (compared to 19.9% of the population nationally), making Hartington Road and Triangle the second most qualified case study site after Hanover (discussed in the next section). This, combined with the relatively young age profile, significant proportion of shared HMO, and the greater than average proportion of individuals working in professional occupations, suggests that young professionals could be an important social group in determining the characteristics of the local area.

4.5.4. Hanover

The case study site in closest proximity to the city centre of Brighton is Hanover (see Figure 5 for location map). Hanover is one of Brighton's most vibrant residential neighbourhoods, typified by densely packed rows of brightly-coloured Victorian cottages (see Figure 27), 'boho-chic' pubs and cafe-bars, and it's left-wing 'alternative' population. The excerpt below from a local website, collating descriptions of Brighton's neighbourhoods by local residents describes Hanover:

“What's in Hanover? Good pubs, famously. Plus narrow streets, cream and beige and pastel houses, less good pubs, a steep hill, problems with parking, and a sense of community. An estate agent will tell you it's a desirable area. It has a reputation as a muesli belt, inhabited by social workers, students and teachers” (mybrightonandhove.org.uk, 2009).

The local pubs and cafe's (see Figure 28) in Hanover draw patrons from across the city, offering good food and a vibrant bohemian ambience synonymous with the culture of Brighton. The dominant representations of the local population of “Muesli Mountain” (BBC, 2003), as Hanover has been popularly referred to, are of an educated, politically aware group, often pursuing alternative lifestyles. Evidence of such lifestyles can be found in the proliferation of alternative therapy, meditation and martial arts classes based in the

area, as illustrated by a local notice-board in Figure 29. Hanover experienced urban change related to unfolding processes of gentrification in the late 1970's / early 1980's. These processes of change are summarised in the following quotes from mybrightonandhove.org.uk (2009):

“The Victorian terraces don't house a working-class community any more, but Hanover still has a community feel. There is an annual street festival and a beer festival. A newsletter comes through the door from the Community Association. We have our own bartering currency called Hans” (mybrightonandhove.org.uk, 2009).

“The pubs have less crimson-flowered wallpaper and more stripped wood; less old men in corners and more Greek salad” (mybrightonandhove.org.uk, 2009).

Interestingly, the first of the quotes above indicates the persistent strength of community in Hanover, citing local community events and the existence of a local bartering currency the ‘Hans’. This is a unique and important characteristic to note in terms of conceptualising the impacts of studentification on this area.

Analyses of 2001 GB Census data (Table 25, Appendix) indicate a dominance of the 25-35 year old age group, and one-person households in Hanover. Educational attainment is the highest in Hanover of all five case study sites, with 41.4% of the population educated to degree level or equivalent (compared to 28.7% in Brighton, and 19.9% in England and Wales). Hanover also has the highest proportion of individuals in managerial or professional occupations (22.5% in professional occupations compared to 14.7% in the City overall, and 11.2% nationally). In terms of similarities, Hanover's population characteristics can be most closely compared to that of Hartington Road and Triangle, with few comparative similarities with Bevendean, Coombe Road or Hollingdean.

Figure 22: Images of the studentified landscape, Coombe Road



Figure 23: Park Terrace, the Triangle.



Figure 24: Images of the studentified landscape, the Triangle.



Figure 25: Park Crescent, the Triangle.



Figure 26: Images of retail provision located along Lewes Road in the Hartington Road and Triangle case study site.



Figure 27: Colourful terraced Victorian cottages, Hanover.



4.5.5. Hollingdean

Hollingdean is a large housing estate situated to the West of Lewes Road and East of London Road (see Figure 5 for location). It is the least well connected neighbourhood to the university campuses and city centre, and is not well served by public transport. Hollingdean is dominated by owner-occupied housing (59.6%, see Figures 30 and 31) and social rented housing (23.5%, see Figure 31), with limited evidence of private renting (16.9%) in the area, relative to Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, Hanover, and Brighton as a whole. Development began in the area in the 1890's (mybrightonandhove.org.uk, 2009), and continued through to the 1950's when much of the existing social rented housing provision was erected. Hollingdean has limited retail provision, relying in the main on a collection of shops and food outlets at nearby 'Fiveways'. There are few local pubs or other cultural amenities, with Hollingdean Community Centre (opened in 1985), St. Richard of Chichesters Church, and Hollingdean Gospel Hall providing the only alternative spaces for local community interaction. There is some physical evidence of studentification in Hollingdean, illustrated by Figure 32, although this is not as prolific as that found in Bevendean, Coombe Road, or Hartington Road and Triangle.

Figure 28: Cafe's, pubs and housing illustrating the 'boho-chic' aesthetic of Hanover.



Figure 29: Notice board on Southover Street, Hanover advertising local Yoga, meditation, Reiki and Tai Chi



The age profile of the local population, similar to that of Bevendean, is relatively mature with 19% of the local population aged over 60 years, and 24.2% pensioner households. Akin to Bevendean and Coombe Road, Hollingdean also has a relatively high proportion of lone parent families at 13.8% (compared to 8.6% in the city overall). Hollingdean has lower than average educational attainment for Brighton, with 47.3% of the population having either no qualifications, or those categorised as ‘level 1’ (1 or more GCSE, any grade, or equivalent), comparing to 35.6% in the city overall. At 17% of the population, Hollingdean also has a comparatively low proportion of population educated to degree-level or equivalent (compared to 41.4% in Hanover and 28.7% in the city overall). The most dominant occupation group in Hollingdean is ‘skilled trades’, accounting for 16.1% of the local population (comparable with Bevendean, 16.3%, and significantly more than the city overall, 9.3%). In summary, Hollingdean’s contextual profile bares most significant resemblance to that of Bevendean, with high levels of social renting, a significant proportion of pensioner households and lone parent families, relatively low educational attainment and a dominant proportion of skilled trades-people.

Figure 30: Owner-occupied housing in Hollingdean.



Figure 31: Social rented housing (left) and owner occupied housing (right) in Hollingdean



Figure 32: The studentified landscape of Hollingdean.



4.6. Conclusion

In summary, local media representations of students as a social group, and of the processes and impacts of studentification in Brighton became increasingly negative between 2001 and 2008. During this period, the percentage student population increased significantly in all case study sites, with clear clusters of private rented sector student residence forming in these areas. Percentage change in student residence by case study site between 2001 and 2008 (Table 4, Section 4.4) suggests some temporal variation in the unfolding of processes of studentification between case study sites, with Hartington Road and Triangle appearing to have experienced studentification at an earlier juncture than Bevendean, Coombe Road or Hollingdean.

Evidence of community unrest in Hartington Road in 2008, from local media discourses and letters from local residents submitted to an investigative panel at Brighton City Council, suggest that studentification unfolded rapidly in this area during the research process. This highlights the differing speeds with which processes of studentification can unfold when compared to neighbourhoods such as Hanover where studentification is perceived to have unfolded in more gradual ways across a much longer temporal scale. The dynamism this

suggests is further exemplified by the rapidly shifting cluster-formations of University of Sussex private rented sector student residence year-on-year between 2002 and 2006, indicating frequent internal migration patterns within the private rented sector, giving rise to unstable residential geographies of students.

The physical downgrading of the urban landscape in each of the case study sites has also been illustrated by images recorded of overgrown gardens, an overproliferation of 'to let' boards, domestic refuse discarded on the wrong day for collection, spent white goods and furniture dumped in front gardens, and the dilapidated frontages of student households left to fall into disrepair by 'absentee landlords'.

Finally, in conclusion, it has been demonstrated that each of the five case study sites has a specific set of physical, social and cultural characteristics, amounting to five unique collections of case study site-specific contingencies. These local contingencies will underpin discussions of the micro-geographic specificities of unfolding processes of studentification in Brighton in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Chapter 5: Perceptions of local neighbourhood change; the views of established residents and local institutional actors

5.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification from the perspective of established local residents, councillors and institutional actors within Brighton. The perceptions are drawn from focus groups and interviews with a range of different stakeholders in the city (see Chapter 3, Sections 3.5 and 3.6 for fuller discussion). In line with the micro-geographic approach espoused thus far, the discussion disentangles the importance of local contingencies to illuminate how the shifting geographies of student residence are temporally and socio-spatially uneven within the city, as well as differentiated demographically and culturally. This serves to demonstrate that the contemporary micro-scale expressions of studentification in Brighton are both complex and diverse. Furthermore, the discussion exposes some major differences between the perceptions of established local residents and institutional actors.

The chapter is divided into six parts. The first four sections (5.2 - 5.5) examine local residents' perceptions of students in four of the five case study sites identified in Chapter 4 (Bevendean; Coombe Road; Hartington Road and Triangle; and Hanover). As Hollingdean was not identified as a case study until a later stage in the research process (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3), focus group and interview research was not undertaken in this case study site. Section 5.6 considers the perceptions of local institutional actors, including local letting agents, strategy-makers and local government officers (planning, housing, anti-social behaviour team, environmental health), and representatives of the two universities. Finally, Section 5.7 provides a summary of the key findings of the chapter.

5.2. Bevendean

This section presents findings from two focus groups with established residents of Bevendean, two interviews with local residents and one interview with a local Councillor. The section is formed of three parts. The first section (5.2.1) explores residents' perceptions of the temporal and spatial patterns of student residence in Bevendean. In the second section (5.2.2), the dominant perceptions of the impacts of students on Bevendean are investigated. These perceptions are shown to be couched within wider discourses of students as a social group, and these complexities are further explored in the final section (5.2.3).

5.2.1. Perceptions of student –related neighbourhood change in Bevendean

A distinct temporal and spatial frame of reference to the unfolding of processes of studentification was expressed by focus group respondents in Bevendean, indicating that in-migration of students to this neighbourhood had increased rapidly between 2002-2006, with the settlement of most students in West Bevendean (see Chapter 4, Figure 19 for a map showing the East / West division of Bevendean). The following quote, extracted from a focus group with Bevendean residents, illuminates one respondents' perception of the *recent* in-migration of student residents to the neighbourhood:

“To really notice them properly...I'd say the last 3 years more than, I mean obviously there've always been students on the estate, especially the language students during the summer months, but I suppose to really start noticing the students from the universities that are there throughout the year,...3 or 4 years ago before you actually start noticing a lot” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

The spatial patterns of student residence in Bevendean were perceived by focus group respondents to be clustered, concentrated largely in three residential streets in West Bevendean: The Avenue; Lower Bevendean Avenue; and Upper Bevendean Avenue, as illustrated by the following excerpt:

R1: “I think probably it's worse in the Avenue.

R2: Yeah, because there's such a cluster there.

R6: The Avenue, and down into Upper Bevendean Avenue and Lower Bevendean Avenue” (Bevendean residents, FG1).

The perceived concentration of student residence in a relatively small locale within the wider Bevendean estate was coupled with the understanding that within this area, student households had tended to form 'micro-clusters' at the sub-street level; this further augmenting the contrast between student households and owner-occupied properties:

“It's quite grouped there isn't it, it's not just 1 or 2 houses, it's up to 10 houses next to each other so it's more noticeable isn't it” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

Respondents were asked to consider what proportion of student residents could be comfortably 'absorbed' into the local community, without triggering negative processes of urban change (examples of which are identified and discussed in Section 5.2.2). Interestingly, residents suggested that one-third of student residents marked a 'tipping point' beyond which the negative impacts of this social group would dominate. This suggests some level of tolerance to student households among the local established residential population; a theme that is further exemplified in later sections:

“I suppose if you’ve got a third of students in your street...that is going to start...people will move out...like Lower Bevendean Avenue, some-one told me 5 houses have gone in the last year to the students. And he said, you know, I get on well with them, but I don’t want students I want a family next to me” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

The concentration of students in this particular part of Bevendean was perceived by residents to be predominantly a result of the agency of students, expressing their preference for accommodation in close proximity to the main University of Brighton campus (Moulsecoomb campus, situated adjacent to West Bevendean, to the West of Lewes Road; see Figure 5 for location of university campus in relation to the Bevendean case study site):

“I think the problem is with the concentration of student houses here, ‘cos you’ve got the market here, everybody wants to be as near to the University as possible...as opposed to if it’s higher up in the estate it’s not so easy to let them for that reason...because I know there’s a couple in the drive where I am but there isn’t as many obviously” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

Residents also perceived the housing stock in West Bevendean to be more suitable for conversion to student HMO, compared to the more varied housing (including bungalows and newly developed social rented housing) found in East Bevendean, exemplified by the following quote:

“It’s never those bungalows in Heath Hill Avenue that are to let is it when you go up, it’s always the houses prior to that” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

Finally, the cyclical short-term flux of local student populations, aligned with the academic calendar, was noted by respondents to have introduced ‘seasonal churn’ to the local area. Residents articulated a number of negative impacts associated with the emergence of a shifting population profile, perceived to be constantly re-shaping in line with the academic vacation periods. These included the lack of care and attention paid to the maintenance of gardens, and the unchecked proliferation of vermin:

“There is that real feeling of a dormitory town now” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

“And of course... it’s an 8 week term system, so henceforth there’s 24 weeks a year that there’s some-one in there, otherwise they’re empty and the gardens just grow, and people have said in meetings that there’s been rats and heaven knows what” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

In summary, this section has demonstrated that student in-migration is perceived to have unfolded during the previous 3-4 year period (2002-2006) in Bevendean, with students forming distinct clusters to the West of the estate. The location of the University of Brighton Moulsecoomb campus is cited as a key factor influencing the expanding student population within this locale; emphasising the significance of students’ location preferences in the formation of concentrations of privately rented student HMO. Finally, the transience of local

student populations was noted by local residents', who suggested this exacerbated some of the negative aspects associated with local student HMO, such as unkempt gardens.

5.2.2. Perceptions of the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification in Bevendean

This section focuses on the *impacts* of expanding student populations in Bevendean, as identified by the established residential community. These impacts include physical changes to the urban landscape; issues arising from conflicting lifestyles (e.g. noise nuisance) and more entrenched social changes to the community, such as shifting population dynamics and perceived threats to local services provided for families and children. It is important to note that focus group respondents discussed both positive and negative changes occurring in Bevendean in response to the expanding resident student population, indicating some balance of opinion.

Noise nuisance was perceived to be the primary negative impact of local student populations on Bevendean residents' quality of life. This was considered to signify a particularly extreme problem to families residing in The Avenue, perceived to be the nucleus of student residence in Bevendean (discussed above in Section 5.2.1):

R6: "It's more in the Avenue isn't it...you've got multiple occupancies, not just 1 or 2 students, but 5 or 6 in a 2 bedroom house.

R2: Yeah, if you're getting blasted with that every night and you've got to go to work in the morning...

R6: Walking up The Avenue there sometimes you can hear the music...

R2: Yeah, if you've got to put up with that you have no life really have you?" (Bevendean residents, FG1).

Although respondents expressed uniform concern regarding the impact of noise nuisance on the quality of life of residents of The Avenue, their perception of this problem in East Bevendean was quite different. Noise nuisance in East Bevendean was perceived to be more infrequent, with respondents couching their concerns within broader discourses of tolerance to the negative aspects of young people's lifestyles:

R2: "They don't really cause any bother...occasionally there's a late-night party, but it is only very occasionally, and it really only affects the next house you know?"

R2: Kids do have parties

R1: Yeah, it's expected isn't it?

R2: And it's usually at the weekend that they have it as well, and nobody's going working in the morning, and if you can't sleep it's annoying but it's not the end of the world" (Bevendean residents, FG 1).

This perhaps implies that in East Bevendean, where student residence is less concentrated, residents tend to express more tolerance of the challenges associated with their conflicting lifestyles; indicating the importance of clustering and concentration of student residence on perceptions of their negative impacts at the micro-scale.

Unkempt gardens and outside spaces belonging to student HMO were, according to respondents, contributing to the declining visual aesthetics of the Bevendean estate. Respondents were concerned both by the appearance of uncared for gardens, and the difficulties they presented to pedestrians walking through Bevendean:

“It’s become more difficult to walk down the pavements because the hedges in the gardens aren’t cut back, and so you have to walk out into the road and then you can’t because there’re too many cars parked there.” (Bevendean resident, FG1)

Residents perceived attempts by students and / or gardeners employed by landlords and letting agents to tidy outdoor spaces to be extreme and indicative of a more general lack of concern for the appearance of the area:

“When they do do it, they sort of go to the extreme and cut them right back to nothing, so the appearance is” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

“It’s gone from 6 foot high down to nothing so they don’t have to do it again” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

“No gardening you know, they’re just...stripping it back to nothing” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

However, as demonstrated by the following two excerpts, respondents tended to apportion more ‘blame’ for unkempt gardens on local landlords, as opposed to student tenants:

“R1: I really don’t necessarily feel that that’s always down to the students

R6: Well, it should be down to the people that own the house

R1: Exactly” (Bevendean residents, FG1).

“My Mum lives in Lower Bevendean Avenue...her neighbours are lovely, they’re students, but she gets on well with them...but from her perspective, their garden became very very overgrown, and it started to encroach into her garden until she had to pay £50 to get somebody to cut all that back, but it was nothing to do with her, and she said if it was the other side as well, then it would become a real problem, not from the student’s perspective like we were saying earlier on, but from the landlord’s, not maintaining the property and the fabric of the building” (Bevendean residents, FG1).

These quotes again suggest some measure of sympathy for local student populations, who are perceived to some extent as naive and inexperienced, thus lowering local residents’ expectations of their ability to maintain households to a ‘standard’ similar to their own. This

perception is further evidenced by the following quote, which reveals a sense of ‘fondness’ for the naivety of local student populations:

“And I think the funny thing is when you walk up the avenue and people haven’t got curtains in the windows and people are walking about in a state of undress or semi-undress, I mean you know...it makes an old man like me very happy!” (Bevendean residents, FG1).

Domestic refuse placed on-street by student residents for collection on the wrong day was cited as another example highlighting the general inexperience of students in upholding domestic routines; an outcome of which was perceived to be a general down-grading of the physical appearance of the neighbourhood:

“Sometimes the rubbish is all over the street and the road and you think am I gonna walk through it or on the road or what” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

The following quote demonstrates one respondent’s perception of students’ domestic practices (in relation to refuse placed on the street) as being pointedly different from the expected normative behaviour:

“The fact is it’s not all put out together I mean normal people...I would say as a rule...know what day the dustman comes and it’s in a tidy manner but it seems to be when you walk up the Avenue like I do it’s just sprawled all over the show” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

This may suggest that students are perceived in Bevendean, to some extent, as ‘other’; their conflicting lifestyles and ‘unusual’ behavioural practices preventing their positive integration into the pre-existing local community.

Indeed, despite an emerging sense of ‘fondness’ for students as a social group, expressions of dissimilarity between local residents and students, such as the above, in some cases tend to marginalise students as a social group, ring-fencing them based on their inability to adhere to normative behavioural practices, as illustrated by the following quote, which alludes to some degree of intergenerational disparity (between student and established resident) in the normative social practice expected in the situation described:

R3 : “If you’re walking up the road, and they can see you walking up the road, in all common courtesy you see if there’s room to pass and if there’s not, you draw back don’t you?”

R1: I think that’s the sort of thing we do.

R5: I certainly would

R1: I think that was something that we were perhaps brought up to do

R3: Yes, yes.

R1: and you automatically do it...just because of our age group. Younger people, students, don't necessarily think like that...they don't care" (Bevendean residents, FG 1).

Quotes such as the above, expressing frustration at the lack of consideration for others demonstrated by the student population in Bevendean, were, however, often accompanied by an expressed consciousness of the potential to 'misjudge' the student population; again indicating some inherent balance to local residents' views:

"I was at the bus stop the other day and there was this young student on the phone and she was effing and blinding, I kept well back and I thought mmm, and yet when the bus come, she said "you first", and I thought, oh, thank you!...and so maybe, I don't think they always realise their language and the effect it has perhaps on people who are older...and so obviously she wasn't really aggressive, but she seemed it, and I think sometimes you are a bit more frightened of what you can see than you need to be" (Bevendean resident, FG 1).

The misplaced perception of threat and aggression on the part of the established resident appears to have resulted from a conflict between the student's and the local resident's perception of acceptable language in a public place. Although this further evidences the barriers to positive student-resident interaction, this example also reveals the willingness of the local resident to recognise the difference between perceived and real threat; suggesting a deeper more thoughtful interpretation of the situation, as opposed to outright rejection of the student as 'other'.

Thus far, the impacts identified by local residents have indicated physical changes to the urban landscape, and tensions resulting from conflicting behaviour and lifestyles. The following paragraphs outline a set of more entrenched social changes in Bevendean, indicating that processes of studentification, despite their relative infancy, may be embedding in the local context. The following two quotes illustrate the first example of such entrenched social change, highlighting the perceived threat to the provision of services for local families (specifically Bevendean Primary School), in response to the perceived out-movement of families as they are displaced by student populations:

R6: "The school has said if we don't get families back onto the estate, it could mean the closure of the school

R7: Yes, and that's really the lifeblood of the estate" (Bevendean residents, FG1).

"There's 50:50 [students: residents] in Upper and Lower Bevendean, and if you think of that going up there and they had families, and those families went to Bevendean school it's a fair loss" (Bevendean resident, FG1).

Respondents spoke of the erosion of community in Bevendean, both in relation to its material infrastructure (i.e. spaces for residents to gather and interact), and in terms of the

desire and commitment of local people to organise and attend community events, the former being exemplified by the following excerpts:

J: “Are there any pubs on the estate?”

R6: No. No. They demolished it

R2: That’s where a block of flats is now” (Bevendean residents, FG1).

“The church is closing in 3 weeks time...I had to put a business plan in at 9 o’clock this morning to the diocese to save it from being demolished and the vicarage and the community hall to put a 7 storey block of flats there...but it doesn’t look good” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

With the latter point exemplified by the following:

R6: “No, there isn’t a community centre at all on the estate. There is a community building called the BECA centre, and that’s for children and they’re hoping to get funding to re-develop the site into a community centre, but whether they get the funding or not I don’t know.

R2: Cos originally it was built by us wasn’t it?

R6: Yeah, it was built by the people

R1: We had raffles there

R6: Oh, God yeah, we did the pantomimes” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

The decay of Bevendean’s community, both in terms of its shared spaces of interaction and the united community ethos of its residents, was perceived to some extent by respondents to be a result of the shifting demographic profile of the area. The decreasing number of families with children was seen as particularly critical in this context:

“I was just wondering if it’s because the dynamics of the community has changed...I mean I’ve only lived here for 4 years, but my neighbour says that when their children were little there were lots of things going on at the church, and the community centre, especially at Christmas” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

Respondents also voiced concern regarding the impact of a declining sense of community on Bevendean’s more vulnerable residents, in particular the break-down of ‘neighbourly support-structures’, and the consequent sense of isolation that had developed among Bevendean’s older residential population:

“If you’ve lived up here for a while and you’ve got an elderly neighbour, even if they’re quite independent really, you’re still keeping an eye out...that the light goes on at night and she’s got her washing out. But if they’re moving out all the time, you lose that for them as well don’t you” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

Thus, the influence of students on community decay is intimated in references to a shifting population balance away from families and children, and the increasing isolation of older

members of the community. Processes of studentification then, the onset of which are perceived to be relatively nascent in Bevendean in comparison to the other case study sites, appear to have become rapidly entrenched, signalled by an awareness expressed among local residents of deep-seated social changes to Bevendean.

5.2.3. The complexities of local residents' perceptions of students and urban change in Bevendean

Despite the dominant emphasis of focus group discussions on the negative aspects of urban change related to the in-migration of students, established residents in Bevendean also identified a range of positive impacts. These are outlined below. Some evidence has been provided in the previous section of residents' tendency, to some extent, to tolerate the challenges of expanding student populations. This theme is considered in more detail in this section, as Bevendean residents' views of students as a social group are explored.

Respondents identified the regeneration and extended opening hours of The Avenue's small collection of local shops as a positive change that could be related directly to the increased student population residing in the area, as exemplified by the following quotes:

“A couple of the shops have regenerated themselves haven't they, we've got a good one up by us now and the one at the bottom of the Avenue has expanded so I wonder if that's maybe a positive impact” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

“And now they've got the students down there they stay open even later 'cos they pop in there for a can or bottle of something and take it home, and so henceforth he stays open later” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

Respondents also perceived that improvements to local transport links were responsive to demand from the local student population for regular and late-night transport to the town centre, and to the University of Brighton and University of Sussex 'out-of-town' campus' at Falmer:

R6: “Well, let's face it, they just get home from college, university, sit in front of the computer, watch a bit of telly, go out get the 10 o'clock...bus going down town...go out clubbing and drinking. Then get the 25 all the way back and walk up the Avenue.”

R2: And there's nothing up here is there?

R6: See there's nothing in these places; you haven't got bars or anything round here. I mean the nearest student place to here is up at Sussex isn't it.

R4: That in itself is quite positive though isn't it. I mean, perversely, it's keeping the bus service regular” (Bevendean residents, FG1).

Finally, interaction between student residents and local young people by way of impromptu football matches held on the central green space between the North and South sections of The Avenue, was perceived to exemplify positive student-community relations in the area:

R4: “I mean also, I’ve seen occasionally like football matches going on on the green

R6: What down at the bottom...yeah, one or two people have said they’ve had games going on with the local youngsters too, which is a good thing” (Bevendean residents, FG1).

These examples challenge the dominantly negative perception of students and their impacts on Bevendean, as presented in the previous section, reiterating that a level of tolerance to student in-migration is apparent among the local established community (discussed in more detail below), and illuminating the complex nuances of residents’ perceptions of the unfolding processes of studentification within this neighbourhood.

When discussion of respondents’ views on students as a social group was explored, respondents did not articulate predominantly negative perceptions. Rather, the respondents explicitly focused on problematic *individual* students. This suggests that residents have not compartmentalised Bevendean’s student population, instead garnering a more balanced view, sensitive to the diversity among student populations and their personal and household characteristics:

“Each intake brings a different clientele, so you can’t say it’s like that all the time. I mean we’ve had people at the local action team meetings who come in and jumped up and down, screaming and pulling their hair out saying I can’t cope, and then the next year, oh, they’re great!” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

“It’s definitely down to the individuals and how they interact with their neighbours. And a lot of, you know it depends on how you’ve been brought up, whether you react to...have you got the social skills to communicate with older people or families. I mean if you come up with a single parent mother and she says oh, just go and do what you want, you know, or something you know, or you grow up with a family that you know, say go and do your own thing, don’t bother getting in ‘til half past 2 in the morning, how are these kids supposed to know how to interact” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

It has been demonstrated at various junctures throughout this, and the previous Section, that respondents have expressed some level of tolerance to local student populations. Indeed, it has been suggested based on evidence from focus groups, that respondents have developed some degree of ‘fondness’ for the ‘eccentricities’ of local students, and their rejection of the normative behavioural practices of day-to-day life. Tolerance, therefore, emerges as an important theme determining the perceptions of students among this established residential community. With this in mind, the intricacies of the expressions of tolerance among established residents of Bevendean are discussed further below.

During discussions of anti-social behaviour in Bevendean, respondents identified other social groups, in addition to students, who were noted to be responsible to some degree for the noise and intimidation reported by residents of the Avenue area. In the following two

excerpts, respondents specifically identify local teenagers and ‘problem families’ as instigators of noise nuisance and other low-level anti-social behaviour in West Bevendean:

R6: “If you go up The Avenue sometimes er...you know, it is quite noisy and it’s been quite intimidating when I’ve walked up there sometimes...you have them all standing outside there on the pavement and they won’t move and they’ve got their cans of beer in their hand and it’s f-this and f-that, and you know, you have to walk out around the cars to get past them.

R3: I mean we get the same with groups of teenagers don’t we really...so I don’t think you can just say it’s the students” (Bevendean residents, FG1).

“We’ve got to be fair, also there’re families down The Avenue, and they’re there on a permanent basis, and they too, like I say I feel intimidated, and when I get to a certain point in The Avenue I will walk in the road regardless. There’s one particular family I know I wouldn’t even dream of asking them to move out of the way!...they’ve never done me any harm, and they probably wouldn’t, but nevertheless they make so much noise that you just consider that, I don’t want to get involved” (Bevendean resident, FG1).

Similarly, the following quote from a Bevendean resident describes an awareness of other processes of change occurring in Bevendean (aside from studentification), that were felt to be impacting upon the demographic profile of the area. The quote describes one residents’ perception of the influence Bevendean’s high proportion of social housing had had on the characteristics of the local demographic:

“I used to run an after school club up on Meadowview and we used to find that...because it’s so hard to get council housing or housing association places, you tend to only get them if your kid’s got special needs or is disabled...because otherwise you never get to the top of the list...and so what we were finding was that we actually had to close because the proportion of children with special needs and disabilities was becoming over-whelming” (Bevendean resident, interview M).

Finally, the Local Action Team (LAT, see Chapter 4, Section 4.3 for a full description of the function and structure of LATs) in Bevendean was perceived to represent a unique asset to this community, as compared to the other case study sites. One local Councillor stated that the LAT had become a powerful tool for dealing with the negative impacts of studentification, the effectiveness of the LAT being testament to the pro-active nature of the LAT Chair and the residents who attended regularly:

“I think the difference with Bevendean is that they’re willing to grab it and take it to task and deal with it. They are much more pro-active about what they’re going to do about it, what they want from it and what they can achieve” (Local Councillor).

“The Chair of the LAT, James, is very good and very pro-active himself. He’s really taken this on board, and he wants to find the positives you know, around this. Which is really good, rather than just harping on about how bad students are, he’s seen some of the positives that the students have brought to the area” (Local Councillor).

The inauguration and success of this local community organisation suggests the existence of a well-informed group of established local residents. Crucially, this members of this local community group are clearly aware of, and willing to engage with, the relevant local service-providers (such as the Anti-social Behaviour Team at Brighton and Hove City Council, and local Police Community Support Officers), in order to encourage both better management of the challenges of studentification, and positive change to the local urban environment.

In summary, it is fair to say that the perceptions of students and student-related urban change among the established residential community of Bevendean are complex. The clustering of students within private rented HMO in West Bevendean (particularly in The Avenue area) is perceived to have given rise to a significant number of negative changes to local residents' quality of life; to the physical urban environment; and to the socio-demographic profile of the area. Some of these changes are viewed as being more entrenched in the neighbourhood. However, despite the persistent dominance of such negative perceptions of change, respondents often demonstrated explicit and tacit tolerance to student populations and their conflicting lifestyles and behavioural practices. This tolerance has been further un-packed to reveal an awareness among local residents of other social groups, who are also perceived to be influencing change in the neighbourhood. Awareness of the structures and mechanisms within Brighton and Hove City Council and other local agencies, put in place to deal with issues such as noise nuisance was demonstrated, as was a willingness to engage with local service providers in order to address the issues identified.

5.3. Perceptions of student-related neighbourhood change in Coombe Road

This section discusses local residents' perceptions of the processes and impacts of studentification in Coombe Road. Importantly, the collection of qualitative evidence within Coombe Road was hampered by the absence of a community group or residents association; which provided the necessary forum for the identification of respondents and hosting of focus group meetings in the other case study sites. As outlined in Chapter 4, in order to maintain methodological consistency, the researcher did not seek to recruit focus group respondents in other ways. The qualitative material discussed herein is therefore sourced from four interviews undertaken with local residents in the area, and one interview with a local councillor. The section is divided into three parts. In keeping with the structure of Section 5.2, the first part, below, considers local residents' perceptions of the temporal and spatial patterns of student residence in Coombe Road; finding that student residents have formed increasingly dense clusters in the area between 1996-2006. Following this, Section 5.3.2 details residents' perceptions of the impacts of students on Coombe Road, finding evidence of more entrenched negative social change here than was evident in Bevendean. The section (5.3.3) ends, however, by outlining a number of positive influences of students on the local area, all of which were expressed by Coombe Road respondents; but not those in other case study areas, thus challenging the dominance of the negative processes and impacts

of studentification, and illuminating the emerging micro-scale specificities of the processes and impacts of studentification.

5.3.1. Perceptions of the temporal and spatial patterns of student residence in Coombe Road

The following quote reveals student populations to have concentrated in Coombe Road over the previous ten-year period (1996-2006), marking a more extended temporal frame to the unfolding of processes of studentification in this case study site, when compared to Bevendean:

“When we first moved in [10 years ago] I would say...all there were in our street were 2 houses over the road that were actually owned by Sussex University. And now I would say...possibly...I don't know...about 30% of the houses [are rented to students] in the street?” (Coombe Road resident).

In the quote below, a resident of Coombe Road describes a suite of changes to the population and tenure profile s/he has witnessed in the area over the previous ten year period. The devalorisation of local properties occupied by an ageing local population (as evidenced by 2001 GB Census analysis of Coombe Road's population characteristics, Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2) less able to invest in their upkeep is cited, resulting in a local housing stock perceived to be “ripe for development” (Coombe Road resident, interview 1). The subsequent purchase and conversion of these properties to student HMO by local landlords was noted, with the location of Coombe Road in close proximity to the University of Brighton Moulsecoomb campus perceived to have been a key influence on the expansion of buy-to-let investment in this area:

“The Coombe road area...has changed massively...I've lived there for 10 years and when we moved into the area, there was a really high proportion of old people, which meant that there were lots and lots of under-modernised properties...and so as they've sort of died off or gone to homes kind of thing, its left all these properties that were really ripe for development...and as the property market has gone up they've been the only properties available at reasonable prices ...I mean location obviously as well but, that's why they've been snapped up because there were loads of properties that hadn't been split up with through-lounges, hadn't had double glazing put in and so on...so I think people bought them quite cheap. Obviously its an area where there's a lot of builders, electricians and so a lot of them have been snapping them up, doing the work themselves and renting them out” (Coombe Road resident).

In summary, student in-migration is viewed to have occurred in Coombe Road since 1996, markedly longer than that reported in Bevendean. Specific economic, social and demographic processes are perceived to have influenced the proliferation of private rented student HMO in this area. This has involved the identification and investment in devalorised owner-occupied housing (often accommodating Coombe Road's older

populations), and the subsequent conversion to rental investment property, aimed at the local student market.

5.3.2. Perceptions of the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification in Coombe Road

This section highlights the effects of studentification on the physical landscape of Coombe Road, the quality-of-life of residents, and the impacts associated with the more socially-embedded processes of urban change in the neighbourhood. More emphasis is placed on the latter in Coombe Road than in Bevendean, perhaps resulting from the earlier in-migration of students to Coombe Road, enabling a more established set of processes to unfold.

Akin to Bevendean, noise nuisance (in particular that occurring late at night) caused by students was identified to be negatively impacting on local residents' quality-of-life, as illustrated by the following quote:

“Some neighbours that have complained that you know they get kind of woken up at sort of 2 o'clock in the morning coming home drunk you know, and that kind of thing” (Coombe Road resident).

Inappropriate disposal of domestic refuse was also cited as a signifier of student-related neighbourhood change. In the example below, this resulted in the staging of an intervention by an established resident, deemed necessary in order to clear the accumulation of refuse from his / her neighbouring student household's garden; the student occupants of the property having failed to address the issue themselves:

“One of my neighbours over the road was saying that you know last summer they couldn't sit in their garden because there was so much rubbish stacked in the back garden that in the end he just climbed over there, bagged it up for them and stuck it all out the front, and he said it was something like 25 bin bags or something” (Coombe Road resident).

However, such extreme examples of the apparent incapability of student households to adequately dispose of domestic waste were contextualised by statements exposing residents' perceptions of students as inexperienced and naive in terms of the practicalities of effectively managing a household; to some degree eradicating responsibility for their failure to adhere to the expected routine for rubbish disposal. This is demonstrated by the following two quotes:

“I mean, you know, there are times when you can tell they are people who are maybe people living away from home for the first time so they haven't quite got things like getting the rubbish out organised... but that's been kind of nothing really in excess...I mean, you know they don't really do the garden but I don't care” (Coombe Road resident).

“You know, they're basically nice kids they just haven't got a clue about living on their own” (Coombe Road resident).

Examples of more entrenched social change in Coombe Road, such as a diminishing sense of community, coupled with decaying support structures for more vulnerable residents (specifically older people residing in Coombe Road), decreasing attendance at the local primary school, and increasing pressures on local traders' profit margins resulting from the seasonal in- / out-migration of the local student market were also expressed by respondents.

The quotes below outline respondents' perceptions of the break-down of community structures in Coombe Road. The first quote cites both the disparate daily routines of students and established residents, and students' tendencies not to make use of their outside space with any great frequency, as barriers to positive interaction between the two social groups:

“It has to a certain extent changed...I mean it is a really nice community and, you know, there'll always be neighbours you chat to and neighbours that you don't, but umm, but I think there is less of a community with the students living there because, you know, they kind of keep different hours, they don't tend to spend a lot of time in the garden you know” (Coombe Road resident).

“Many elderly residents now are telling me they feel lonely, they feel isolated, and the whole feel of the area has changed...while they're happy living in their homes the feeling of the area has changed for them. That's their perception” (Local Councillor).

The second quote, above, describes the sense of isolation among older residents of the Coombe Road area, resulting from a decaying sense of community, and crumbling support structures, that once facilitated the care and support of more vulnerable members of the community.

As noted in Bevendean, the threat posed to the local primary school resulting from decreasing school-age population, a process tied to the perceived out-migration of families from the area, was also raised by respondents in Coombe Road. In the interview excerpt below, one local resident describes the merging of two classes into one annual intake at Coombe Road Primary as a result of dwindling numbers of children residing in the local area. This quantifiable evidence of decreasing class sizes was not identified in any other case study sites:

“R: I mean Coombe Road always used to have a 2 class intake every year, and now it's about 1, just over 1. This year they had to group classes together because they got about 1 and a half or something

J: So that's been a noticeable change fairly recently

R: Yeah, which is obviously worrying for the school

J: So, potentially if that continues, then there might be seen to be not the need for a school there?” (Coombe Road resident).

Furthermore, decreasing attendance at Coombe Road Primary School was perceived by respondents to have been compounded by the out-movement of families in response to the

introduction of catchment-area based school admissions policies. This reveals some awareness of other processes of change and their influence on population dynamics and local service provision in the area, in this case rooted in the implementation of new education policies, as described by the following quote:

“Under catchment proposals that are being put forward now that will mean that more families will move out in order to up their opportunities to get into better schools, and the only ones that are left to take up buying those properties are landlords...that changes the whole character of the area, you lose your community...your natural community disappears and also it does have an impact on falling pupil numbers on primary schools” (Local Councillor).

This suggests that local residents perceive studentification to be one component influence on urban change in their neighbourhood, rather than the primary driver. Indeed, in the quote below a local councillor posits the changing school admissions policies in the city as a more crucial influence on population imbalance in the area than the processes and impacts of studentification:

“This [schools admissions policy] change has the potential to change the population in the area [Coombe Road] massively and very quickly, it’s really worrying, more so than the students” (Local Councillor).

The final example of embedded changes to the characteristics of the urban area, associated with the in-migration of students, cites the difficulties experienced by local traders resulting from the seasonal flux in student population, aligned with the Summer, Christmas and Easter vacation periods. This is illustrated by the following quote from a local councillor:

“The traders [in Coombe Road] are very concerned because you’ve got deli’s and cafes but they only do good trade 7 months of the year, the other 5 months when the students are not there, they’re struggling to keep their heads above water and um, I think that has a knock-on effect for what facilities are there for residents all year round” (Local Councillor).

Again, this impact was not a concern raised by respondents from any other case study site, reiterating the micro-specific challenges of studentification emerging at the community scale.

5.3.3. The complexities of local residents’ perceptions of students and urban change in Coombe Road

This final section complicates the dominantly negative perceptions of the impacts of students on Coombe Road presented in the previous section, by describing two positive impacts cited by established residents. These were not identified by respondents from any other case study site, further demonstrating the micro-scale specificities of the processes and impacts of studentification within Brighton.

The first, referred to in the quote below, involves the opportunity for investment in buy-to-let properties by established local residents, and their subsequent letting to student tenants. This represents a potential financial benefit for the established residential community, tied to the local demand for student accommodation:

“It’s kind of given quite a lot of people opportunities...rather than just massive landlords that own loads of properties, there are lots of people that own 1 or 2 places that they rent out...and so there’s like a local economy” (Coombe Road resident).

The second theme is tied to the diversification of the ethnic profile of the Coombe Road community, and indeed the wider city. In the first interview excerpt below, the respondent, of ‘Black Caribbean’ ethnic origin, describes the shifting ethnic mix in the area since s/he in-migrated ten years previously. These quotes indicate perceptions of a positive diversification of the local community, resulting from students in-migrating from more ethnically diverse communities outside of the city:

R: “I mean, I remember when we first moved down here, that...I mean, I used to say hello to other black people when I walked past them on the street!

J: ...such a novelty, yeah

R: And, you know, my oldest son started school here, and I came out of the first visit thinking God, it’s like the village of the damned or something...everybody was white, and I was walking around thinking, where am I, you know, and I don’t feel like that anymore...I mean it’s not like London, but it’s much more diverse than it was (Coombe Road resident).

“The fact that the students come down here, it’s lead to a much more diverse population, and some of them stay for a few years, and some of them set up home here...so in a way it’s sort of diversifying the city, and I think that’s actually really great” (Coombe Road resident).

In summary, comparing perceptions of student in-migration to Coombe Road and the subsequent changes to this urban context, with those emerging from Bevendean, reveals the extent to which the processes and impacts of studentification differ at the micro-geographic scale. Student in-migration was perceived to have occurred at a much earlier juncture in Coombe Road than in Bevendean, and was tied to the overlap of specific local population and housing dynamics (whereby an aging population had produced a burgeoning devalourised housing stock ripe for development by buy-to-let investors). Despite the common recognition of noise nuisance and rubbish disposal among respondents in Bevendean and Coombe Road, a range of specific processes and impacts, both positive and negative, were identified in Coombe Road, with respondents expressing both positive and negative views on students; expressions of the latter often imbued with undertones of tolerance.

5.4. Perceptions of student-related neighbourhood change in Hartington Road and Triangle

This section examines local established residents' views on student in-migration to Hartington Road and Triangle, based on one focus group and two interviews with local established residents. As noted in Chapter 4 (Section 4.5.3), physical evidence of studentification is widespread throughout Hartington Road and Triangle, as is the influence of the student consumer on local retail provision, which has become dominated by late-night takeaways, off-licenses and discount furniture stores. Notable variations in the population characteristics of Hartington Road and Triangle, compared to Bevendean and Coombe Road, were also highlighted in Chapter 4. Hartington Road and Triangle residents tend to have attained a higher level of education than those residing in Bevendean and Coombe Road, and a significantly higher proportion of residents are employed in professional and managerial occupations. The influence of students and young professionals on the local tenure profile is marked, with 40.3% households recorded as private rented (compared to 21.2% in Brighton and Hove as a whole). Such local contingencies, it is argued, coupled with the comparatively early onset of processes of studentification (perceived to have unfolded prior to 2001: see Chapter 4, Sections 4.4.2 and 4.5.3) in this area, has resulted in the unfolding of a specific set of processes of urban change, and a uniquely articulate and knowledgeable local population. Some sense of resignation to the evident changes to the urban landscape and the fabric of the local community was detected among respondents across Hartington Road and Triangle, however, it is suggested this could be rooted in the profoundly embedded nature of studentification, and the dwindling proportion of established residents remaining to maintain the pre-existing social structure.

With reference to Chapter 4, Section 4.3, it should also be noted that community unrest related to a particular set of processes of studentification in Hartington Road emerged and infiltrated local media and political discourses in 2008, *after* focus group and interview research had reached completion (in early 2007). The apex of the disharmony in Hartington Road was contextualised by a (perceived) gradual displacement of established family households with private rented student HMO over many years. However, the intensity of community resistance reached a peak in summer 2008, when the University of Sussex sold a batch of university managed HMO on Brading Road (branching off Hartington Road) to a private developer. This resulted in the constitution of a new community action group: EGRAG. The absence of any notable reference to these specific processes during focus group research in Hartington Road and Triangle in 2007 serves to emphasise the rapidity with which these processes resulted in the onset of organised community action in 2008. The very localised nature of this expression of conflict (confined to the Hartington Road area, with no comparative disharmony evident in the Triangle during this period) highlights the sub-case study site micro-specificities of the expressions of studentification in Hartington

Road and Triangle. Evidence of these concerns among established residents was recorded during the questionnaire survey, which was administered in Hartington Road and Triangle in the latter stages of 2008; see Chapter 6, Section 6.4, for a full discussion of these findings.

5.4.1. Perceptions of the temporal and spatial patterns of student residence in Hartington Road and Triangle

Akin to reports from residents in Bevendean of concentrated clustering of students in particular sub-street locales of the wider case study site (The Avenue area, West Bevendean), focus group respondents from Hartington Road and Triangle perceived students to have “monopolised” (Triangle resident, FG1) the Northern-most point of the Triangle, to the extent that some residents felt that the vast majority of properties on their street were now occupied by students, as illustrated by the following focus group excerpt:

R2: “When I intended to buy a place in St Martins Street I would’ve been one of only 3 owner occupiers

R6: Same as mine...74 houses in my street...and 9 families left, the rest are students...they’re all students” (Hartington Road and Triangle residents, FG).

Student residence was thought to be less heavily clustered to the South of the Triangle, with the primary concentration of student households perceived to have developed to the North, where the streets were referred to by residents as the ‘Scottish streets’:

R: “I think the South of the Triangle is generally quite distinctive...

Acc: It is, its [sic] posher area

G: I think the Scottish streets are different to the Saints streets, I think that the lower levels – St Pauls street, your street, my street, St Mary Magdalen street, tend to be the houses they’re the ones where there’s 85% students” (Hartington Road and Triangle residents, FG).

To the East of the case study site, Hartington Road was perceived to accommodate a concentrated student population, with more even distribution along the roads branching North and South from Hartington Road. Although comparatively similar patterns of micro-scale clustering of student residence are apparent in Hartington Road and Triangle to those identified in Bevendean (discussed in Section 5.2.1), the following quote reveals a more long-standing history of student in-migration processes in Hartington Road and Triangle. The respondent quoted below states that students began to move in to Hartington Road and Triangle more than a decade ago, with his / her street having reached “saturation point” in relation to the proportion of student HMO five years previously (2001):

R7: “It’s the same in my road, in Aberdeen Road, we’ve got just less than a third that are owner occupied.

J: And how long have you lived there?

R7: 15 years

J: and when you first moved to the area, was it very different?

R7: 90% were owner occupied then...nearly everybody in the street then...it's been this way for about ten years now, gradually more and more (students) moved in, but we've been at saturation point for a good five years I'd say" (Hartington Road and Triangle residents, FG).

This suggests that processes of studentification began to unfold earlier in Hartington Road and Triangle, when compared to Bevendean. This assertion is supported by contextual data presented in the previous chapter (Chapter 4, Table 4), where it is noted that Hartington Road and Triangle had the highest percentage student population in 2001 (10.3%), and had experienced the lowest expansion of student residence between 2001-2008 (29.3% increase in student population, compared to over 44.0% increase in all other case study sites). This indicates that studentification began to unfold prior to 2001 in Hartington Road and Triangle, suggesting a more mature example of a studentified urban area.

5.4.2. Perceptions of the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification in Hartington Road and Triangle

This section considers Hartington Road and Triangle residents' perceptions of the impacts of unfolding processes of studentification in their neighbourhood; largely outlining a range of negative impacts that suggest more entrenched processes of social change in this case study site, when compared with Bevendean and Coombe Road. Impacts on the urban landscape and the quality of life of residents were also identified; specifically noise nuisance and the physical dilapidation of property frontages and yard areas.

Residents articulated that Hartington Road and Triangle had become noticeably noisier, particularly late at night. Late-night noise nuisance was perceived to have been exacerbated by changes to the UK Alcohol Licensing Act (2005), enabling off-licenses and pubs in the area to extend their opening hours:

"I feel like it seems to have got noisier and busier...I think, particularly, I don't know whether other people agree with this or not, since the licensing changed a year ago, but there seem to be more shops open late, and takeaways open late, and obviously the pubs can be open later now. Whereas Lewes Road, to me anyway, seemed to be dead, not really dead, but compared to other parts of the city, if I came back late at night would seem quite dead, and now it seems a lot livelier (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

Alongside increased disturbance from noise nuisance, residents also described a sense of intimidation associated with noise nuisance events unfolding late at night. Residents reported feeling "outnumbered" (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG) by large congregations of 'rowdy' students, which had tempered their confidence to confront the source of the disturbance:

“Yeah, ‘cos when we feel outnumbered by them, I mean when you live somewhere where there’re a few households of students if something kicks off everybody comes out to see what’s going on, but if you’re in the minority, then it can feel a bit intimidating to go and confront people when no-one else is” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

Residents described the physical dilapidation and state of disrepair of the local area, resulting largely they felt, from the increased proportion of private rented student HMO let by absentee landlords. One respondent commented that the dilapidated state of the area acted as a signal for other forms of neglect, such as leaving refuse out on the street, and abandoned unwanted household furniture in front gardens:

“Very often houses that are let fall into disrepair – so it’s not just...the students it’s actually the conditions of the properties that help lead to the attitude of not caring, refuse problems, abandoned sofas and what-not” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

It was suggested by respondents that issues of noise nuisance and the decaying urban landscape resulted to some extent from imbalances in the local area, whereby students and student HMO were dominating the local demographic and tenure profiles, resulting in a downgrading of the surrounding physical environment:

“When the mix goes wrong, like it has in our area, that’s when you start to get the problems like when people don’t care, litter, the refuse problems, noise” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

The more entrenched processes of change reported in Hartington Road and Triangle differed from those identified in Bevendean and Coombe Road, with established residents voicing concern over the impacts of students on local retail provision and the diminishing sense of community. A perceived shift in the provision of retail services on Lewes road (the central thoroughfare through the case study site) was noted, resulting in a proliferation of take-aways and off-licenses. Visual evidence, presented in the previous chapter (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.3), shows examples of such retail outlets dominating this stretch of Lewes Road:

“There’s nothing quality left – find anything other than take-outs – there’s fourteen now just along our short strip of Lewes Road...video shops, pound shops and off-licenses...there’s nothing left” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

The fabric of the Hartington Road and Triangle community was considered by residents to have deteriorated, to the extent that neighbours no longer knew one-another, as they once might have. This was in part attributed to the high level of transience of local student populations, and other young adults who were renting for short periods of time, thus failing to invest their time, energy or skills in the local community:

“You don’t know who your neighbour is now. Apart from the people who are owner occupiers, they often change around as often as every 3 months – and that’s not just students that’s young people too” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

One respondent, however, who had previously been a student in Brighton, sympathised to some extent with the perceived lack of community-interaction on the part of local students, maintaining that established local residents should expect to assume some responsibility for fostering interaction with local students:

“I was a student only a few years ago and I think that maybe they’re seeing it that they’re not staying very long, and I think that when there’s a high population of young people in one area they’re not really that interested in that sort of community thing, but I don’t think we should assume that they won’t be interested...we should be positive towards them, even though it is hard sometimes when they’ve kept you up all night!” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident).

Further to this, another respondent spoke of the positive reaction s/he had received from student neighbours on inviting them to a local street-party. S/he testified that on inviting every household on his / her street to join the party, the majority of attendees were students, whose company the residents had enjoyed, as illustrated by the following quote:

“A point I’d like to make about this community issue, is that during the summer we organised a street do. We asked people if they’d like to come out for drinks and eats, like a street party, and only half a dozen people showed up, and most of them were not the owner occupiers because they are all in their sixties and seemed to be a bit suspicious about the whole thing. But there were some really nice students that showed up, and then 2 owner occupiers that had been there 10 years that we had never even met” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

Thus, respondents outlined more complex perceptions of decaying community interaction in their neighbourhood, citing wider trends within urban society beyond the conceptual limits of studentification:

“I just want to point out something that I think is really quite crucial...and that’s that people don’t interact like they used to, and maybe that’s something that’s changing in our culture anyway like...there’s a lot of low level crime and people feel a little bit threatened and a little bit worried of smiling at each other and saying hello. We used to do a lot more chatting in the street 15 years ago when you generally knew more or less who was around and even if you didn’t you’d say ‘oh, hello, are you new?’ you know, but now” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

Indeed, it was suggested that increasingly insular contemporary urban communities, as referred to in the following quote, inhibited student residents from engaging with local established residents, compounding the specific negative social processes and impacts of studentification:

“I wonder if that has anything to do with the sort of insularity...I was thinking, the people that we know at my end of the street are all fairly long-term residents – they’re all people involved with things like being governors of local schools, they’re people who are likely to go and protest, you know, community-minded people, and yet none of them have shown any interest in being involved in this residents association. And although we will regularly stop and chat in the street, we very rarely spend time together. And I just wonder...whether the insularity of modern urban life doesn’t help the students to integrate with the community” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

The previous and following focus group excerpts demonstrate Hartington Road and Triangle respondents’ abilities to engage with the issues surrounding students in their community on a conceptual level, as they consider their own personal perceptions of ‘community’, ‘belonging’ and ‘home’, and how these may differ to those of local student populations. This discussion is indicative of a thoughtful, intellectual community, taking a considered approach to dealing with the challenges of studentification:

“The other thing I was going to say...about this sense of community that people have people may think of their community as their street...or it might be wider...people have different interests, and rather than a geographical thing it’s a sense of belonging really and if you’ve got this transient population how they relate to their place, whether they consider it home...because there’s a difference between a house and a home...a difference between the language and everyday discourse. When you talk about the buy-to-let phenomenon, and it’s changed the perception of what a home is. To me I don’t consider it a house, I consider it a home – it’s the place where I live” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

This section has outlined the more embedded processes and impacts of studentification in Hartington Road and Triangle, as identified by local residents. Respondents’ concerns largely focused on the shifting face of retail services along Lewes Road, from which they felt their own retail needs had now been marginalised, and the declining sense of community in the neighbourhood. Discussions regarding the latter have been detailed above, from which emerges evidence of an rational community who are able to un-pack the complex challenges of studentification, and demonstrate an awareness of their interconnectedness with other processes of social change. The following section considers respondents’ perceptions of students as a social group, and the perceived influence of other groups of young adults (specifically young professionals and local young people) on the processes of urban change unfolding in Hartington Road and Triangle.

5.4.3. “They are not in the leafy lanes of Surrey”: conflicts with a ‘middle class’ student lifestyle in Hartington Road and Triangle

This Section explores residents’ perceptions of students as a social group, and how these are tied to conflicts of lifestyle and background. Respondents’ awareness of other social groups perceived to be influential on changes to the local area is also considered.

The following quote posits students as largely patronising and disrespectful in nature. This perception is tied to notions of students as a predominantly ‘middle class’ social group, as such resulting in a perceived disconnect with local established residents. As such, this respondent appears to be distancing him / herself from ‘students’, who are marginalised as ‘other’ within the context of the Hartington Road and Triangle community:

“I think the main gripe for me is that I feel the local community is patronised by these groups I think that is the key issue for me. I think the most annoying thing is that they and this is classist – but this is the problem there is a class barrier here – most of the students I meet in the local Co-op etc tend to be quite distinguished from the local youths...they tend to be middle class, speak that way and um, come from um, probably very different areas than the one we live in. For me, they don’t realise that people actually live here and choose to live here, and they patronise us by making too much noise, um, they have to consider that they are not in the leafy lanes of Surrey, and they are now away from Mummy, and so behave as if we don’t even exist” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

The following focus group excerpt develops this notion of a clearly defined resident: student dichotomy, through consideration of the disparities between perceived normative behavioural practices, and those expressed by the student population. These quotes resonate with discussions in Section 5.2.2 of Bevendean residents’ tendencies to ascribe normative meanings to their own behavioural practices, thus marginalising those of students’ to ‘other’. In this example, the respondents quoted consider the act of opening their front door to a neighbour to be a normative acceptable behavioural practice that is not adhered to by local student households:

“I was also thinking maybe it’s not cool to answer the door...because...the street where we live, Grant knocked on every door to invite them to this street do, and most students didn’t answer – none of the flats answered so we slipped notes through their doors. I was thinking that there are some of the people use drugs on our street, so perhaps they thought we were the authorities in plain clothes!” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

“Yes, its perception isn’t it, I mean I might be very naïve in considering my neighbours as somebody who I can knock on the door in an emergency...now you don’t even know who’s in, who they are...I mean I would consider that other people in our street would think it quite useful – I mean that might sound you know quite self seeking wanting to know your neighbours in case of an emergency” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

Further discussions among the group concluded that these disparities in behavioural expectations were rooted in the transience of student populations, their consequent perceptions of the neighbourhood as “digs” rather than “home”, and the resultant impact this had on students’ willingness to connect with the community surrounding them:

“I think this is the point – what is a home, what is a house, and for most people this is not their home – their home’s in Nottingham or wherever, and this is just digs. But, for me, this is my home, and for you this is your home, and I think that’s where the conflicts come in” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

As was also noted in Bevendean, residents demonstrated an awareness of social groups other than students who presented challenges within the community, such as low-level anti-social behaviour. In the following quote, one resident describes disturbances caused by local young people travelling through the Triangle on their way home from the town centre at night:

R6: “It’s not really people who live on the street its people who are passing through the street it’s a walk-through street and you get them running around there, throwing bins around, climbing all over cars and its not the people that live on the street

R1: Are they people coming to visit the people who are living in the street?

R6: No, they’re coming back from night clubs

R5: They’re not necessarily students though, a lot of the people that do this are people that live in the estates North of the city – they’re the people who travel through” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

Young professionals were also recognised as an important social group in terms of the issues and challenges highlighted with reference to the student population, as illustrated by the following quote:

“I think one of the things which I think we talk about with students is how many of them that you think are students are actually people between the age of 18-30, who are sharers – there’s a house in my street that you would think is a student house, but actually they’re all working at Amex, they’re graduates, young people” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

This suggests that residents are conscious of apportioning blame solely on students, and of forming unilaterally negative perceptions of students as a social group. This concern is evidenced further in the quotes below, where respondents cite the importance of recognising that students’ behaviour should not be collectively perceived as problematic based on experiences of the behavioural ‘problems’ of some individuals. The second of the two quotes below explicitly cites the dangers of mislabelling students as a collective group, and suggests instead that many of the issues the residents had discussed were in fact shared by the student population residing in the area:

“I think, although I was quite negative earlier on, obviously some are badly behaved and some are considerate, it just depends on the individual” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

“There’s this danger isn’t there with any group of people of labelling them, and I think what we found really interesting was students saying that they were really bothered by the noise, they genuinely had been upset by some neighbours of theirs being totally unreasonable – they’d been up all night long – and they’d asked them many times nicely to turn the music down and invited them to their parties themselves, but it didn’t work the other way round – and knowing that Margaret and I were involved in this they came to ask what we could suggest, and they were really bothered by litter and dog poo – and we were really quite flabbergasted that they really wanted to do something – I mean I think they were a bit shy of coming to a meeting like this – but they really wanted to do something that would contribute at street level” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

5.4.4. Mitigating the challenges of studentification: ‘battle-weary’ resignation among local established residents in Hartington and Triangle

Discussions in the previous section have arguably illustrated the adoption of a considered, intellectual approach to debating issues of student-related urban change by the established residential community of Hartington Road and Triangle. Indeed, respondents from this case study site were the first to ardently consider a range of options for the mitigation and management of studentification in Brighton during focus group discussions. However, despite expressing awareness and knowledge of the extant and potential mechanisms for mediating the challenges of studentification (detailed below), this section exposes dwindling confidence among residents in this area in terms of the likelihood for the successful implementation of such initiatives, instead intimating a sense of ‘battle-weary’ resignation to the negative changes that had occurred in this neighbourhood.

Respondents widely agreed that the ‘buy-to-let phenomenon’ (see Leyshon and French, 2009) had played a key role in instigating the changes they had identified in their area, as illustrated by the quote below, with students and young professionals identified as the dominant markets for private rented accommodation in the area:

“An estate agent I was chatting to in the Upper Lewes Road a couple of months ago estimated that of all the houses coming onto the market in this area, 50% of them were bought to let now” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident).

During focus group discussions, respondents considered regulation of the buy-to-let market as a potential tool for ‘controlling’ clusters of student HMO residence. In the following two quotes, respondents suggest some form of additional taxation as the most effective way to curb further expansion of the buy-to-let market, thus freeing-up appropriate housing for first-time buyers in the city:

“There are 2 strategies, 2 ways of dealing with this...they’re both unpopular, sorry about this chaps – this is to make buying to let uneconomic – you can do that by various forms of taxation, I know higher tax is very unpopular, but that is what you do. Make buying to let very uneconomic. That would never happen though, because that sector props up the rest of the city, so we’re done for. We were done for long ago” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

“Yes, houses are sold in my street from one landlord to another. And it’s quite common for one landlord to have several houses. And that is a business, and as such it could be taxed to make sure that you help first time buyers” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

The first of the two quotes above reveals both the respondent’s level of understanding of the issues, and his / her resignation to the probability that regulation of the buy-to-let market (which is perceived to be the only effective mechanism for preventing and / or reversing studentification in Hartington Road and Triangle) is not a viable prospect, thus rendering hopes of effectively mitigating the challenges of studentification obsolete.

The group felt strongly that existing planning regulations were not ‘fit for purpose’ in terms of managing the development of their area, and had failed to control the unfolding of some of the more entrenched processes of studentification, such as the dominance of the retail units situated on Lewes Road by late-night take-aways profiting from local student consumption preferences. This is exemplified by the following quote:

“This all comes down to the planning process and the regulations. I just find it is so inadequate in terms of managing how areas develop. For example Lewes road with 14 takeaways down there, and you can have all these houses bought up, extensions added to the back of them to house more students so all the gardens get eaten up so that people can’t see beyond their back gardens. And I think the whole planning process is just so weak it can’t address anything that the residents actually need” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

“I feel really strongly about the planning process – it’s just the only way of controlling this” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident).

It was suggested that the implementation of SPG enabling the restriction of private rented HMO in this part of the city (such as an ASHORE, as identified by Charnwood Borough Council (see Hubbard, 2008) as a potential method for the control of student housing in Loughborough) could be an appropriate way of addressing the over-concentration of student HMO in the neighbourhood. Again, however, as illustrated by the quote below, the suggestion of SPG as a potential solution was couched within a more general acceptance that these measures would be largely unhelpful in Hartington Road and Triangle, as processes of studentification had already become too heavily embedded.

“Can I just add...that I think the buy to let thing should be incorporated into the planning process so that there can actually be a legal limit, a kind of quota on how many properties can be bought to let. There was an article about this in the Argus a couple of years ago I don't know if that would be a doable thing, but that's the way to stop it...it's too late for that here though, the opportunity to act was lost years ago” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident, FG).

In summary, residents in Hartington Road and Triangle expressed the most limited levels of tolerance to the impacts of expanding student populations, having cited a largely negative range of impacts both to the physical landscape of the neighbourhood and more entrenched influences on the community ethos of the neighbourhood. Where negative perceptions of the impacts of student populations were interwoven with discourses of tolerance among residents' discussions in Bevendean and Coombe Road, Section 5.4.3 reveals an overtly *negative* perception of students as a social group in Hartington Road and Triangle. This was couched within wider discourses of marginalisation and 'othering', rooted in constructions of 'class'. Conversely, discussions among this respondent group also drew on concepts of 'community', 'home' and 'belonging', to consider the barriers to the successful integration of students, marking some level of intellectual engagement with the issues. This marks the emergence of a contradictory respondent profile; suggesting an intellectual respondent group garnering less balanced views than those expressed in previous case study sites. This suggests some deeper embedding of the negative processes of studentification in this area, perhaps resulting from a more historical temporal frame to the unfolding of student-related urban change in this area. It is also possible that the persistent dominance of negative perceptions in this area stems from the more heavy clustering of student residence in small locales within the wider case study site; for example in the Northern-most part of the Triangle area where residents reported “85%” student residence, these small areas, according to residents, having reached “saturation point” ten years previously. This sense of student-domination underpinned discussions outlined in the final section regarding the mitigation and management of change. Despite respondents' knowledge and thoughtful consideration of a range of potential mechanisms for intervention in communities undergoing studentification, there was a significant sense that processes of change in Hartington Road and Triangle had progressed too far, leaving its remaining residents 'battle-weary' and resigned.

5.5. Perceptions of student-related neighbourhood change in Hanover

This section focuses on the perceptions of residents in Hanover, based on findings from two focus groups conducted with local established residents, and one interview with a local councillor. In contrast to the other case study sites, an extended history of student residence was described by respondents in Hanover, with students perceived to have been resident in the neighbourhood since the 1970's. It is demonstrated that residents in Hanover place significant emphasis on the history of urban change over the thirty-year period since the

1970's, positing local student populations (resident both in private rented accommodation, and in the Phoenix Halls of Residence) as crucial in terms of influencing the demographic, physical, social and cultural characteristics of the neighbourhood.

5.5.1. Population imbalance and the history of urban change in Hanover

Hanover residents described witnessing a change in the profile and balance of the population of Hanover over the thirty-year period since the 1970's. Shifting local populations were perceived to have resulted from a net out-movement of older people and families from the neighbourhood, and an in-movement of students, as illustrated by the following quotes:

“What I feel, because I've been here about 20 years now, is that the balance of population has changed quite significantly. Um, when I was first here there were a lot of older people” (Hanover resident, FG1).

“More and more when the houses are left, people move, students are moving in rather than families or individuals as we've been used to” (Hanover resident, FG1).

“There were a lot more sort of um, older people than there are now...they seem to have disappeared, and in their place have come more and more students so there's now a real imbalance in the population” (Hanover resident, FG1).

Crucially, Hanover residents consistently remarked about the history of urban change in their neighbourhood, weaving the initial presence of students in the neighbourhood in the 1970's, and the subsequent expansion of the student population in the 1990's into a broader, more complex summary of a changing community. These changes, outlined below, provide an essential foundation for the conceptualisation of studentification in this case study site and, arguably, posit the history of urban change at the micro-geographic scale as fundamental to understandings of how, where and why processes of studentification have unfolded.

Residents in Hanover cited the presence of students in their neighbourhood from the 1970's, as revealed by the following quotes, marking an extended history of studentification in Hanover when compared to the other case study sites:

“I think it's interesting what you're saying about 5 or 10 years, I was thinking about the changes over the last 30-odd years. I've been here 34 years, and when we moved in there were a lot of students then...there was a mix of older people and students, and the houses were owned quite often by landlords...so even the older people were often in landlord-owned houses, and of course there were lots of students who were renting as well” (Hanover resident, FG2).

This history of student presence in Hanover is further exemplified in the following focus group excerpt, with the location of the former technical college in Hanover cited as influential on patterns of private renting to students in Hanover in this period:

R6: “Going back to the terms that you were talking about [inaudible] we’ve always had students here haven’t we? We had Brighton Tech and then up Southover Street there was a Technical College up there where night-time teaching, night courses, or evening courses were held. Um...what other...wasn’t there an establishment along [inaudible]

R4: “Yes, there are new houses there

R6: There are new houses there now but there was the secondary

R1: The secondary technical building

J: So historically there’s always been students here?

R6: We’ve always had students in this area, I think that would be fair to say” (Hanover residents, FG2).

Despite the presence of students, residents perceived the local population to have maintained a balanced profile during the 1970’s, citing the presence of older people, and a largely ‘working-class’ population, alongside student renters. The onset of the 1980’s marked a period of significant change however, with residents noting the hallmarks of unfolding processes of gentrification; for example the in-migration of ‘middle-class’ residents and increasing property prices, as outlined in the following focus group excerpt:

R1: “So that was...I suppose until the 80’s I suppose it changed when people were much more likely to buy houses

J: So do you feel like, what kind of mix do you feel like there is now in terms of population? Is there a good mix?

R1: Well, it has changed greatly, I mean when we moved in, I mean I was born and brought up in Brighton anyway, I moved to London for a few years, when we moved in as I say there were a lot of old people, there were working class, people in working class jobs as well: dustmen, er plumbers...and then the artistic community and the students...and of course in the 80’s that changed when properties were going up quite a lot and so we saw middle class people moving in..and that’s how that changed.

J: So the 80’s marked quite a big change in the area then?

R1: Yes, it was really the time when middle class people started to move into the area.

R2: That’s when I moved into Hanover and I noticed dramatically the...you know you could buy a house for about 19 thousand or something, and prices just escalated” (Hanover residents, FG2).

Interestingly, in the focus group excerpt above, respondent 1 cites the pre-1980’s presence of “the artistic community and the students”. This could suggest that, in line with Ley’s (2003) discussions of artists as pioneer gentrifiers, and Smith and Holt’s (2007) positing of students

as ‘nascent gentrifiers’ (or gentrifiers in the making), artists and students have played a pivotal role in the gentrification of Hanover.

Subsequent to the unfolding of processes of gentrification in Hanover, residents identified the expansion of the student population in the 1990’s as the next key influence on change in the neighbourhood. Two main drivers of this growth in student population were reported: the development of the Phoenix Halls of Residence, located on Hanover’s main thoroughfare of Southover Street; and the ‘buy-to-let boom’:

J: “So when do you feel this imbalance really happened in the population then that we’re talking about here?

R4: Since the halls went up

J: Since the halls were built?

R4: Definitely” (Hanover residents, FG1).

R1: “The buy-to-let phenomenon as well I’d say, when we had the buy-to-let boom, the mid nineties, when landlords were buying back into it...the couples that I’m talking that moved in with their children in the ‘80’s, they moved out in the ‘90’s to the schools to the areas where they could get into Dorothy Stringer and Varndean

R2: Yes, some of my friends went then yes” (Hanover resident, FG1).

Thus, residents appear to have identified two distinct phases of studentification in Hanover. The initial pre-gentrification phase, when it was noted the population remained balanced despite the presence of student renters in the area, followed by the post-gentrification expansion of the student population in the 1990’s tied to the development of the Phoenix Halls of Residence, and a shifting tenure profile from largely owner-occupied to an increasing dominance of private renting. The latter expansion of student populations aligns with the 1992 Higher Education Act that saw the founding of the University of Brighton (formerly Brighton Polytechnic), and the resultant expansion of student populations in Brighton.

Coupled with concerns of the negative impacts of the perceived expansion of student populations, (these being detailed further in the following section), was an appreciation for the ways in which the physical make-up of Hanover had compounded these. As noted in Chapter 4, Section 4.5.4, Hanover is typified by high-density terraced Victorian cottages on narrow streets, thus resulting in a densely populated residential area, an issue that was perceived to have been exacerbated by the influx of students:

“It’s already a saturated area...it always was...and then to have this extra problem, it almost makes it unbearable sometimes” (Hanover resident, FG1).

In summary, student populations are perceived to have expanded in Hanover since the 1970's, both within the private rented sector and via the erection of the Phoenix Halls of Residence in 1992. In contrast to Bevendean and Hartington Road and Triangle, respondents did not identify specific micro-concentrations of private rented student HMO in Hanover, perceiving this to be relatively pervasive throughout the case study site. The impacts on Hanover associated with this expanding population are discussed in the following section.

5.5.2. Perceptions of the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification in Hanover

This section details local residents' perceptions of the impacts of unfolding processes of studentification in Hanover. In line with earlier discussions of other case study sites, the negative impacts of student populations identified by Hanover respondents dominate. Also notable here, beyond the recognition of noise nuisance and the undesirable disposal of domestic refuse, is the identification of impacts that had *not* been cited by respondents from other case study sites. Examples of these include petty theft and vandalism, pressures on on-street parking, and drug abuse. This further demonstrates the micro-specificities of the impacts of studentification, when considered and compared at the neighbourhood scale.

As was also the case in Bevendean, Coombe Road and Hartington Road and Triangle, noise nuisance and disturbances on-street in Hanover, particularly late at night, were viewed by respondents to be impacting negatively on their quality of life. These issues were perceived to be closely tied to the student population in Hanover; both that residing in the Phoenix Halls of Residence, and that in private rented HMO in the area. In the following quotes, respondents describe disturbances caused by loud music from student households, screaming from groups of students travelling on foot through the area at night, and drunken crowds of students congregating outside the halls of residence before making their journeys into central Brighton:

“Walking down the road here sometimes...you put your fingers in your ears...two doors down there're very nice individuals [inaudible] but they have no understanding of noise...they've got their ipods and yet they open the windows and put on their music...and to me it just doesn't equate...why can't they listen to their ipods?” (Hanover resident, FG1).

“Screaming – it seems to be an actual pass-time just to scream” (Hanover resident, FG1).

“The other night having stood there watching this girl falling down drunk and being dragged down the hill...it's almost like a football crowd, so it's almost as if you need Police...it's a crowd that needs control and it's getting out of hand” (Hanover resident, FG1).

Respondents expressed concern regarding the potential impact of new legislation banning smoking in public spaces (introduced from 1st July 2007 across the UK), on noise nuisance

on-street in Hanover. Their concerns here stemmed from the potential for students to collect in large groups outside the halls of residence, in tandem with the patrons of pubs on Southover Street congregating on-street to smoke, further exacerbating noise nuisance issues in the area:

“What we’re worried about, I think all of us, is the no-smoking policy – they’re going to stand in the street and smoke, and when you smoke you talk” (Hanover resident, FG1).

One respondent was particularly distressed by the effect that noise nuisance from the street, and from her neighbouring student household, was having on her children’s quality of life. She describes, in the quote below, her daughter’s anxiety resulting from neighbouring students’ noisy behaviour late at night, and the use of unacceptable language in the street. This highlights residents’ concerns regarding the impact of noise nuisance on Hanover’s more vulnerable residents:

“They shout so loudly in the street...I mean the second day I was home from hospital with her I had them screaming I’m an effing C in the street repeatedly, which is done really to wake other people up...then they just slam the door and they’re so loud...in the house...my older daughter wakes up because she’s scared, she thinks they’re in our house. But that’s been my biggest change, having somebody move next door rather than two or three doors down...Mine’s pretty much doubled I think, in the houses around me” (Hanover resident, FG1).

The sound generated by taxi diesel engines was also recognised as a disturbance tied to the night-time movements of local student populations. It was stated that taxis were used more frequently by student residents than by other households, particularly to drop them home after nights out in the town centre:

“The use of taxi’s too, taxi’s throbbing away in the middle of the road while they all have a loud conversation” (Hanover resident, FG1).

Respondents detailed a number of measures they, and their neighbours, had taken to dealing with noise nuisance. The following three quotes describe these, including the installation of double-glazing; the use of background noise such as a radio or an electric fan to drown out disturbances in the street; and the reporting of noise nuisance events to the Environmental Health Department at Brighton and Hove City Council, resulting in the confiscation of stereo equipment:

“We’ve had to put in double glazing so they’ve had to pay out of their pocket to put in double glazing because of the students...whereas before they would’ve left their windows” (Hanover resident, FG1).

“I now have to sleep with the radio on all night. One night the noise was even above the radio level and Simon at number one, who couldn’t come today, he sleeps with an electric fan on and his double glazing, just to drown out the noise. I can’t afford to be running electricity all night as a pensioner” (Hanover residents, FG1).

“I did have an ex-student of art and design and his mate and I called the environment because a lot of the parties just went on and on. Anna said at one stage that she would help...I think you could see down into the kitchen and the speakers were on the wall and it was just a nightmare for two years. The Environment came and talked to them and they weren't best pleased but their speakers were removed” (Hanover resident, FG1).

As noted in the previous Section, respondents felt that the physical structure of Hanover had exacerbated the quality of life issues associated with local student households, in this case by amplifying noise and causing sound to echo throughout the neighbourhood. The ‘unusual’ physical urban landscape residents speak of here refers to the very narrow streets with densely-packed terraced housing that typify the Hanover area:

R6: “At night sound travels a lot more than it does during the day doesn't it. And also the acoustics in the halls of residence here there are sort of echo chambers...it's quite amazing acoustically

R5: I think that's all over Hanover because of the way we're all slotted in like this

R3: We want sound baffles in Hanover!

R4: Yeah, yeah it does really carry doesn't it? Yeah, 'cos sometimes people are just having a conversation and although it's annoying and noisy, they are just having a conversation. But it still wakes you up doesn't it?

R6: It does, yes it does and that's because of the echo and acoustics” (Hanover residents, FG2).

The final concern voiced by local residents regarding noise was bilateral in nature. Respondents were concerned both by the potential for the level of ambient noise on Hanover's streets at night to mask detection of serious crimes; and were frustrated by numerous experiences of sensing what appeared to be a serious incident occurring outside, attempting to intervene, to be told by the (student) protagonists there was no such problem unfolding. The following quotes exemplify these concerns:

“One of the things that really worries me, um there was some very nasty vicious crime in Southover Street earlier this year, two vicious assaults, a gang of teenagers, nothing to do with students, but my feeling is that with the pubs opening so late, with the students milling about the streets all night all the ambient sound just masks anything like that and makes it very very difficult to know what's going on” (Hanover resident, FG2).

“A few nights ago, um I thought there was a woman in great distress outside, and I went and I opened the window and I said do you need the Police? But it was just the students living opposite me...having a row. They were trying to keep one girl out of the house, I think she wanted to stay...and um, they said 'no', and carried on! What can you do, you know, and then you're lying awake for at least an hour hoping you've done the right thing and everything's ok” (Hanover resident, FG1).

Residents couched these concerns regarding noise nuisance within a wider context of conflicting lifestyles between local established residents and student populations. A primary example of this conflict identified by local residents was the disparity between the typical daily routines of the students' lives, and that of their own. In the following quote, a respondent describes the anxiety s/he has experienced as a result of being sleep-deprived due to noise nuisance, coupled with waking early to commute to London for work:

“The fundamental problem of students living in a residential area is that the interest of students and residents is totally different. And the time, the timing, the way people live their lives...if you'd had to get up as early in the morning as I have had to get the train to London and get there for 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning you're a nervous wreck! And by that time they're asleep...because they've been awake all night and you feel like banging on their windows to wake them up. I mean really you get quite upset about it” (Hanover resident, FG1).

Other respondents consistently remarked that students in Hanover lived to a very different timetable, and that this conflict was adversely affecting their quality of life:

“We're on two different time scales” (Hanover resident, FG1).

“They just live later than we do” (Hanover resident, FG2).

Some residents in the group commented that students had been unsympathetic when challenged about the impacts their chosen lifestyles were having on established residents, as exemplified by the following quote:

“She [neighbouring student] said ‘oh well, I've worked hard and I deserve a good summer’, and I said yes, I work hard and I'm older than you and I deserve a good night's sleep! And to be able to enjoy peace and quiet in my own house, which I've worked hard to keep” (Hanover resident, FG1).

Further to this, respondents perceived this lack of consideration on the part of the local student population to be embedded within a ‘student culture’, resulting at least in part, as suggested by the following quote, from the influence of the media:

“If you're under 40 there is a culture that you're not responsible to anyone over a certain age – they're sort of written off, it's to do with the media” (Hanover resident, FG2).

The undesirable disposal of domestic refuse was cited by Hanover respondents as a particular problem in their neighbourhood, given the narrow streets and pavements, which it was felt limited the space available for the storage of refuse sacks awaiting clearance. The following two quotes exemplify local residents' frustrations, inspired by the perceived tendency for student households to leave domestic refuse on the pavement for collection on the wrong days, often leading to scavenging by seagulls and foxes, and the scattering of decaying waste over pavements and roads:

“During the term time you can tell which houses are the student’s houses because of the way the rubbish is thrown out all times of the day and night” (Hanover resident, FG1).

“It’s [domestic refuse] just put out...sort of...whenever they clear it out...and then...there are foxes around here because you hear them coughing at night...there are quite a few...and then of course there are the seagulls...well, the rubbish gulls” (Hanover resident, FG1).

Vomit on pavements was similarly identified as a problem associated with the local student population, as demonstrated by the following quote:

“Even now you can go down Hanover Terrace and there’s a lovely broad pile of sick that’s been there for a couple of weeks and hasn’t started looking any better, with the open bins you know the bin liners that are left out on the wrong day, the fly tipping, the bikes, you know, I mean you’re hardly on the pavements some days!” (Hanover resident, FG2).

Abandonment of possessions such as broken or unwanted furniture and white goods at the end of student tenancies was noted as an annual issue aligned with the end of the academic year:

“When they left, they left the entire contents of the house outside – there were ironing boards, washing up bowls everything! And I was just so angry, you know, they just left in their car and I couldn’t understand why” (Hanover resident, FG1).

“Mine did that the other day, they just dumped their recycling which was piled high like a mountain, and was obviously going to fall over, and it was a Wednesday – outside my house, because they had twenty bags of rubbish outside their own house! So I knocked on their door to say something ‘oh, you’ve put your rubbish outside my house’, and they said ‘oh, well we haven’t got anywhere to put it’, and you just think well, I don’t care, actually it’s not my problem” (Hanover resident, FG1).

Abandoned bicycles chained to lamp-posts and railings in the area were perceived largely to be the responsibility of local student populations. Respondents articulated their frustrations not only with the perpetrators, but also Brighton and Hove City Council and the University of Brighton, who it was felt had not dealt with the removal of such discarded items in a timely fashion, as discussed in the focus group excerpt below:

R6: “And bikes that are abandoned...there’s a lot of abandoned stuff.

R5: Then you’ve got to wait two months before the council will do anything about them...you realise it’s abandoned so then you ring the council, and you don’t know when they started to be abandoned so you have to wait another two months, by which time everything has come to pieces and you’ve fallen over them a few times.

R4: There’s one there that’s had a notice on it saying it had been abandoned and it was still there for about two months afterwards

R6: And again the University here there's a bike chained to the railings, with a sign alongside it saying anything chained to these railings will be removed, and they're not... Do you know why they don't do that?" (Hanover resident, FG2).

Parking was also perceived to be a "real issue" (Hanover resident, FG1) in Hanover. This was again thought to be influenced both by the high population density, the narrow streets, and the enclosed, restrictive nature of the urban landscape. Students residing in high-density housing in the neighbourhood, many of whom it was thought had bought cars with them, were perceived to be exacerbating the problem, as described in the excerpt below:

R2: "That's [parking] a terrific problem

R3: A real issue

R2: I mean there's no residents parking in Hanover...and I don't know when that's going to be...it's been put back for some reason

R2: So not only do you have...the people that have residents parking have more than one car come to park their car in Hanover, but you also have students and so many of them have cars...and if you have eight students per house and they all have a car (Hanover residents, FG1).

One resident suggested that the issues surrounding parking in the area had led to face-to-face confrontations in the street, suggesting conflict arising between students and established residents, illustrated by the following quote:

"Parking is a real problem, and it can lead to some quite nasty confrontations, sometimes it can get as bad as that" (Hanover residents, FG1).

It was asserted that students walking along streets in large crowds had resulted in broken wing mirrors:

"Wing mirrors on cars are broken...it's clumps of people going down these narrow streets, they just clunk it all off...up here anyway, I mean our wing mirrors have been broken" (Hanover resident, FG1).

The issue of students returning from night-clubs in the town centre in the early hours of the morning and stealing milk from door-steps and back gardens was also raised, as illustrated by the following:

"A big problem and it seems to coincide with term time. Um, and I tried to solve it by having the milk delivered to the back entrance in the lane rather than the front...and I put up a notice in the end saying 'this area is being monitored for milk theft'!" (Hanover resident, FG1).

Residents perceived the abuse of alcohol and drugs by Hanover's student populations to be a major influence on the behavioural challenges associated with this social group (such as noise nuisance and rowdiness at night). It was suggested by one respondent that the type of

alcohol being consumed by contemporary student populations may be affecting their behaviour:

“I don’t know if the amount of alcohol being consumed is greater...it may be a different kind of alcohol being consumed...I mean I think there have always been beer-drinking students um, but I don’t know whether...I really haven’t looked to see whether there’s been any change in the way that alcohol might affect behaviour” (Hanover resident, FG1).

A respondent living in close proximity to the Phoenix Halls of Residence had observed that students were consuming alcohol within their accommodation in the evening, before moving into central Brighton for leisure activities. It was commented that this resulted in noise disturbance both when students left and returned to their accommodation:

“Students seem to drink in their accommodation before going out therefore coming out of the University in whatever the condition is, they’re much louder because they’re higher already before they go out...so I think that exacerbates the situation” (Hanover resident, FG1).

It was also argued that the introduction of twenty-four hour alcohol licensing legislation had resulted in an indefinite window for potential noise disturbance, particularly given the proliferation of pubs along Southover Street:

“There were [before changes to licensing legislation] definite periods with students coming back from pubs or then they were going out to clubs and coming back at 4 o’clock, but now everything seems to be much more open-ended, so, and I think it has pushed the hours of noise further towards 5 even 6 in the morning” (Hanover resident, FG1).

“Many years ago you used to get woken up when the pubs closed and that was the only time you were woken in the night. Now you’re woken regularly roughly every hour, with people charging back from town” (Hanover resident, FG2).

Respondents evidenced their perceptions of wide-spread drug-abuse in the area, with several accounts of having witnessed drug-dealing and drug-taking. The following quote describes one local resident’s experience of living next door to students who were alleged to be dealing drugs from their house:

“When I first moved in, I had a student house this side and a student house this side. They dropped out of university on this side and went into drugs...and there were six of them in the house...and then I had two lots of houses full of squatters [inaudible] and I thought I’m going to move out. And I spent two years feeling like I was living in the middle of a drum” (Hanover resident, FG1).

The following two quotes expand further on residents’ observations of drug taking and dealing in Hanover, suggesting it to be both prevalent and blatant:

“There was a guy who went into the tea cosy tea rooms [local cafe], and was openly you know, white powder...and I don’t know whether, I couldn’t say whether he was a student but, you know there’s a lot of drug activity around here” (Hanover resident, FG2).

“There’s drug dealing down on the [inaudible], there’s drug dealing on the corner. They’re now dealing in drugs, the thing to do is to phone up at a bus stop so that it looks like you’re waiting for a bus, car comes along you jump in it, it goes round the corner and you jump out” (Hanover resident, FG2).

Although drug abuse was not thought to be restricted solely to the student population in Hanover, respondents were in common agreement that the expansion of local student populations had prompted an increase in visible drug-dealing and drug-abuse:

J: “Ok, and do you think that is the student population?”

R5: It’s the student population as much as anybody yes.

R3: With any of these things it’s going to be a mix isn’t it” (Hanover residents, FG2).

Residents reflected on the effect that drug-abuse was having on the area in terms of its local student residents’ behaviour. It was generally thought that drug-abuse had played an influential part in augmenting noise nuisance issues, and thoughtless or intimidating behaviour at night on the part of the student population:

“I’m just trying to understand it...if the student’s behaviour has changed so much and has become menacing to a certain extent...I suppose if you’re hyper in a club and start taking drugs as well...you’re in a pretty funny state when you come back up the hill. I’m just wondering if that could be a contributing factor in all of this” (Hanover resident, FG1).

In previous case study sites, respondents spoke of the impacts of students on the physical urban landscape, and on their quality-of-life, as has largely been the context of discussions above. Evidence was also identified in Hanover of less tangible, more embedded processes of social change. In Hanover, the dominant theme here was the perceived ‘loss of ownership’ of Hanover. These concerns stemmed from the perceived inscribing of a ‘student identity’ onto the local area, with students perceived to have staked a territorial claim on the neighbourhood, imbuing it with their own meanings and cultural preferences, thus threatening the position of the established residential community. This point is demonstrated by the following focus group excerpt:

R1: “I think there’s a lot of resentment with people because of this student noise, and I think the thing is the students now feel it’s their territory...people are very territorial I think, and the students now think that maybe...quite rightly...it’s their territory

R2: There’s a tendency I think to see it as a campus

R1: yes, yes

R3: Yes, that was Jill's experience, somebody told Jill that it was a campus

R2: Yes, it was 'all our friends live in these streets, this is a student area, what are you worried about' " (Hanover residents, FG1).

Residents remarked more explicitly in the following quote, about the sense of loss they perceive as a result of this 'shift in ownership':

R3: "And it's also their territory here

R1&R2: Yes, yes.

R2: Yes, it feels that we're losing it, our community.

R1: We're becoming a ghetto...unfortunately" (Hanover residents, FG1).

Furthermore, one respondent described feeling disenfranchised from the community she once felt welcomed by, as a result of changes occurring due to the in-migration of student populations:

"It's that feeling of being a stranger in your own street really...disenfranchised or something like that" (Hanover resident, FG2).

Another resident spoke of the sense of unfriendly 'chilliness' she felt had pervaded the Hanover community since the student presence had become more established:

"Actually that's almost the hardest bit in a way, I mean sometimes one can almost adapt and you know take a nap and what-not but it's that feeling of chilliness and unfriendliness, Hanover's always been a friendly community area – not anymore, really it's been spoiled" (Hanover resident, FG2).

Residents also spoke of feeling 'imprisoned', their natural instinct being to retreat into their homes and protect themselves from the on-street disturbances:

"One is sort of in a fortress...we're having to sort of like in a warzone take precautions you know, which is crazy really" (Hanover resident, FG1).

Finally, respondents cited a loss of control, not only of their community, but also of their own personal leisure time. It was felt that noise disturbances had become so frequent and persistent that residents had lost 'ownership' of the time they spent within their homes:

R1: "But what about *our* leisure time, our leisure time when the students have gone. We've got the problem of the language students now. So we usually would get a break over summer, but now we don't get a break

R1: So we don't have any time to ourselves at all" (Hanover residents, FG1).

The sense of dispossession expressed in the quotes above was uniquely reported by respondents living within Hanover. Respondents from other case study sites have cited a

break-down in community structures and ethos, however this has not been explicitly framed by discourses of loss and disenfranchisement. It is possible perhaps that this sense of loss has resulted, in part, from the unique history of urban change in Hanover. Section 5.5.1 outlines the initial gentrification of Hanover in the 1980's, followed by the subsequent unfolding of processes of studentification. It is possible that this chronology of urban change may have resulted in the perceived loss of some the benefits acquired during earlier phases of gentrification, as a result of urban change stemming from the later in-migration of student populations to Hanover. It is also possible that the unique set of processes of change associated with the development of PBSA within the area may have inspired a sense of dispossession within the established community, rooted in the loss of 'local territory' to the University, and established residents' resultant perceptions of living 'on-campus'. The distinctive set of processes and impacts of studentification associated with the Phoenix Halls of Residence, and their exclusivity to the Hanover case study site, are considered in more detail below in Section 5.5.4.

In summary, this section has outlined a range of negative impacts on Hanover, perceived by local residents to be closely connected to the expansion of the local student population since the 1990's, and the cramped physical urban landscape that is felt to exacerbate many of these. The identification of issues such as drug abuse, petty crime and vandalism (which had not been cited by respondents in any other case study site) provides further evidence of the distinctiveness of the processes unfolding in each case study site. In keeping with the patterns emerging from earlier analyses of the other case study sites, the negative influences of local student populations dominated the overall tone of the focus group discussions. As also demonstrated in earlier case study site analyses, however, perceptions of students in Hanover were not uniformly negative. The next section presents evidence of more positive perceptions of students, revealing some appreciation for students as a social group and the cultural benefits they are believed to have imbued on the neighbourhood.

5.5.3. Vibrancy and positive interaction: the complexities of local residents' perceptions of students in Hanover

This section provides some counter-voice to the predominantly negative perceptions of students summarised in Section 5.5.2. Accounts of frustration among local residents in response to the perceived behavioural challenges of local student populations (as evidenced in the previous section) were at times coupled with statements of tolerance; with local residents empathising to some degree with the high-spirited hedonism of local student populations, often drawing comparisons to their own experiences as young people:

“Don't get me wrong, I've done things in my youth, so I'm not anti-student. I understand it – I've done it and not thought of the consequences” (Hanover resident, FG1).

“You can’t...really blame them as students, you know, high spirited and all that” (Hanover resident, FG1).

“You know...we’ve all been through that when we were young” (Hanover resident, FG1).

Indeed, a local councillor indicated, as illustrated by the quote below, that the high proportion of graduates residing in Hanover had resulted in a community with shared-experience of the student lifestyle. It was suggested that this shared-experience had encouraged more tolerance of contemporary student lifestyles among the established residential community at later phases of their lifecourse:

“Hanover wouldn’t be the way it is without the students, I mean there are so many ex-students living there, I mean, I’m an ex-student myself. There are a lot of ex-students settling down and having families and they really understand that lifestyle” (Local Councillor, Hanover).

Several residents stated the positive contribution that students had made to their own lives, and to those of their families. Examples of such positive interaction with local students are illustrated by the following quotes:

“I had a lovely experience...a young woman I gave a piano to through a local scheme called free-cycle...she was a music student at the time, subsequently she started teaching...and she joined the local exchange trading scheme, and...I was giving her massage and she was doing my garden, and we’ve become firm friends” (Hanover resident, FG2).

“I personally have made friends with a number of them, and really value the contribution they’ve made to my life and my children’s lives too, and in one case I’ve got a friend going back ooh, 10 years since she was a student and we still go out on trips together and do things together, and...send each other birthday cards and things” (Hanover resident, FG2).

Respondents also valued the bohemian vibrancy they perceived student populations to have cultivated and nurtured in Hanover, this being viewed as fundamental to the unique aesthetic and cultural characteristics of the local neighbourhood:

“There’s usually some quite clever air brushed graffiti, number 14, Coleman Street they’ve got a pigeon with a crown on its head which is very amusing” (Hanover resident, FG2).

“It’s indicative of Hanover: the bohemian, alternative thing, that’s one of the special things about it, there are lots of artists and musicians and generally creative people in Hanover, and the students thrive on this, and add to it as well I think” (Hanover resident, FG2).

One respondent had recently moved from Hanover to the Triangle area, and spoke positively of his / her perception of Hanover as a ‘bohemian’ community, where students and local established residents commonly shared an ‘open-minded’ ethos. It was commented that

these shared values had, in contrast to the Triangle area, resulted in Hanover retaining its sense of community, despite the concentrated clusters of student residence:

“There was a really good sense of community in Hanover there were always things going on, there was the community centre and it really worked there because you did have students so it did feel open-minded and a bit more bohemian – it wasn’t stuffy, and I wouldn’t want that either, but it hadn’t gone to the extreme like it has here where students outnumber other residents and the sense of community just falls through” (Ex-Hanover resident, Hartington Road and Triangle FG).

Despite the prevailing negativity of residents’ perceptions of the impacts of students on Hanover (as detailed in Section 5.5.2), respondents were clear that they had also gained from having student neighbours. These benefits tended to be related to the perceived youthful exuberance of students, and their enthusiastic approach to life. As such, students were not overtly described in a derogatory way when they were referred to more broadly as a social group, as illustrated by the following quotes:

“Yeah, I think that...they have a lot of very good things talking generally...putting it plainly, they keep us on our toes don’t they, they bring the...enjoyment of life with them because they are enjoying it. I think generally speaking there shouldn’t be any reason at all why one could not co-exist very happily and enjoy them and have them enjoy us, it is only the noise! Those are big problems” (Hanover resident, FG2).

“Oh yeah, it is by no means all negative, by no means” (Hanover resident, FG2).

To summarise, this section has highlighted a number of examples of positive perceptions of students in Hanover, countering the predominantly negative discussions of Section 5.5.2. These examples have focused mainly on the beneficial cultural influences students are perceived to have had on the area, and on individuals’ experiences of positive interaction with local students. There is limited evidence, however, of students benefitting the economic, physical or social characteristics of the area (such as the improvements to transport links cited in Bevendean, or the buy-to-let investment opportunities for local residents identified in Coombe Road). This is perhaps indicative, at least in part, of the temporal frame within which respondents have discussed the unfolding processes of studentification in Hanover. With a more extended history of student residence in this area (the expansion of student residence reported to have begun here in the 1990’s), it is possible that such processes of urban change occurred at an earlier stage, thus becoming subsumed within the extant ‘fabric’ of the area. As such, the nature of the perceived benefits of student populations are now couched, broadly speaking, in terms of their impact on individuals’ day-to-day experiences of life in Hanover, and its unique cultural ambience. Students may now be viewed by local residents as a more ‘established’ component of the local community when compared to the other case study sites, this perception of the ‘permanence’ of change perhaps influencing the emergence of discourses of loss and disenfranchisement, as discussed in Section 5.5.2.

5.5.4. “Like bees round a honey-pot”: the unique set of processes and impacts of studentification tied to the Phoenix Halls of Residence.

Discussions of the processes and impacts of studentification in all other case study sites have been largely associated with the proliferation of private rented student HMO. The conversion of property to student HMO has also been highlighted as a key process in Hanover. However, the presence of the purpose-built, Phoenix Halls of Residence in this case study site has given rise to an additional, distinctive set of processes of urban change, which will be considered in more detail in this section.

Respondents living in close proximity to the Phoenix Halls of Residence perceived it to be the primary source of persistent on-street noise nuisance in the area, and the concomitant damage this was having to their quality-of-life. The following quotes describe the halls as a ‘hub’ or focal point for student gatherings on-street in Hanover, as such encouraging noise nuisance events to unfold:

“I had to call the patrol the other day because they were sitting out there [in front of Phoenix halls of residence] and...they were talking, laughing, and it just carries at night...that sound...any group that’s just sitting there having a little party it’s obviously going to carry across” (Hanover resident, FG1).

“The wall [marking the perimeter of the halls of residence] is used like a bar...there are bottles set up, it’s convenient it’s lovely, their mates are coming down and they’re calling up to the windows before they go out...particularly if it’s hot weather” (Hanover resident, FG1).

A social system stretching out from the halls of residence across a network of rented student households in the Hanover area was perceived to have exacerbated and lengthened noise nuisance events originating on-site at the Phoenix Halls of Residence. It was interpreted that attempts by staff at the Phoenix Halls of Residence to quell these noise events had on many occasions simply resulted in their displacement. Respondents reported that groups of students, having been reprimanded by staff at the Halls of Residence, would subsequently move out of the halls to continue their gatherings in a local student HMO, thus preventing staff from monitoring the situation and taking further action if deemed necessary:

“It is a known fact over in the halls that when a party is closed down, they all shoot off to one of the houses round here” (Hanover resident, FG1).

Further to this, respondents felt that the position of the Phoenix Halls of Residence at the heart of the Hanover community introduced the neighbourhood to Freshers as a suitable place to locate on moving out of halls at the end of their first year at university; thus encouraging further concentration of existing clusters of student residence in private rented HMO in the area:

J: “So when do you feel this imbalance really happened in the population then that we’re talking about here?”

R4: Since the halls went up

J: Since the halls were built

R4: Definitely” (Hanover residents, FG1).

Residents described this tendency for students to congregate in close proximity to the Phoenix Halls of Residence as “like bees round a honey-pot” (Hanover resident, FG2). They considered the cumulative impact of students living in halls, and their perceived influence on increasing concentrations of private rented student HMO in the area, to have shifted the dominant social group from local established residents to students. Hanover was perceived, therefore, to have become a “student area” (Hanover resident, FG1), as described in the focus group excerpt below:

“When the first students first moved in there...ten years ago, I overheard the students saying ‘oh, I pity the residents here’. Um, and they were relatively ok, it was the first year, and it was still very much a resident’s area. But now, because this has escalated and there are so many more students the students feel that they don’t have that obligation – there’s a link between the student houses and the halls of residence” (Hanover resident, FG1).

“Yes, I think they feel like they’ve got carte blanche where they didn’t before...and if you’re complaining about the noise you shouldn’t be here sort of thing because this is a student area” (Hanover resident, FG1).

Residents felt that the presence of such a large concentration of first year students (residing in the Phoenix Halls of Residence) was particularly detrimental, with the lifestyle of the ‘fresher’ perceived to be more discordant with the established residential community than that of the returning-year student:

“I don’t understand why we’ve got 300 freshers when we could have 3rd and 4th years...people who have to study more and get some sleep...it’s a huge problem for us always the turn-over of freshers” (Hanover resident, FG1).

The quote below expands on the view that first-year students tend to be more disruptive than returning students, suggesting that this is due to their relative inexperience of living away from the parental home, and assuming responsibility for their own behaviour:

“So what is effectively happening is that these youngsters for the first time may be getting away from Mum and Dad, and that’s part of the problem” (Hanover resident, FG2).

In summary, the quotes presented in this section outline the specific challenges associated with the location of purpose-built student halls of residence in very close proximity to the densely-packed residential streets branching off Southover Street. It is argued that the specific processes of urban change tied to the Phoenix Halls of Residence amount to a

unique expression of studentification in Hanover, compared to those observed elsewhere in Brighton. As such, this identifies the key role played by PBSA in shaping the micro-geographic processes and impacts of studentification in Brighton.

5.5.5. Management and mitigation of the challenges of studentification in

Hanover

This final section illuminates a strong theme emerging from focus group discourses in Hanover, regarding efforts to manage and mitigate the challenges of expanding student populations by Brighton and Hove City Council and the University of Brighton. Respondents repeatedly expressed candid disappointment regarding Brighton and Hove City Council's responses to the challenges of studentification in their neighbourhood. Of particular concern were proposals by Brighton and Hove City Council to encourage the development of a 'new identity' for the Lewes Road area, coalescing around the location of the university campus' and the student and post-student populations residing in this area. This identity is referred to as the 'academic corridor' of Brighton in the LR2 regeneration strategy (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2009a: see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1 for a fuller discussion). These plans were perceived by residents to represent further threats to the identity of their local residential community, rooted in the continued prioritisation of the city's economic prosperity over mitigation of the persistent student-related challenges faced by residents within Hanover:

R2: "Coming back to the academic corridor thing, it would be nice if that was not part of the mentality of the council that this is an academic quarter rather than a residential community"

R3: Yes, yes, just bringing us into the picture a bit" (Hanover residents, FG1).

"I think they [Brighton and Hove City Council] must be benefiting from this in some way, but we're not" (Hanover resident, FG2).

A range of barriers were identified by respondents, both in terms of gaining access to, and successful outcomes from, the mechanisms of complaint provided by Brighton and Hove City Council with regard to noise nuisance and anti-social behaviour. In the following quote, a respondent describes his / her experience of pursuing an unnecessarily complex process of complaint regarding a local student household, resulting ultimately in a dissatisfactory outcome:

“I’ve rung people [at Brighton and Hove City Council] who have said...if you can find out...who’s living there, perhaps look at the electoral roll, and maybe [find out] who the landlord is if you can find that out then...we can stop this follow-on from year to year...and that raised my hopes had me go along to the museum, look it all up, and when I finally got hold of the person I should have been talking to...she said why did they tell you that? At the click of a mouse we know who lives where...and actually it’s not so easy to follow through from year to year...they gave me the impression of being very professional, knowledgeable people and I feel its lip-service” (Hanover resident, FG2).

The legal obligation to note any official complaints regarding noisy neighbours when a property is sold was identified as an additional barrier preventing residents from engaging services such as the rapid-response Noise Abatement Team (provided by Brighton and Hove City Council to deal with noise nuisance events on Friday and Saturday nights). The potential effect this could have on the marketability or completion of sale of a property was deemed discouraging enough to prevent resident uptake of such services:

“Well, you see I don’t want to call them [noise abatement team] because if I put my house on the market I then have to say that I’ve had them out...so I specifically don’t do anything official, because I don’t want to list it when I come to sell my house” (Hanover resident, FG2).

There was general consensus among respondents that the Brighton and Hove City Council did not carry sufficient legislative power to deal with the issues surrounding studentification on a local level. Similarly, resident’s stated that Sussex Police could not respond effectively to Hanover’s student-related issues, largely due to their limited resourcing, and the prioritisation of more ‘serious’ incidents:

“I personally am of the opinion that the local authority cannot do very much. I don’t think that they have the power...or sufficient legislation to do it. I mean it could be that they could go into making by-laws and trying to enforce them, but at the moment I don’t think that there’s very much that they can practically do... To some extent similarly with the Police...everyone knows that they’re bound by their red tape...and one always gets a sense that by the time the Police get there the whole incident will have gone by anyway” (Hanover resident, FG2).

It was uniformly agreed that the University of Brighton could do more to resolve the negative effects that students were having on Hanover, and indeed should assume more responsibility for the students they encouraged to reside in the area, in particular those accommodated at the Phoenix Halls of Residence:

R2: “As I say, you can’t blame them [students], but you can blame the powers that be for not dealing with it

R1: Yes, because you see we’re policing for them [university], and I don’t want to get out of bed at 10’clock in the morning” (Hanover residents, FG1).

Residents felt that the University of Brighton had policies in place to deal with problematic student behaviour via disciplinary courses of action, however, had systematically failed to implement these systems on any sufficient scale, thus squandering the opportunity both to successfully tackle disruptive student behaviour in Hanover, and set an example to the remaining student population:

“I think they [University] should just bite with the teeth they’ve got. As far as I have been able to work out...they can haul students before their disciplinary whatever’s and they can actually do something whatever the penalty maybe, I mean I remember when I was at Southampton University myself...we were told for parking if you don’t pay your fee you won’t get your degree at the end of your time” (Hanover resident, FG2).

“I don’t think the University does what it could do. Just bringing a few in and making a few examples...just have the courage to do something” (Hanover resident, FG2).

In summary, it was asserted that Brighton and Hove City Council’s approach to dealing with complaints regarding noise nuisance and anti-social behaviour was piecemeal and largely ineffectual, with respondents citing examples of confusing complaint procedures and disappointing outcomes. Respondents demonstrated some knowledge of the lack of national legislative guidance for local authorities in terms of dealing with the challenges of studentification. Their awareness of this appeared to encourage more of an emphasis on the universities to better manage their student populations via the deployment of their existing disciplinary procedures. Overall, respondents in Hanover appeared knowledgeable of the existing mechanisms for complaint, and demonstrated a high level of expectation in terms of the management of the unfolding student-related issues in this neighbourhood. This may, again, be due to the history of student presence in this area, resulting in an experienced local community, more well-informed of the responsibilities of local institutional actors to manage and mitigate such issues. It may also, in part, result from the characteristics of the established residential population in Hanover. It was noted in Chapter 4 (Section 4.2.3), that local media coverage of the issues of studentification in Brighton had focused on those emerging in Hanover, with the local resident population engaging in debates of these issues via the ‘letters to the editor’ section of *The Argus* newspaper. It was suggested that rather than indicating more pervasive or extremely negative experiences of local student populations in Hanover, it instead revealed a greater inclination among local residents to engage in debate, this perhaps being tied to the comparatively high levels of educational attainment, and the similarly elevated proportions of individuals employed in managerial or professional occupations. Similarly, these unique population characteristics could help to explain greater awareness among respondents of the roles of local institutional actors in managing and mitigating urban change; again highlighting the significance of local contingencies and their influence on the micro-scale nuances of studentification.

Having outlined the disappointment expressed by Hanover residents with regard to their experiences of local institutional actors' responses to the challenges of studentification, the following section considers the perceptions of local institutional actors' themselves, and how they may differ from or corroborate those expressed by established residents.

5.6. Local institutional actors' perceptions of the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification in Brighton

It has been suggested, based on experiences reported by residents of Hanover and Hartington Road and Triangle, that local institutional actors' (in particular Brighton and Hove City Council and the universities) have failed to engage with the negative issues emerging from neighbourhoods with expanding student populations. The absence of a suitably tailored legislative framework has been recognised by respondents in both Hanover and Hartington Road and Triangle. This section explores awareness among a range of local institutional actors of urban change occurring in Brighton, based on a series of semi-structured interviews with representatives of Brighton and Hove City Council (at operational and strategic levels); local letting agencies active in the student buy-to-let market, and representatives of the Accommodation and Catering Services Department and the Residential Services Department, from the University of Brighton and the University of Sussex respectively. It is suggested that local letting agencies play a crucial role via their influence on buy-to-let investors to focus their investment in particular parts of the city. Perceptions of the micro-geographies of studentification among interviewees from Brighton and Hove City Council are found to be anecdotal in nature, and largely different from the realities of the residential clustering of students. The absence of student housing from the city's housing strategy document is noted (as discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1), and an overall lack of understanding of the community issues identified by respondents in previous sections is revealed. This suggests that at the time of the interviews (Autumn 2007), studentification had not permeated local political discourses in Brighton. Finally, interviewees from the universities expressed a more informed, nuanced understanding of the micro-geographies of student residence, and the nature of their impacts on various communities within the city. Some degree of pro-activity in terms of recording and monitoring complaints regarding student households had also been demonstrated via the recruitment of a Community Liaison Officer. The absence of an 'accommodation strategy', however, committing the universities to investment in additional bed spaces to alleviate concentrations of private sector student residence was evident. As was any detectable evidence of fruitful 'joined-up' working between institutional actors in the city in order to foster a united approach to dealing with the negative impacts of students on local communities. This was despite the existence of a forum to bring the relevant parties together on a regular basis, known as the Brighton and Hove Joint Action Group.

5.6.1. Local institutional actors' perceptions of the temporal and spatial patterns of student residence in Brighton

“Bevendean...is obviously the area of focus for studentification” (MTM Letting agent).

It was widely perceived by local institutional actors that Bevendean was the enclave of Brighton primarily affected by the processes and impacts of studentification. This perception is exemplified by the above quote, from an agent working for MTM Lettings, the sole letting agency in Brighton devoted entirely to managing student lets. The role played by letting agents in cultivating clusters of student residence was highlighted by the University of Brighton's Head of Accommodation and Catering Services, particularly with reference to the impact of MTM Lettings' business model on urban change in Bevendean. It was suggested that the focused expansion of MTM's business in Bevendean over a relatively limited period of time, had resulted in the rapid unfolding of processes of studentification in this area; upholding the perceptions of established residents discussed in Section 5.2:

“The other thing that is becoming obvious...over the past few years is...MTM really, I think it's fair to say that his marketing and his move to purchase so many properties in...this close area [Bevendean] has had an impact on local residents” (Head of Accommodation and Catering Services, University of Brighton).

However, MTM spoke of a perceived *deceleration* of the student buy-to-let market in Bevendean during 2006-07, as the supply: demand ratio had become more balanced, suggesting that the student lettings market in this area was reaching saturation:

“This year more than last year, the Bevendean properties are getting left empty at the end of it, because of obviously the flood of student properties onto the market” (MTM letting agent).

As a result of the perceived saturation of the student buy-to-let market in Bevendean, MTM described the adoption of a new approach, whereby new investors were encouraged to consider alternative enclaves in the city:

“It's getting more and more difficult to rent properties out in Bevendean, the only properties we have left empty now will be out in Bevendean and Moulsecoomb...for a landlord to come into the market...as a new investor, we will always advise them now away from buying somewhere in Bevendean because it's going to take us more effort to rent it” (MTM letting agent).

This quote conveys two important themes. The first illuminates the influence of local letting agents on the formation of the residential geographies of students in the city. The second theme suggests that the recent expansion of student populations in Bevendean is expected to slow down, as the primary source of investment moves into new parts of the city. The following quote, however, from a Community Development Worker posted to work in the Bevendean neighbourhood, reflects quite a different perception of the situation. This interview excerpt describes a local established resident's recent experience of selling their

house via an estate agent. It is clear that, as opposed to following the expected practice of advertising the house on the open housing market, the agent instead approached a known student buy-to-let investor directly and reached a closed deal, thus removing the opportunity for the house to be sold to owner occupiers:

“Somebody that we spoke to who was selling his house...it didn't even go on the market. It went to the estate agent, the estate agent immediately phoned up a landlord, and the landlord bought it without seeing it. And now it's being gutted, and changed...they were moving out because they didn't want to be one of the last people in the Avenue” (Bevendean Community Development worker, BHCC).

Although, when queried, MTM Lettings denied knowledge of this practice being widespread in Brighton, the benefits for the estate agent, investor and property vendor were considered to be obvious:

“To be honest with you I don't see too much of that going on, but I do know with a lot, I mean we have a good relationship with a lot of the estate agents on the Lewes Road and...they've got landlords on their books that are just waiting for a good opportunity to fall into their laps. There's plenty of buying power there, so they will be able to out-bid families, you know they're sitting there waiting for the phone call. Plus the estate agent's probably sitting there thinking oh how can I sell this house easily and make myself some money you know...and the best answer is to sell it to an investor” (MTM letting agent).

In light of the perceived saturation of the student letting market in Bevendean, letting agents spoke of increased investor interest in Hollingdean; the fifth case study site of the thesis. The quotes below illustrate this point. The first suggests that the locational preferences of students are an influential factor; and the second quote emphasises the suitability of the housing stock in Hollingdean and its proximity to local amenities. Finally, the third quote identifies the influence of house prices on the increasing focus of investment interest on Hollingdean:

“This year there's been a lot more happening in Hollingdean...because...Bevendean is kind of seen now by the students as being a bit Moulsecomby...it's not quite as...nice” (MTM letting agent).

“Over in Hollingdean, it's got parking on the roads, it's a minutes' walk down to Sainsburys and the BP garage, it's quite quiet and the houses are still quite big and have gardens. So...it's a good compromise” (Homelet letting agent).

“It's getting really really expensive to buy a house down there [Lewes Road area], Hanover's even worse, so the next best place is Hollingdean, so that's why – house prices are kind of dictating where students are going to live” (MTM letting agent).

Parts of the wards of St. Peters and North Laine and Regency were also identified by letting agents as newly emerging 'student areas'. These neighbourhoods form part of the wider city centre, and include Brighton's primary areas of retail provision: St Peters and North Laine home to the majority of Brighton's independent 'bohemian' retail, and Regency the main

area for 'high-street' shopping. These areas are also well-served by public transport links, and are in very close proximity to the shoreline, thus attract some of the highest property prices and rents in the city. However, this was not perceived to be a leading deterrent to student's decisions to reside here, as suggested by local letting agents:

"I really don't think they care [about elevated rents in more central areas]! The reason why is rather than spending their own student loan and grants and things, they get parents to pay for it most of the time, so, you know, phone call home to Dad, oh yeah, Dad, the rent's going to be this much" (MTM letting agent).

Thus, students were perceived by agents to be reliant on parental support, as suggested above, or on maximising the short-term benefits of access to student credit (student loan and overdraft facilities), and choosing to locate near the amenities and services provided within these central locations:

"Yeah, they [rents] are high, but they haven't increased like house prices and interest rates, so they still represent a relatively affordable way to live in town. And they [students] want to be there with the clubs and bars and shops and stuff, they just do it and think about it later!" (Homelets letting agent).

Within Brighton and Hove City Council, the perceptions of the geographies of students articulated by interviewees in strategic roles were in the main based on anecdotal evidence or 'local knowledge'. The following quote from a planner, involved with the development and implementation of the LDF, describes his / her perceptions of studentification as "quite anecdotal" and "based on discussions with colleagues":

"My perceptions [of studentification] are quite anecdotal...they're only really based on discussions with colleagues, and one of my colleagues lives...just off Lewes Road...she talks about the issues of...a number of households which are students, and they are kind of taking over a particular road or a particular street, and that has knock-on effects in terms of...the way families are living in those areas...there isn't always good relationship" (Planner, Local Development Framework, BHCC).

This quote reveals limited knowledge at the strategic-level within Brighton and Hove City Council of the residential geographies of students, and their associated impacts at the community scale in Brighton. Similarly, the following quote exposes an entirely erroneous interpretation of clustered student residence in East Brighton, a deprived neighbourhood situated on the Eastern periphery of the city. The cluster analysis presented in Chapter 4, Section 4.4) clearly reveals that there are no significant clusters of students living in this part of the city:

"They're [students] tending to occupy family houses, you know East Brighton's one of the areas where families might consider moving to when they need more space...as a family gets bigger, so...it has a supply impact as well on family houses" (Planner, Local Development Framework, BHCC).

The perceptions of studentification illustrated above are symptomatic of a more widespread lack of engagement with the issues surrounding studentification at the strategic level within Brighton and Hove City Council. It was noted in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3.1) that the city's Housing Strategy document (2005-2008) had failed to include or acknowledge student housing. Further criticism was levelled at its city-wide 'blueprint' approach to monitoring and delivering housing, which, it could be argued based on the evident micro-geographic specificities of urban change (discussed in Sections 5.2 to 5.5), and variations in the micro-scale contingent characteristics of the case study sites (outlined in Chapter 4, Section 4.5), amounts to a heavy-handed ineffectual approach. The following quote demonstrates that no plans are in place to widen the scope of the strategy to consider individual communities within the city, rather than focusing more broadly on housing within the Unitary Authority as a whole:

“It [housing strategy] looks at the whole city, we haven't progressed it to start looking at particular areas, and I don't know if we will, but what has happened is the neighbourhood renewal service have developed neighbourhood action plans, and they've looked at particular areas within the city...they've focused on some of the most deprived wards” (Housing Strategy Manager, BHCC).

Overall, the most accurate understandings of the clustering of student residence were demonstrated by local letting agents and the universities, with the former evidently influencing the formation of clusters of student HMO via their advisory services to local buy-to-let investors. The extent of the limitations of knowledge regarding the spatial concentrations of student residence among strategic-level representatives of Brighton and Hove City Council was revealed, illuminating the paucity of information or research gathered in relation to this social group, their housing preferences or their influences on urban change at the time of interview. The subsequent permeation of studentification within local political discourses in 2008 (described in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1) demonstrates the *unfolding* of processes of studentification in Brighton *during* the research process.

5.6.2. Local institutional actors' perceptions of the impacts of studentification in Brighton

This section seeks to explore local institutional actors' perceptions of the *impacts* of expanding student populations on Brighton. Generally speaking, letting agents identified noise nuisance as the primary 'common challenge' faced by local residents living in studentified neighbourhoods in Brighton; in line with the perceptions of established residents discussed earlier in the Chapter. Limited awareness was demonstrated of the range of other impacts identified, however, or their micro-scale specificities. The limitations of strategic-level Brighton and Hove City Council representatives' knowledge, as demonstrated in the previous section, was replicated within the context of the impacts of students on established communities. It is evidenced in this section that the development of a Housing Strategy for

the city had failed to pay due credence to the impacts of these processes of change on the shifting tenure profile of some parts of the city, and the inherent implications therein for other social groups seeking housing (such as local families or first-time buyers). Neither had the physical impacts of studentification on the city's housing stock (for example, the extreme degradation of the frontages of student HMO in Hartington Road and Triangle: see Chapter 4, Section 4.5.3) been recognised. Brighton and Hove City Council officers in operational roles (dealing with noise nuisance complaints within the environmental health department, and anti-social behaviour within the anti-social behaviour team) were more aware of the nature of the impacts of students on local residents' quality of life. Their perception of the scale of the issues, however, varied markedly to that reported by local residents in previous Sections.

Finally, perceptions at the two universities of the scope and nature of the impacts of students are found to be rooted in the nature and frequency of complaints received by the residential services departments from local residents. The number of complaints was reported to have increased in recent years; however, this was not solely linked by representatives of the universities to expanding student populations. Rather, the elevated profile of issues such as anti-social behaviour via the national RESPECT agenda, and the demonstrable willingness of local universities to "put our heads above the parapet" as "major business...players in the city" were also highlighted in their tendency to raise community awareness of the issues of studentification.

Letting agents identified two major effects of enlarged student populations on Brighton's established residential communities: noise nuisance; and overgrown unkempt gardens. These are exemplified by the following quote from an MTM letting agent:

"Gardens, noise nuisance, um, that's generally it I mean we don't get complaints about too much else really" (MTM Lettings agent).

It was also generally perceived by Brighton's letting agents that the size of a student HMO, in terms of the number of bedrooms, tended to indicate the likelihood of the occupants engendering problems for neighbouring residential properties; with larger student households tending to attract the most frequent complaints, regardless of their location:

"It does tend to be the bigger houses that we get the worst problems with, so sort of five bedrooms and upwards really" (MTM lettings agent).

"It's the big houses where you've got five, six, seven, eight, even nine students. Those ones attract more complaints – it doesn't matter what the area is" (Parks Residential Lettings agent).

At Brighton and Hove City Council, officers in operational roles dealing with complaints regarding noise nuisance and anti-social behaviour in the city, did not perceive expanding student populations to have had a significant impact on the frequency or nature of these

complaints. In the following quote, Brighton and Hove City Council's Anti-social Behaviour Team Manager describes the majority of student-related cases to involve "low-level noise nuisance":

"What we've dealt with is mainly noise...and then like I said there was one where another student was harassing their housemates...it's mainly noise, and noise from visitors at anti-social hours. And I guess a couple of them have been where the neighbours have complained and they've been told to fuck off, or have felt threatened, so that's when a case of noise is referred to us" (ASB Team Manager, BHCC).

In addition to reports of student-related anti-social behaviour tending to be 'low-level' in nature, the following quote, again from the Anti-social Behaviour Team Manager, suggests that student-related incidents represented a relatively small percentage of the team's caseload, thus challenging the perceived scope of the issue as outlined by local residents earlier in the chapter:

"We deal with about 500 incidents of anti-social behaviour, that's individual incidents by a new person or in a new location...this year we've dealt with two maybe three cases of students behaving anti-socially" (ASB Team Manager, BHCC).

In terms of the frequency of anti-social behaviour events targeted *at* students, the perception was similar; that these signified a very limited proportion of the city's overall caseload:

"I've probably dealt with maybe one the other way when students felt they were being harassed or intimidated by other people" (ASB Team Manager, BHCC).

It would appear, based on these statements, that student-related anti-social behaviour accounts for only a small proportion of that occurring throughout the city. However, as indicated by the quote below, anti-social behaviour, in its nature, refers to a relatively small number of events causing a much greater magnitude of disharmony. It should also be noted that the quote below suggests the extant perception among some local residents of students as "outsiders", further evidencing the limited levels of integration of student populations:

"Anti-social behaviour is a phenomenon...where a fairly small number of people can cause an immense amount of damage, and I think in this situation, you will always have one or two residents who are fundamentally against any outsiders, and at the same time you'll have one or two student households who will behave like arseholes" (ASB Team Manager, BHCC).

Noise nuisance complaints originating from residential households in Brighton are recorded and addressed by the Residential Noise Team, within the Environmental Health Directorate of Brighton and Hove City Council. The data recorded in relation to noise nuisance complaints in the city does not allow complaints involving student households to be differentiated. However, the perception of noise nuisance in the city held by the Residential

Noise Team Manager was of some level of stasis in terms of the number of complaints received over the previous seven-year period, despite the expanding student population:

“The noise complaints have been pretty static over the last seven years actually, nationally they’ve been rising, but here in Brighton, no real change” (Residential Noise Team Manager, BHCC).

The disparity between the trend in residential noise complaint trends in Brighton, and that at the national level (where a gradual increase had been reported over the same period) was perceived by the Residential Noise Team Manager to be a result of Brighton’s approach to dealing with noise complaints. This involved individual dedicated teams to deal with residential and commercial noise complaints; and relatively generous allocation of financial resourcing. These factors were perceived to have resulted in a comparatively high performance compared to other local authorities:

“We think it’s probably because we...deal with things effectively, and we’re in specialist teams...a lot of local authorities work very differently...and we’re quite well resourced” (Residential Noise Team Manager, BHCC).

Conversely, patterns in commercial noise complaints in the city were reported to have increased significantly during the summer months in 2007:

“What we’re seeing is that the number of commercial noise complaints have gone up massively over the last summer” (Residential Noise Team Manager, BHCC).

This was perceived to be tied to the ban on smoking in public spaces (introduced in the UK on 1st July, 2007), and the lack of designated outside space for smokers in the city’s pubs:

“We think that’s down to...outside smoking...pubs using their gardens now for smokers, and the change in licensing laws, we think that’s...the impact of that we’re just starting to see really” (Noise Patrol Team Manager, BHCC).

The perceived increase in noise disturbances as a result of this was echoed by the University of Brighton’s Head of Accommodation and Catering Services, particularly with reference to the Hanover area, with its abundance of pubs with limited outside space for smoking:

“The pubs up there [Southover Street], since the no smoking ban’s been in place...people are dispersing outside, to the point that huge groups, a hundred, a hundred and fifty, two hundred people...on a couple of occasions a manager there has actually closed the pub, because they can’t control the people in it. So those pubs along there who have not put any provision in for smokers, they’re [patrons] actually going outside and that’s going to have an impact on local residents” (Head of Accommodation and Catering Services, University of Brighton).

Similarly, despite recognition of increasing numbers of complaints (to the University Accommodation and Catering Services Department) regarding noise nuisance, and the perceived ‘volatility’ of some areas in terms of student-resident conflict, this was not felt to be entirely due to expanding student populations, as demonstrated by the following quotes:

“We’ve had some complaints about a strip of The Avenue where there are something like eight houses all virtually together that are student houses, and you know, as the neighbour said to me it’s like party city. So there are pockets I think in Bevendean that could potentially be er, volatile shall we say” (Residential Services Manager, University of Brighton).

“I think...through...more awareness of students in the community, and LAT’s starting to pop up...people do I think, do they complain more...? Yeah, I’d have to say my perception probably is that more complaints come through now” (Residential Services Manager, University of Brighton).

The evident increase in complaints regarding student households was couched, as demonstrated above, within the broader context of elevated levels of awareness regarding anti-social behaviour on the national scale via the RESPECT agenda, and more locally via Police initiatives such as the inauguration of Local Action Teams under the auspices of the wider RESPECT programme. The quotes above and below suggest that this government agenda has encouraged both awareness of these issues among local communities, thus increasing the likelihood of local residents to complain; and recognition among local institutional actors (with particular reference to the universities) of the need to engage with the challenges of expanding local student populations:

“I think it’s different. I think since the government agenda, or the Police agenda’s changed, with all this sort of RESPECT and local action teams, and I guess that we’ve put our heads above the parapet as a department...we never had to deal with things that we deal with now. We got an odd few complaints, but we never got involved in local action group meetings, we never had as much contact within the Police, we’ve now even got our own PCSO, that’s a University PCSO” (Head of Accommodation and Catering Services, University of Brighton).

The University of Sussex Residential Services Department, although demonstrating awareness of the processes and impacts of studentification in the city, perceived the issues to be of less concern to them due to the greater proportion of University of Sussex students accommodated on-campus (compared to the University of Brighton):

“Obviously...for us because we’re a campus University...we can house all our first years...I think we have less of an issue with the private sector and what’s been happening in the sort of community in terms of studentification” (Residential Services Manager, University of Sussex).

Perhaps in light of this view, the University of Sussex had failed to record or monitor the nature or frequency of complaints received by the Residential Services Department regarding problematic student households (at least until the time of the interview in Autumn, 2007); emphasising the lack of engagement with the issues intimated by the quote above.

The lack of awareness of the spatial patterns of student residence demonstrated by officers working at the strategic level within Brighton and Hove City Council, has been discussed in the previous section. A similarly limited knowledge and understanding of the *impacts* of

concentrated student populations on some of Brighton's established residential communities was also revealed. This appeared to result from a lack research, information gathering, or public consultation on the issues surrounding students in communities in the city:

“One of the actions we wanted to do is more work in studentification, but within the council and the University there's been lots of changing staff over the last few years and so that work's kind of started, stopped, started, stopped, so I don't think we've really got anywhere. But its something we've been aware of, we've wanted to look into” (Housing Strategy Manager, BHCC).

Despite the apparent lack of examination of the impacts of students on local communities in Brighton, consultation on the forthcoming Housing Strategy was reported to have included some planned endeavours to consider the housing needs of students in the city. These plans had not generated any real outcomes, however, rendering the draft review of the city's Housing Strategy document, at the time of interview, devoid of input related to the issues of studentification or student housing needs in Brighton:

“We did have a two-day consultation event for the strategy back in July and we were told by...Brighton NUS that they were going to send a group of students down to us. Unfortunately though, they didn't show up, and I think it might have been because it was the first sunny day of the summer!” (Planner, Local Development Framework, BHCC).

In summary, at the time of interview in Autumn 2007, there was widespread failure to note the entrenched social changes caused by concentrating student populations (as noted earlier in the Chapter) among all institutional actors. Instead, discussions of the impacts of students on local communities tended to focus on noise nuisance and other forms of anti-social behaviour, thus were largely concerned with the impacts on residents' quality-of-life, rather than the socio-demographic or tenure characteristics of the communities in question.

Very limited understanding in 2007 of either the spatial residential patterns, or the impacts of student populations was apparent among strategic-level Brighton and Hove City Council representatives. Letting agents demonstrated the greatest depth of knowledge in terms of extant and potential areas of student clustering, with Brighton and Hove City Council strategy-makers exposing both their own erroneous perceptions of the residential geographies of local student populations, and the absence of any reference to student housing from the extant or forthcoming Housing Strategy documents for the city.

Finally, the 'blueprint' approach to formulating housing strategy was found to dominate at Brighton and Hove City Council, marking a significant discord with the neighbourhood-specific housing and tenure issues identified by local residents, discussed earlier in the chapter. As has been noted in Chapter 4, significant local policy developments in relation to student housing unfolded from October 2008 (after the time of interview in Autumn 2007), culminating in the launch of a draft Student Housing Strategy (2009-2013) in December

2009. The chronology of these developments is described in full in Section 4.3. The final section of this chapter, to follow, outlines perceptions of the management of housing needs, student populations, and the mitigation of the negative impacts of studentification among local institutional actors.

5.6.3. Local institutional actors' perceptions of the management and mitigation of the challenges of studentification

This section considers local institutional actors' perceptions of the methods, mechanisms and strategies employed to address the challenges of studentification, both at the time of interview, and those proposed for the future. A dominant emergent theme to note is the lack of wider policy structures to frame and guide 'joined-up' local management of private rented HMO and student populations. As noted by Smith (2008: p.2541) the "absence of a national policy on the supply of student housing" has resulted in "the incapacity of institutional actors to intervene or regulate the residential geographies of students" thus "yielding 'unbalanced' populations". Also notable was the distinct failure of strategy-makers at Brighton and Hove City Council to consider initiatives to regulate the private rental market, thus enabling restrictions to be imposed on the proliferation of student HMO or to manage the impacts of this tenure imbalance (such as the ASHORE proposed by Charnwood Borough Council, or HMO Action Zones, as piloted by Nottingham City Council). Rather, the persistent lack of regulation in this sector of the housing market remains unquestioned, with the statement "it's the private market, at the end of the day the private market dictates itself" (Housing Strategy Manager, BHCC).

Some positive progress is described by representatives of the universities, citing more successful partnership working on specific student-related issues with other local institutional actors (predominantly Sussex Police), and more acceptance and embracing of the need for joined-up multi-agency working on the negative issues of studentification affecting the city; succinctly summarised by the Head of Residential and Catering Services as the 'raising of heads above the parapet'. The section begins by outlining the reported methods for dealing with complaints regarding student households. The strategic approach adopted by the city is discussed towards the end of the section.

Letting agents, the universities and the Anti-social Behaviour Team reported similar methods of dealing with complaints regarding student households. The following quote describes MTM Lettings' favoured method, involving scheduling a meeting with the student household immediately following a complaint to discuss the issues raised by the complainant:

“As an agency...dealing with students, we don’t generally write that many letters...if we get a complaint...we’ll phone them up straight away, and literally organise a time to go round there and you know, sit them down and have a proper serious word with them” (MTM Lettings agent).

The University of Sussex described a similar method involving an initial phone call and / or written warning, followed potentially by a visit to speak with the students concerned:

“If it’s...students living in the private sector...if it’s a Landlord that’s registered through us, then Mark will follow that up, and he follows up either through a phone call or a letter, he might actually go and visit the property as well...and deal with it that way (Residential Services Manager, University of Sussex).

The Accommodation and Catering Services Manager from the University of Brighton again described a similar approach, whereby students were visited by a member of the Accommodation and Catering Services Department to explain the issues, and ensure students were aware of the disciplinary process:

“If they’re students...in the private sector...it’s...a case of reminding them...that they’re living in the community, there are neighbours who might have children, people have different lifestyles and might need to get up early, and...asking them to behave considerately...and then a bit about...us taking things very seriously...the sort of disciplinary sort of side of things” (Accommodation and Catering Services Manager, University of Brighton).

In a similar vein, the Anti-social Behaviour Team Manager at Brighton and Hove City Council described early intervention as the most successful method of dealing with low-level anti-social behaviour:

“90 % of all the work we do is this early intervention stuff – a bit of a chat, a bit of support, or we might use an acceptable behaviour contract... it’s nearly always dealt with in that way, and it normally works” (ASB Team Manager, BHCC).

The lack of an over-arching strategic approach to dealing with the issues arising, as described in the introduction to the section, is noted below in terms of the necessary grounding required to improve the management of student-community relations in Brighton:

“I think what would make them [student-community relations] better is...a bit more of a plan, and a bit more of a policy or a structure around how that works in practice” (ASB Team Manager, BHCC).

Also noted at the beginning of the section was the evident perception at the strategic level of the inevitability of urban change associated with the proliferation of student HMO, given the ‘free-reign’ of the buy-to-let market, and the consistency of demand from an expanding student population. In light of this, the potential to regulate, thus manage shifting tenure profiles within the city was perceived to be futile:

“It’s the private market, at the end of the day the private market dictates itself. If there’s money in students which there undoubtedly is, then private investors are going to keep buying property in areas for students, cram as many into the house as you can, make as much money as you can, no stake in the community, they’re only there for a short time, so that whole community spirit thing, the private investors don’t care about that” (Housing Strategy Manager, BHCC).

Despite emphasising the constraints to regulating HMO production in the city, other potential methods of encouraging a more balanced mix of housing were considered. For example, a representative of the LDF suggested the designation of a higher percentage of shared-ownership units within any new development opportunities arising in Brighton’s studentified areas would encourage the in-movement of first-time buyers and families:

“The initiative that springs to mind is...an attempt to try and encourage a more diverse mix within the population we’re thinking in terms of our affordable housing, that we may if there’re development opportunities coming up in some of those areas...encourage say a higher percentage of shared-ownership, so you start to try to get more of a mix of household types” (Planner, Local Development Framework, BHCC).

Further probing of the perceptions of potential strategic solutions to the challenges of ‘student-related urban change’, however, revealed evidence of misconceptions among Brighton and Hove City Council officers. The following quote reveals some level of confusion around the definition of an HMO. This echoes Smith’s (2008: p.2551) contention that the absence of a standardised definition of HMO “which cross-cuts and spans both planning and housing legislation” has inhibited the successful development of strategy and policy at the local level to regulate the production of HMO:

“Normal residential is C3 and HMO...comes under a different category, so they’re differentiated already” (Planner, Local Development Framework, BHCC).

The limited knowledge in 2007 among planners and housing strategy experts at Brighton and Hove City Council, of the debates around the Use Classes Order, and the potential tool this represents for regulating the production of HMO in studentified cities (Smith, 2008; National HMO Lobby, 2009) further evidences the failure of Brighton and Hove City Council to engage with these issues and formulate appropriate responses at the local level.

Indeed, the Head of Accommodation and Catering Services at the University of Brighton expressed disappointment regarding the extent to which Brighton and Hove City Council had engaged and pro-actively addressed the issues around studentification, as demonstrated by the following quote:

“I think they should be doing more, but I think we’ve gone a long way in the last year, and they’ve actually begun to realise that students have a big impact on the city” (Head of Accommodation and Catering Services, University of Brighton).

The quote above also indicates some level of recent progress in terms of improving how these issues are tackled in a ‘joined-up’ manner in the city. This was accompanied, however, by some recognition of the temporal frame within which strategic and policy improvements would translate into positive change, illustrated by the following quote:

“I think that’s going to take years and years to change the institution, because I mean aside from actually getting something in the strategy for Brighton, it’s then got to inform planning, and you’re talking five or ten years then before we see any impact, or before we influence any of the student issues that are going to come out of the paper that informs the strategy” (Head of Accommodation and Catering Services, University of Brighton).

As noted in the introduction to the section, key to the University of Brighton’s perception of recent progress in dealing with the negative impacts of studentification has been a consciousness of the necessity for change, and pro-active engagement with the issues, as described in the following quote:

“I guess that we’ve put our heads above the parapet as a department...we are a major business and major player in the city...we are now active members of the joint action group... we’ve now even got our own PCSO, that’s a University PCSO” (Head of Accommodation and Catering Services, University of Brighton).

In practice, this has involved working more closely with other relevant stakeholders in the city via a ‘Joint Action Group’, with a view to developing a ‘joined-up’ multi-lateral approach to addressing the challenges of studentification:

“I think the Joint Action Groups...are quite good...they were formed for the LAT’s [Local Action Teams] to feed into the Police...at those meetings you’ve got all RSL’s, local councillors represented, er, big businesses, er, fire and ambulances as well, EHO’s ASB team” (Head of Accommodation and Catering Services, University of Brighton).

Joint working was also reported to have involved positive action in partnership with the Sussex Police Service, specifically around the development of new policy, and the sharing of relevant data and information; evidencing of a new approach to mitigating the negative impacts of expanding student populations:

“We talked about drugs policies and what we can do in the future and things around empty houses, particularly in the summer student houses, there seems to be evidence that they’ve been targeted by burglars...we’re doing some more work with crime reduction and the Police on that, to the point actually that they’ve got all the addresses of our head leasing University managed properties, and we’ve also got the addresses of all of MTM’s properties...so they’ve also got those as well” (Head of Accommodation and Catering Services, University of Brighton).

In summary, this section has largely revealed a willingness and appreciation among local institutional actors for the necessity for interventions at the local level to address the negative urban changes unfolding in Brighton as a result of expanding student populations. This has

been evidenced by the inauguration of a Joint Action Group, and by examples of effective partnership working between the universities and Sussex Police. However, despite this enthusiasm, there was limited evidence at the time of interview of the implementation of change on any appropriate scale, hinging arguably on the persistent lack of urban policy guidance from the national or regional governmental level. As such, local efforts, although marking progress in terms of local institutional actors' attitudes and awareness of the need for change, remain piecemeal and limited in scope.

5.7. Conclusion

The final Section of this chapter seeks to synthesise findings from the examination of local residents' and local institutional actors' perceptions of the spatial and temporal patterns of unfolding processes of studentification, and the impacts these processes of change have had at the micro-scale in four communities in Brighton. It has been shown through discussions in Sections 5.2 - 5.5 that the processes and impacts of studentification have unfolded in unique ways, depending upon the urban context. These unique expressions of studentification at the micro-scale, it has been suggested, depend upon a range of contingencies. Among the most significant to be identified, based on the perceptions outlined earlier in the chapter, are the individual urban histories of the case study sites; the interconnectedness and overlap of processes of studentification with other processes of urban change (such as gentrification); the tenure profile, housing stock characteristics and micro-scale housing market dynamics at the community level; the characteristics of local established residential populations, and similarly those of in-migrating student populations; the extent to which established residential and student populations recognise shared-values and experiences; the extent to which student populations are perceived to nurture the unique cultural motifs of a residential community; the proliferation of particular types of student accommodation (i.e. private rented HMO or purpose-built student halls of residence); the tendency for private rented student HMO to form 'micro-clusters' at the sub-street level; the density of student residence, and the implications this has for the likelihood of maintaining pre-existing community identities, ethos and support structures; and the regional and national level urban policy frames within which the challenges associated with student populations are conceptualised, managed and mitigated.

This range of contingent factors influencing the diverse expressions of studentification emerging in Brighton evidence the micro-scale complexities of the processes of urban change associated with transient student populations. This, arguably, has major implications at the local level for the residential communities of Brighton and other university cities, and for the likelihood for pre-existing 'blue-print' urban policies and untailed legislative instruments to successfully mediate these micro-specific urban challenges. These findings also have implications for established academic conceptualisations of studentification, how successfully these capture the diverse and dynamic nuances of contemporary student

geographies, and how these hook up to broader theories of contemporary urban change. Finally, on a broader scale, these findings invite critiques of New Labour's 'sustainable communities ideology', suggesting in line with Smith (2008), that the political imperatives of balanced urban communities are not achievable while urban policy and urban process continue to conflict in studentified areas.

Chapter 6 further un-packs the micro-scale intricacies identified in this chapter, drawing on findings from a questionnaire survey of local residents at each of the five case study sites thus focusing in particular on the contingent characteristics of the established resident populations in each case study site, and how these have given rise to differing perceptions of urban change. The conclusions drawn here, and in the next chapter will be synthesised, with further consideration given to the scale of their implications for future urban policy and academic conceptualisations of studentification, in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6: The micro-geographies of studentification in Brighton; findings from a door-to-door survey.

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents findings from a door-to-door questionnaire survey of 350 established residents undertaken between August 2008 and April 2009, across five research sites in Brighton: (i) Bevendean; (ii) Coombe Road; (iii) Hartington Road and Triangle; (iv) Hanover; and (v) Hollingdean. The primary aims of the chapter are twofold. First, the chapter explores how, where and why established residents perceive processes of studentification to have unfolded in their local neighbourhood. These perceptions of student-related change are unpacked further to illuminate a diverse and complex set of processes within Brighton, and it is demonstrated that the micro-geographic context of each research site fosters differentiated expressions of studentification at the scale of the neighbourhood. This addresses the agenda for micro-geographic analyses of the processes and effects of studentification outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, and builds on the key findings of Chapters 4 and 5, which identified five case study sites with contrasting contingent characteristics, and outlined how the perceptions of studentification among local residents in each case study site differed. Second, established residents' perceptions of students as a social group are unravelled, with a view to establishing a more nuanced conceptualisation of community cohesion in these neighbourhoods. This analysis suggests, despite significant recognition of the negative impacts of student in-migration, a largely ambivalent attitude towards students as a social group, revealing notable levels of 'tolerance' amongst Brighton's established residents.

The chapter is divided into six main sections. The first (Section 6.2) explores the characteristics and dynamics of the established residential population in each research site, building on the key findings of Chapter 4. Variations in length of residence, age profile, household composition, educational attainment are outlined between respondent groups from different case study sites; establishing a base upon which to conceptualise (dis)similarities in these populations' perceptions of the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification in subsequent discussion. Section 6.3 focuses on respondents' motives for in-migration, their perceptions of the appeals and dis-benefits of living in their neighbourhood, and their sense of belonging. Section 6.4 examines perceptions of *neighbourhood change*, establishing that residents perceive student in-migrants to have influenced processes of urban change in their area to varying degrees, with some temporal distinctions being made between case study sites. This suggests that micro-level processes of studentification are more embedded in

some neighbourhoods than others. Established residents views on the *specific impacts* of students are teased out in Section 6.5, exposing some variation between graduate and non-graduate opinion; with the former group tending to place more emphasis on the positive impacts of students. In Section 6.6, a relatively balanced view of students as a social group is found to permeate both graduate and non-graduate respondent groups, suggesting some unexpected level of tolerance amongst Brighton's established residential population compared to dominant media discourses (see Chapters 1 and 4). Section 6.7 outlines respondents' perceptions of the management of student-related neighbourhood change by local institutional actors. This reveals an overall lack of knowledge of the roles and responsibilities of these actors, and the governance structures within which they operate. Finally, Section 6.8 draws some overall conclusions from the survey findings presented.

6.1.1. The focus of the survey

In line with the research rationale set out in Chapter 1 to investigate the processes and impacts of studentification at the micro-scale, established residents have been targeted in this survey in order to ascertain their perceptions of the nature and scale of urban change in their neighbourhood, and the impacts concentrating student populations have had on their quality of life. An 'established resident' has been explicitly defined here as one who has lived in the neighbourhood for five or more years. Any respondents approached where the stated length of residence was less than five years were excluded from the survey. The rationale behind this approach lay in the desire to explore change over time as a result of student in-migration, in particular over the last five years, in order to investigate whether processes of studentification have unfolded in these areas since previous research was undertaken (Smith and Holt, 2004).

Preliminary cross-tabulations of the survey data revealed some primary cleavages of opinion and respondent characteristics along the graduate / non-graduate divide. It was identified that the length of residence and age profile of these two groups were largely polarised, suggesting that they were living mutually exclusive stages of the life-course, with these differences exercising a marked influence on their reported perceptions and motivations. In light of these findings, analyses of these data have been undertaken to consider these respondent groups in isolation from one-another, allowing their characteristics, motivations and perceptions to be compared and contrasted. An under-representation of graduate respondents in Bevendean, however, has prevented a robust implementation of the graduate / non-graduate division in this case study site. Instead, an East / West division was deployed, based on qualitative evidence from focus group research in Bevendean which indicated that processes of studentification had not unfolded to the same extent in the East, as they had in the West of Bevendean (Chapter 5, Section 5.2). This is further substantiated by cluster

analyses of student residence presented in Figure 19, (Chapter 4, Section 4.4), which indicates more significant clustering in West Bevendean than in East Bevendean.

Indeed, Chapter 4, Section 4.5.1 notes the historic divide between initial post-war social rented housing developments in ‘Lower Bevendean’ (the West of the estate situated between Lewes Road and the South Downs), and ‘Upper Bevendean’ (the East of the estate, stretching up onto the foot-slopes of the South Downs), developed post-1948, consisting of terraced housing, bungalows and new social rented housing developments. Comparing the images of student lets in West Bevendean (Figure 34) with owner occupied housing in East Bevendean (Figure 35), illustrates the relative physical degradation of properties and gardens let to student sharers in West Bevendean, compared to the more carefully maintained owner occupied / social rented housing that dominate the tenure profile to the East of the case study site. Thus, analyses of data collected in Bevendean will implement a spatial divide between respondents resident in the more studentified West of the site, compared to those living to the East. Graduate and non-graduate respondent groups will form the basic units of analysis in the remaining case study sites: Coombe Road; Hartington Road and Triangle; Hanover; and Hollingdean, as summarised by Figure 33 below. Sections herein are structured to consider analyses of Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, Hanover, and Hollingdean first, followed by Bevendean.

Figure 33: Diagram summarising respondent samples for analysis in each case study site.

Case Study Site	Graduate Sample	Non-graduate Sample
Coombe Road	✓	✓
Hartington Road and Triangle	✓	✓
Hanover	✓	✓
Hollingdean	✓	✓
Case Study Site	East Sample	West Sample
Bevendean	✓	✓

Figure 34: Student lets in West Bevedean



Figure 35: Upper Bevedean Avenue (left image), and bungalows in East Bevedean (right images).



6.2. Respondent characteristics

This Section summarises the demographic characteristics and length of residence of the respondent households surveyed, building on the context provided for each research site in Chapter 4, based on analysis of secondary 2001 GB Census data. Respondent characteristics are explored in this section with reference both to the research site within which they reside and their graduate / non-graduate status (or their East / West residential location in the case of Bevendean). These levels of analysis will establish the necessary grounding upon which to conceptualise and unpack the motivations and perceptions of these populations in Sections 6.3 - 6.6. This section is divided into three sub-sections addressing length of residence (6.2.1), age structure (6.2.2), and household composition (6.2.3).

6.2.1. Length of residence

Comparing Figure 36 with Figure 37 exposes the polarised length of residence of graduate respondents, compared to that of non-graduates across all four research sites. Figure 36 illustrates a remarkably similar trend of recent in-migration in the graduate respondent group across Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, Hanover and Hollingdean, with all four areas demonstrating a major in-migration peak at 5-10 years. This compares to a primary peak at 16-20 years in the non-graduate population across all areas, and a secondary peak at >25 years (see Figure 37) in Coombe Road and Hartington Road and Triangle. This is an important trend to note in terms of conceptualising the motivations for in-migration and the perceptions of neighbourhood change asserted by these two groups, discussed later in Sections 6.3-6.7.

The comparatively recent in-migration of graduates at 5-10 years (Figure 36) could be a reflection of increased graduate retention in Brighton and Hove following the documented increase in undergraduate intake over the last decade at both the University of Brighton and the University of Sussex, in line with the national trend (see Chapter 1, Section **Error! Reference source not found.**). This initial peak is more marked in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hollingdean, with 54.5%, 72.2% and 60.0% of graduates in these areas having in-migrated in the last 5-10 years respectively. Hanover, however, displays a less significant initial peak at 45.2%. As the more gentrified (and least affordable in terms of mean house price, as indicated by the 2008 Brighton and Hove Strategic Housing Market Assessment: Brighton and Hove City Council, 2008) of the four case study sites, this perhaps indicates the importance of economic factors in the migration decision-making processes of the most recent graduate in-migrants.

The recent peak in graduate migrant inflow at 5-10 years may also suggest the fluidity and transience of this migrant group compared to non-graduates. Graduates may tend to move

relatively often within the rental market in Brighton and Hove, as opposed to non-graduates who may be more likely to settle for a period of time as owner-occupiers, thus developing more lengthy periods of residence, as suggested by Figure 37. This highlights the dynamism of the graduate population, and their propensity as a migrant group to display more frequent intra-flows and inter-flows within and between neighbourhoods in the city.

The secondary peak in-flow of graduates 16-20 years ago was most pronounced in the Hollingdean and Coombe Road areas, the more affordable of the four research sites in terms of mean house price (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2008). Hanover, the least affordable, in contrast expresses a relatively low percentage decrease in the proportion of graduates who moved in during this period. This could suggest, akin to the trend in more recent graduate in-migrants discussed above, that affordability is a key consideration to this migrant group. This could also indicate the influence of the 1989-1990 housing market crash, whereby less affordable mortgages and more restricted mortgage lending may have made Hanover, as the most affluent of the four research sites, a less financially viable migration destination. Indeed, Figure 37 illustrates a similar curtailment of non-graduate in-migration to Hanover at 16-20 years, with similar, more pronounced patterns of non-graduate in-migration to the more affordable neighbourhoods.

Hanover does, however, experience a much earlier influx of graduates than Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, or Hollingdean, with 16.1% of the graduate respondent group in this area having in-migrated between 21 and 25 years ago (compared to 9.1% in Coombe Road, and 0.0% in Hartington Road and Triangle and Hollingdean). Interestingly, as has been noted by Smith (2005: p.79), Hanover exemplifies the unfolding processes of studentification in an area containing “relatively exclusive high cost housing and a middle class residential composition”, i.e. a neighbourhood demonstrating the hallmarks of gentrification. This sequential establishment of gentrification followed by studentification has also been observed at the neighbourhood level in other university cities in the UK, for example: Clifton in Bristol; Headingley in Leeds; and Lenton in Nottingham (Smith, 2005b). Indeed, it has been noted in discussions of qualitative focus group data collected in Hanover (Chapter 5, Section 5.5.1) that respondents identified the in-migration of ‘middle-class’ populations to Hanover during the 1980’s, coupled with rising house prices in the area. Thus, it would appear that Hanover experienced the onset of processes of gentrification in the 1980’s, the impacts of which are reflected in the characteristics of the area outlined in Chapter 4 (Section 4.5.4); for example the comparatively high proportion of residents engaged in professional occupations, and the visual aesthetics of the area (Ley, 2003).

Figure 36: Graph showing length of residence of graduate respondents (%)

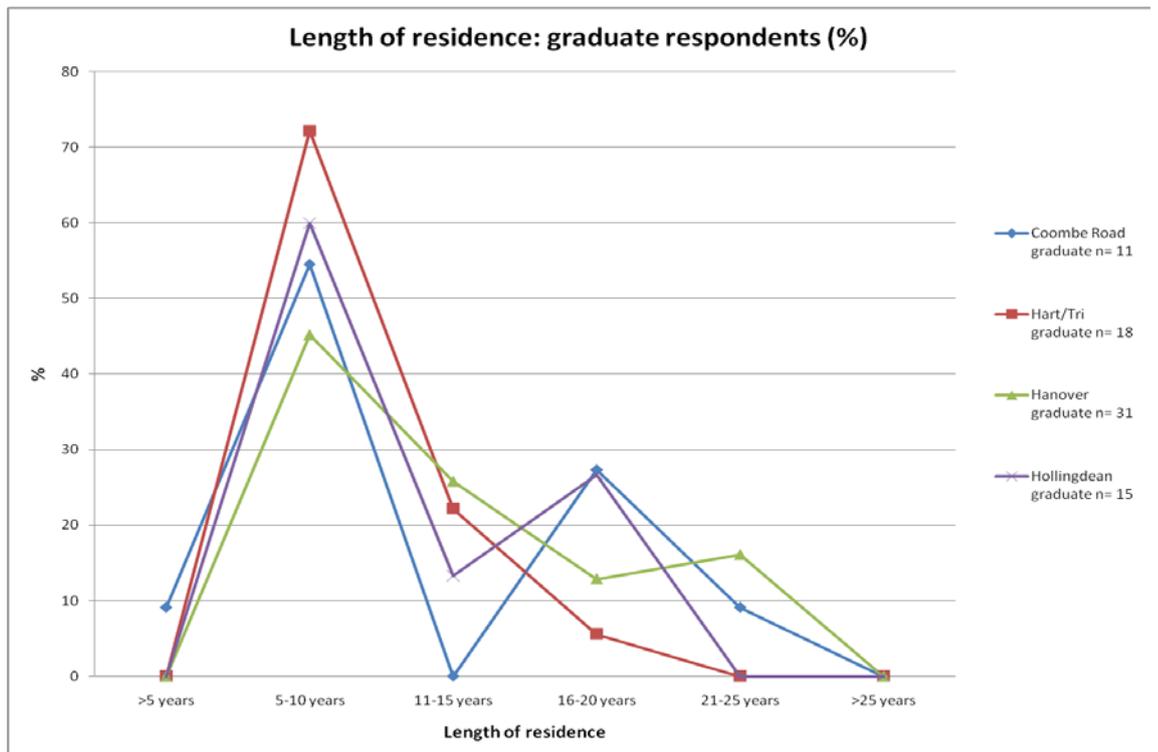


Figure 37: Graph showing length of residence of non-graduate respondents (%)

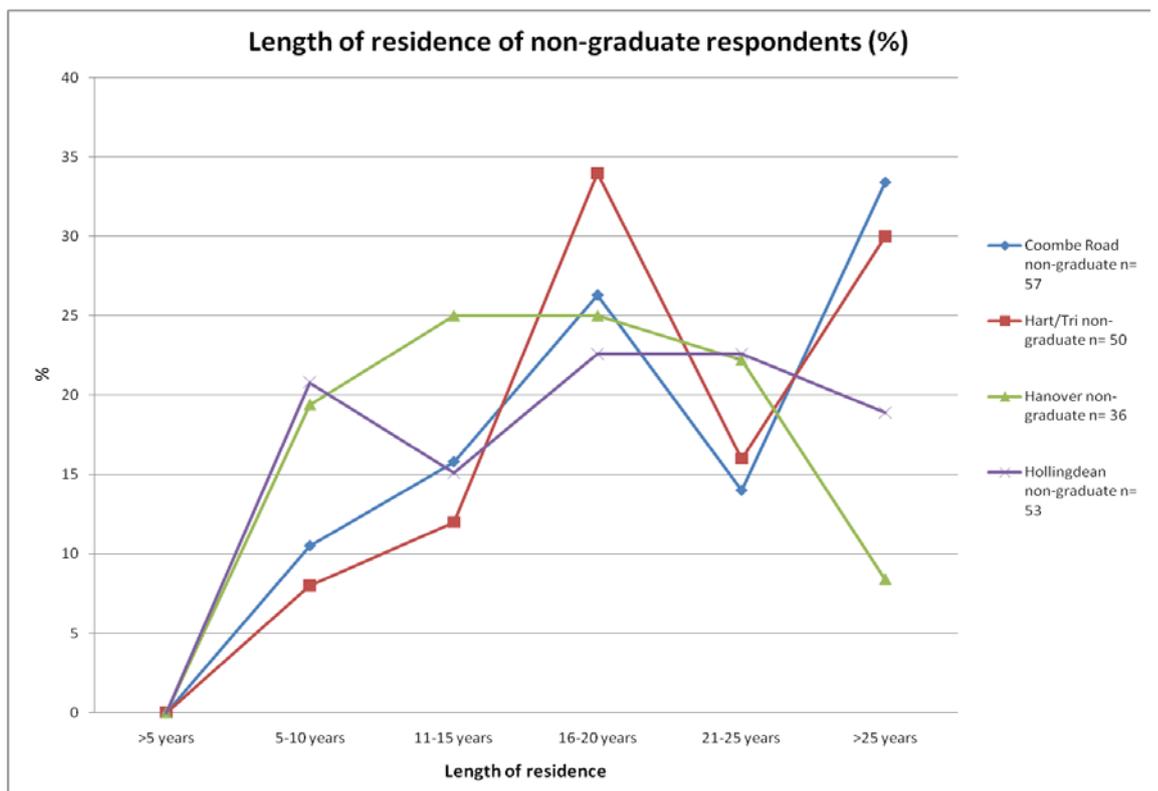


Figure 38: Graph showing graduate age profile (%)

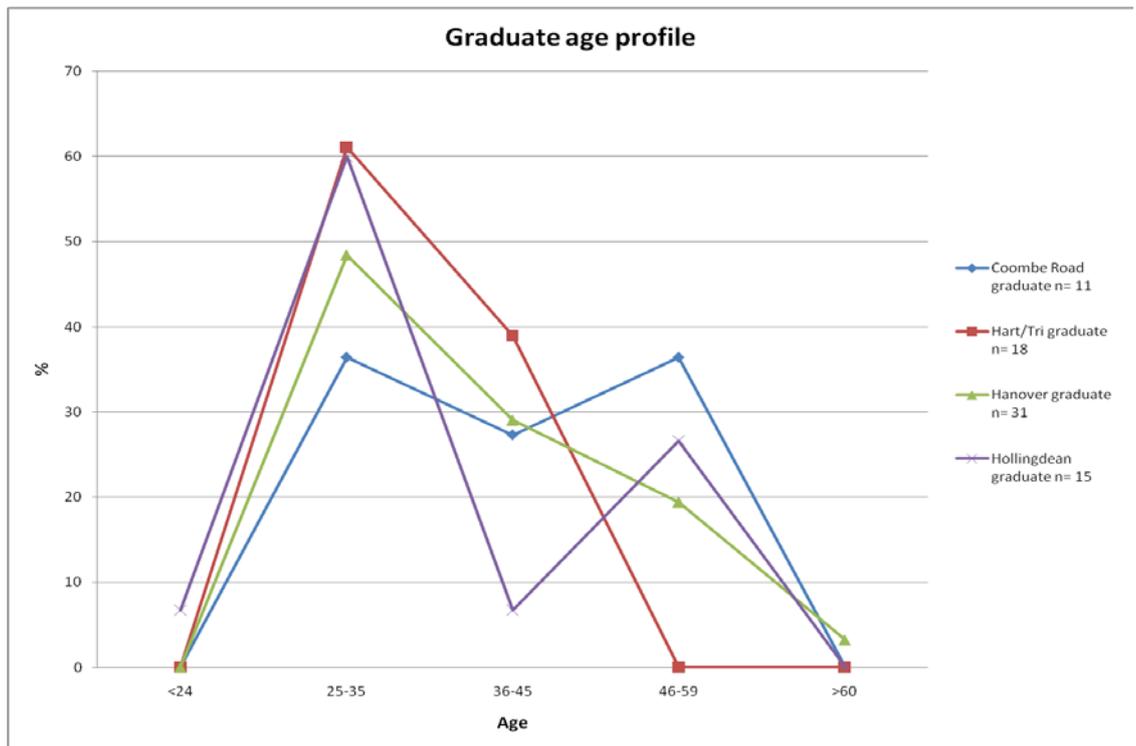
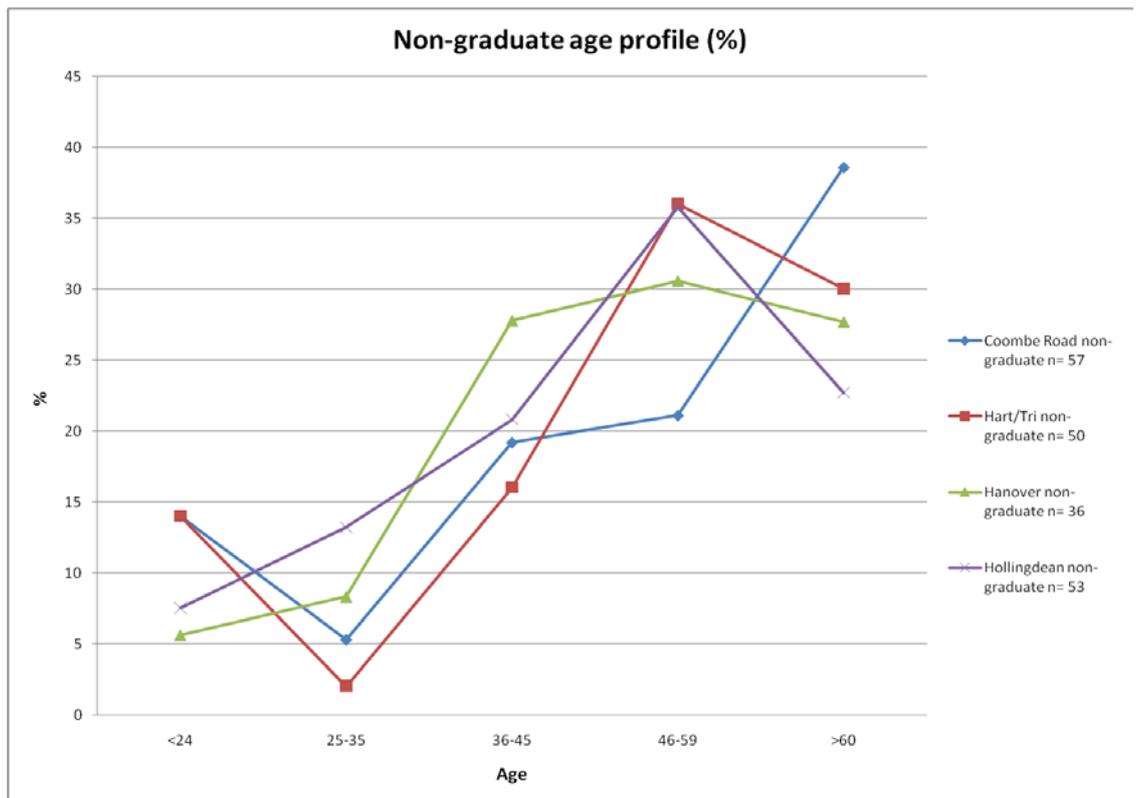


Figure 39: Graph showing non-graduate age profile (%)



Patterns of in-migration to Bevendean (Table 5) show that more than half of both the East (53.3%) and West (54.8%) respondent groups have lived in the neighbourhood for over 25 years. This is echoed in the age structure and the large proportion of pensioner households in this area, as discussed below in Sections 6.2.2 and 6.2.3. The East / West divide in Bevendean shows limited evidence of a cleavage in length of residence, with fairly balanced proportions of respondents in each time period.

6.2.2. Age Profile

This section outlines the age profile of the graduate and non-graduate respondent groups in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, Hanover and Hollingdean, and the East / West respondent samples in Bevendean. Differing trends in age structure are distinguished along these respondent divisions, and cross-referenced where appropriate to the patterns emerging in the length of residence of these respondent groups (discussed in Section 6.2.1). The polarised temporal nature of in-migration in the graduate sample, when compared to non-graduates (Section 6.2.1), is reflected in the age structure of these respondent groups, with the majority of graduate respondents across all four areas falling into the 25-45 age bracket (63.7% in Coombe Road, 100.0% in Hartington Road, 77.4% in Hanover and 66.7% in Hollingdean, Table 6), and that of the non-graduates identifying as 46 years or over (59.7% in Coombe Road, 66.0% in Hartington Road and Triangle, 58.3% in Hanover and 58.5% in Hollingdean, Table 6). The ties between the length of residence and age profile of graduates is illustrated by comparing Figures 36 and 38; similarly the connections between these variables in the non-graduate sample are illustrated by the patterns shown in Figures 37 and 39.

Furthermore, a focused analysis of the 25-35 age band reveals that two-thirds of graduates in Hartington Road and Triangle, and 48.4% and 36.4% in Hanover and Coombe Road respectively, fall into this age category, marking a significant concentration of graduate respondents in the early adult phase of the lifecourse.

This polarised divide in age structure between graduates and non-graduates places some emphasis on the lifecourse as a potentially significant factor in determining the motivations and perceptions of these two groups (Bailey, 2009), as will be discussed in later sections. The evident graduate / non-graduate lifecourse dichotomy may suggest a lack of familiarity with and understanding of one-another's lifestyle practices, as suggested by notions of intergenerational conflict (Pain, 2005). Indeed, the more mature lifecourse stage of the non-graduate respondent sample may suggest less familiarity with the contemporary student experience, thus less tolerance of the student lifestyle. However, it could also be suggested that the disproportionate representation of the middle-aged to latter phases of the lifecourse in this group could imply indirect experience (thus tolerance) of the student lifestyle via the

student experiences of their children, who are likely to be of an age where they may be attending higher education institutions.

As noted above, comparison of the overall age profile of the graduate and non-graduate respondent groups (across all four areas) reveals a dual-peak pattern, similar to that identified in the length of residence variable. This marks a reflection in the age profile of the trend identified in length of residence, further validating the earlier contention (Section 6.2.1) that the four case study sites have seen two primary graduate in-migration events; at 5-10 years and 16-20 years ago.

In terms of neighbourhood-specific trends in age structure, Coombe Road has a particularly high proportion of non-graduates aged 60 and over when compared to the other research sites, with Hanover demonstrating a notably younger non-graduate population, with 27.8% falling within the 36-45 group as opposed to 19.2% in Coombe Road, 16.0% in Hartington Road and Triangle and 20.8% in Hollingdean.

Over half of Bevendean's respondents, as may be expected given that the dominant length of residence category is >25 years, are aged 60 or above. Also aligned with the pattern emerging in the length of residence data, there is no discernable difference in age structure between the East and West respondent groups in Bevendean.

Table 5: Length of residence (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	Graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
>5 years	7.1	3.3	9.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5-10 years	2.4	10	54.5	10.5	72.2	8	45.2	19.4	60	20.8
11-15 years	9.6	3.4	0	15.8	22.2	12	25.8	25	13.3	15.1
16-20 years	7.1	13.3	27.3	26.3	5.6	34	12.9	25	26.7	22.6
21-25 years	19	16.7	9.1	14	0	16	16.1	22.2	0	22.6
>25 years	54.8	53.3	0	33.4	0	30	0	8.4	0	18.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 6: Age structure (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	Graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
<24	7.2	6.8	0	14	0	14	0	5.6	6.7	7.5
25-35	9.5	13.3	36.4	5.3	61.1	2	48.4	8.3	60	13.2
36-45	11.9	13.3	27.3	19.2	38.9	16	29	27.8	6.7	20.8
46-59	19	13.3	36.3	21.1	0	36	19.4	30.6	26.6	35.8
>60	50	53.3	0	38.6	0	30	3.2	27.7	0	22.7
not answered	2.4	0	0	1.8	0	2	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

6.2.3. Household composition

This section relates the less conventional household structures of graduate respondents to the patterns emerging in age structure and length of residence data for this respondent group, exposing the influence of the lifecourse on the establishment of new unconventional household structures in the neighbourhoods studied. It also highlights the dominance of couples with dependent children in these areas, establishing some argument for the disruption of traditional conceptual linkages between studentification and the displacement of owner-occupied family households (Smith, 2005). Finally, the neighbourhood-scale specificities in graduate and non-graduate household structures are identified for each research site, stressing the importance of the micro-geographic approach to this analysis. Table 7 reveals significant proportions of graduate respondents in both conventional family structures (couples with dependent children), and more unconventional households, indicated by the 'other households, other' category. 'Other' households describe HMO or accommodation shared by unrelated house / flat mates. This combination of traditional and non-traditional household compositions is marked in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hollingdean where the percentages of couples with dependent children / 'other' households are 36.3% / 36.4%, 38.9% / 22.2% and 33.3% / 33.3% respectively. This observation suggests complex processes of household composition amongst the graduate respondent group, whereby they are both reproducing the embedded household structures of the more established local residents, and introducing new unconventional structures. Further analysis here indicates that those graduates recreating traditional household structures tend to be those who in-migrated longer ago, thus are established residents. Those creating more non-traditional households tend to be those who have moved in within the last ten years. This again identifies the lifecourse as an important conceptual framework for understanding the formation of households in these areas.

Hanover's graduate respondent group display quite different household formation patterns, with their most concentrated proportions falling in the 'one person household, other' category (29.0%), and 'couples with no children' (29.0%), with comparatively sparse representation in the 'couples with dependent children' group (9.7%), and the 'other households, other' category (6.5%) when compared to the other three case study sites. This suggests that a high proportion of graduates in this area are living in one person dwellings, with relatively few living in shared HMO, setting Hanover apart from the other neighbourhoods discussed above. This could reflect a number of variables, for example the more mature lifecourse phase of the graduate respondent in Hanover (as discussed in Section 6.2.1), or the relative affluence of the area when compared to the other research sites, which perhaps suggests more affluent graduate in-migrants may seek one person dwellings in this neighbourhood, rather than more affordable shared HMO accommodation.

Additional micro-geographic specificities in graduate and non-graduate household composition can be identified at each of the remaining research sites, further emphasising the complexity of household formation practices at the neighbourhood scale. Of the most marked of these disparities in the non-graduate population is the notable proportion of one person pensioner non-graduate households in Hartington Road and Triangle (18.0%) and Coombe Road (15.8%), compared to 8.3% in Hanover and 3.8% in Hollingdean. Within the graduate respondent group, couples with no children represent a sizeable proportion of respondent households in Hartington Road and Triangle (22.2%), Hanover (29.0%), and Hollingdean (20.0%), and yet this household type is not identifiable in the graduate population of Coombe Road. The formation of couple households with non-dependent children in the graduate population typically occurred longer ago than the formation of shared HMO, with the majority of graduates in the former category having moved into the area with the first-wave of graduates 16-20 years ago. The respondents in this case also tended to be older, thus the couples living in these households could be referred to as 'empty nesters'.

In Bevendean, the The East / West divide is most marked in the 'couples with non-dependent children' category which is much more prevalent in the West (23.8%) than the East (10.0%), and in 'one family, all pensioner' households which are conversely more concentrated in the East of Bevendean (23.3%) than in the West (14.3%). This suggests that the East of Bevendean, deeper into the residential estate, is populated typically by pensioners, as opposed to the more family-oriented household structure of the West. This contention is substantiated by the tenure profile of the two areas with the West dominated by family housing, and the East characterised by a more mixed tenure profile, including bungalows and warden assisted council flats more suitable for older residents (see Figure 35).

Table 7: Household Composition (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington/ Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
<i>One Person Household</i>										
Pensioner	26.2	26.7	0	15.8	0	18	0	8.3	0	3.8
Other	7.1	0	9.1	8.8	16.7	6	29	5.6	0	1.9
<i>One Family, No Others</i>										
All pensioners	14.3	23.3	0	19.3	0	14	3.2	11.1	0	17
Couple, no children	0	3.3	0	5.3	22.2	6	29	11.1	20	9.4
Couple, with dependent children	19	26.7	36.3	29.6	38.9	44	9.7	30.6	33.3	37.7
Couple, all children non-dependent	23.8	10	18.2	14	0	4	9.7	11.1	13.4	13.2
Lone parent, with dependent children	2.4	6.7	0	1.8	0	2	0	0	0	11.3
Lone parent, all children non-dependent	2.4	3.3	0	1.8	0	2	0	0	0	0
<i>Other Households</i>										
With dependent children	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1.9
All student	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Pensioner	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	2.4	0	36.4	1.8	22.2	2	6.5	13.9	33.3	1.9
Not answered	2.4	0	0	1.8	0	0	12.9	8.3	0	1.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

6.2.4. Educational attainment

Survey respondents were asked to state their highest level of educational attainment, as per the categories in Table 8, with 'other qualifications' denoting GNVQ, NVQ, HND, HNC, qualified nurse, midwife or health visitor, qualified teacher status (without University degree), and any other professional qualifications achieved, as per Census 2001 'Qualifications' Key Statistics.

Of the four non-graduate respondent groups, Coombe Road had the lowest overall level of educational attainment, with Hanover achieving the highest. The disparity in attainment between the two areas is marked, with 40.4% of Coombe Road's non-graduates having no qualifications, and only 27.9% having GCSE's or A Levels. This compares to a mere 13.9% of Hanover's non-graduate respondents with no recognised educational attainment, and half having achieved qualifications at the secondary and / or sixth form level. The survey sample from Coombe Road also contains the smallest number of graduates at 15.7%, compared to 44.2% in Hanover, 25.7% in Hartington Road and Triangle, and 21.4% in Hollingdean.

Hartington Road and Hollingdean non-graduates occupy the middle ground between Coombe Road and Hanover in terms of educational achievement, with approximately one-third of both non-graduate respondent groups having no qualifications, just over one-third having attained GCSE's or A Levels, and the remainder holding 'other qualifications' of some description.

As noted at the beginning of the chapter (Section 6.1.1), attainment of university degree level education in Bevendean is very low compared to the other case study sites (4.8% in West Bevendean and 6.7% in East Bevendean), hence the implementation of alternative (East / West) units of analysis for this case study site. GCSE and A / AS level attainment is higher in East Bevendean, where respondents' attainment rate is comparable with that of the non-graduate samples in Coombe Road and Hollingdean at around one-quarter. The most significant educational divide between East and West can be identified in the attainment of 'other qualifications', with 13.8% more respondents in the West (40.5% of the respondent sample here) stating this as their highest level of education. Finally, over one-third of respondents both East and West of Bevendean reported holding no qualifications.

Table 8: Educational attainment (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	N= 18	n= 50	N= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
No qualifications	35.7	36.7	0	40.4	0	32	0	13.9	0	24.5
GCSES's / CSE's / O Levels	16.7	26.7	0	17.5	0	20	0	30.6	0	20.8
A / AS levels	0	3.2	0	14	0	12	0	19.4	0	17
University degree	4.8	6.7	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	0
PhD / Qualified Medical Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other qualifications	40.5	26.7	0	26.3	0	36	0	33.3	0	37.7
No answer	2.3	0	0	1.8	0	0	0	2.8	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

6.3. Motives for migration and perceptions of neighbourhood.

This section seeks to explore the range of motives for residential in-migration, as reported by respondents in response to the survey question ‘Why did you move to this neighbourhood?’, and to consider respondents’ perceptions of the appeals and disadvantages of their neighbourhood once resident there. Halfacree and Boyle (1993) note the importance of recognising both the primary and the latent secondary reasons for moving to the migration destination, in the interest of developing a holistic understanding of the migration decision-making process. In light of this, open-ended qualitative responses to this question have been classified fully to incorporate both primary and secondary responses, the results of which (see Table 9) will be discussed in the following Section 6.3.1.

6.3.1. Reasons for moving to neighbourhood

Table 9 indicates the significance of economic factors in forming the graduate respondent group’s rationale for migrating to Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hollingdean, with 45.5%, 38.9% and 46.7% of graduate respondents stating that an affordable property was a primary motivation for locating in these neighbourhoods, respectively. Affordability was less of an issue for the non-graduate respondent group in these areas, with less than a fifth of non-graduates identifying an affordable property as significant to their choice of migration destination. Graduates and non-graduates in Hanover, conversely, have attached no importance to affordability, with no respondents in either group identifying this as a motivation for moving to Hanover. This is indicative of the inflated property prices that typify Hanover, indicating the relative affluence of the area.

‘Upsizing’, or moving with the primary intention of gaining more space / rooms within a property was not considered to be of central importance to either graduates or non-graduates in any of the four research sites. Other property-related factors, however, did form an important part of the appeal of the migration destination. Finding a property that was suitable for a family for example, was significant to 36.4% of non-graduates who in-migrated to Coombe Road. This factor was also surprisingly significant to the graduate population in Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hollingdean where 16.7% and 20.0% of graduate respondents cited finding a suitable family home as important respectively. This trend did not emerge in Hanover, however, where only 9.7% of graduates had moved to the area for a suitable family home. This reflects the household formation processes of the graduate respondent group in Hanover (discussed in Section 6.2.3), where a significant proportion of this group form one person households (29.0%), and comparatively few form family households with dependent children (9.7%). This lack of concern for the appropriateness of the destination property in terms of raising a family may also be indicative of the physical environment and available housing stock in Hanover, where very narrow crowded streets, small gardens and limited provision of outdoor space may make the area less attractive to

in-migrants seeking a family-oriented lifestyle. Indeed, no graduate respondents in Hanover or Hartington Road and Triangle cited the securing of a property with a garden as an important motivation for choosing their destination neighbourhood, as opposed to Coombe Road (where properties tend to have more outdoor space) where 18.2% of graduate respondents identified a property with a garden as being of primary importance to their decision to live in the area. Thus property-related factors appear to be more significant to graduates and non-graduates choosing to migrate to Coombe Road and Hollingdean, as opposed to Hartington Road and Triangle, or Hanover.

Surprisingly, of those respondents citing the securing of a suitable family property as a significant motivation to settling in their chosen neighbourhood, none identified living in a 'quiet family area' as notable to their migration rationale. Indeed, across all areas amongst both the graduate and non-graduate population, finding a 'quiet family area' was of negligible significance in terms of the motivations stated by respondents. This suggests that although the suitability of the property for accommodating a family was key to some graduates and non-graduates, the suitability of the area was not considered important by any. This may suggest that the negative perception of changing neighbourhood structures from family-oriented to more youthful and transient (via the out-migration of families and in-migration of students), may be more diluted than expected, given the lack of emphasis placed on moving to a 'quiet family area' as a motivation for in-migration.

The allocation of social rented housing was a key facet of the in-migration processes of non-graduates in Hollingdean and Coombe Road, where 20.8% and 15.8% of this respondent group had been provided with social rented housing in these areas respectively. Within the context of migration motivations, the allocation of housing is a unique concept in the sense that it enforces particular migratory patterns, with local institutional actors behaving as gatekeepers to social rented housing estates. It is possible that respondents engaging in such 'enforced' processes of migration, lack a sense of control or choice, when compared to owner-occupier or renting migrants. It is possible that such 'imposed' migration flows may inspire less developed ties between the migrant and the destination neighbourhood. Indeed, both non-graduate and graduate respondents in Coombe Road and Hollingdean, regardless of their tenure, placed little emphasis on the 'nature of the neighbourhood' and 'community ties', or on the cultural or place-specific appeals of the area, suggesting that these did not constitute a fundamental part of their migration rationales.

Interestingly, a notable graduate / non-graduate cleavage was identifiable in the allocation of social rented housing in Coombe Road and Hollingdean, whereby none of the graduate respondents surveyed cited this as a reason for in-migration, suggesting that up-take of social rented housing is less prevalent in the graduate population.

Family ties, partnership formation and social networks do not appear to have had any significant influence on graduate or non-graduate in-migration to any of the research neighbourhoods.

Embedded ties to the communities in question were evident, however, in the non-graduate population in Coombe Road, and Hartington Road and Triangle, where 21.1% and 20.0% of non-graduates stated that they had always lived in the neighbourhood, respectively. A much smaller percentage of non-graduates in Hollingdean (13.3%), and a negligible proportion in Hanover, reported that they had lived in the area since birth, with more evident migration flows in these areas suggesting higher levels of residential mobility, and fewer families establishing for multiple generations. This could have some impact on community cohesion in these areas, with the longevity of non-graduate residence in Coombe Road and Hartington Road and Triangle suggesting respondents may be more likely to have formed longstanding ties to the local community. Unsurprisingly, almost all graduate respondents across all areas reported that they had in-migrated at some stage, rather than having lived in the neighbourhood since birth.

Hartington Road and Triangle appears to have a particular appeal to graduates who have studied in the city at either the University of Brighton or the University of Sussex, with 22.2% of graduates in this area having studied in Brighton. The quotes below offer some insight into the motivations behind Brighton graduates' decisions to settle in Hartington Road and Triangle, with its combination of affordability and aesthetic charm constituting the major appeals of the area for the two graduate residents quoted below:

“I went to University here, and wanted to settle and bring my family up in Brighton - we just found a house that suited us that was affordable here” (Hartington Road and Triangle graduate respondent).

“It's what we wanted from Brighton, [a] family house in a quiet-ish area with the bohemian charm of the city without Hanover prices” (Hartington Road and Triangle graduate respondent).

Interestingly, only 12.9% of Hanover's graduates studied in Brighton, suggesting that this neighbourhood holds more appeal to graduates in-migrating from other university towns or cities. This perhaps highlights Brighton graduates' more informed knowledge of their preferred enclaves in the city when compared to their contemporaries in-migrating from elsewhere, with Brighton graduates favouring areas offering a *combination* of affordability, and the aesthetics typically associated with 'residential Brighton' (such as the 'colourful terraced housing' typically found in Hanover and Hartington Road and Triangle, see Figure 27).

Both graduates and non-graduates in Hanover were clear that the place-specific appeals of the neighbourhood had influenced their decision to move there. Just over one-quarter of both the graduate and non-graduate respondent groups stated that the cultural appeals of Hanover and the specific community living therein had been central to their decision to move to the neighbourhood. The quote below illustrates the value one Hanover respondent placed on living in a 'different' community with politically like-minded neighbours. This highlights positive perceptions of Hanover as an 'alternative' neighbourhood, discussed in more detail in Section 6.3.2 below:

“(We wanted) to be near the sea and...to settle in a community that was [a] little different from the norm. Somewhere that suited our politics more” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

Respondents’ recognition of the place-specific appeals of Hanover was significant in comparison to the remaining three research sites, with only half as many respondents in Hartington Road and Triangle rating the neighbourhood and community as important, and both graduates and non-graduates failing to recognise this appeal as significant in Coombe Road or Hollingdean.

The phrase ‘Brighton-appeal’ has been used in Table 9 to describe the specific appeals of Brighton and Hove City as a migration destination. The ‘place’ appeal of Brighton was identified by 19.4% of graduates living in Hanover as having been important to their decision to live there. Only half as many non-graduates in Hanover (11.1%) agreed, suggesting that the ‘place’ appeal of Brighton is more important to graduate than non-graduate in-migrants. Respondents who cited ‘Brighton-appeal’ as an important influence stressed the significance of the cultural pull of the city compared to other migration destinations, with one respondent (quoted below) describing Brighton as an “aspirational place to live”:

“Brighton is an aspirational place to live...we moved from London, we wanted to get out of the rat-race to bring up our children, but still wanted to be somewhere exciting [with nice restaurants, culture]” (Hanover graduate respondent).

Also key to this respondent’s desire to live in Brighton was the relaxed lifestyle associated with living by the sea, specifically in this case compared to the “rat-race” of living in London. The quote below, from a Hartington Road and Triangle respondent, also alludes to the attraction of ‘laid-back’ Brighton life, referred to here as “beach life”, as a key component to the motivations behind residing in this neighbourhood:

“We moved to Brighton because we wanted Brighton life. Beach life!” (Hartington Road and Triangle resident).

Among the factors deemed least crucial to the migration decision-making process across all research sites, were those related to the location of the migration destination within the city in relation to local services (for example doctor’s surgeries and schools), transport links, the town centre, the beach and the respondents’ place of employment. Fewer than one in ten respondents (graduates and non-graduates) identified these factors as significant to their decision to live in any of the four research sites (Table 9). This makes for interesting comparison with respondents’ perceptions of the appeals of their neighbourhood *once resident* there, whereby many of these locational characteristics were identified as key advantages of their chosen migration destination (see Section 6.3.2 for discussion).

Tenure and longevity of residence on the Bevendean estate are both key to explaining respondents’ reasons for settling in the neighbourhood. As the most affordable of the chosen research sites, it

would be reasonable to expect survey respondents to identify the affordability of their property as central to their decision to live there. However, a surprisingly small proportion of respondents (7.1% in the West, and 10.0% in the East) stated that affordability had been integral to the decision-making process. This may result from the relatively high proportion of social rented housing in Bevendean, where 13.3% of respondents in East and West Bevendean reported the allocation of social rented housing in the neighbourhood as their primary reason for settling there. This form of tenure, compared to owner occupation, is arguably less likely to garner concern over affordability.

Of the households sampled in Bevendean, 14.3% of households in the East, and 20.0% in the West had lived in the area since birth, thus have never engaged with the migration decision-making process. It is arguable, therefore, that these well established households are less likely to be aware of, or concerned by the affordability of their property in comparison to that in other areas of the city. This trend towards longevity of residence in Bevendean highlights the limited mobility of residents in this neighbourhood. This lack of residential mobility could be tied to the occupational characteristics of the local population, where 17.2% were employed in elementary occupations in 2001, when compared to the citywide average of 8.9% (Census 2001, Key Statistics). Halfacree and Boyle (1993) note the association of the 'working class' habitus with residential immobility, placing some emphasis on the concept of 'community', and how well-established ties to the local community result in 'working class' populations' reluctance to out-migrate. Thus, the lack of migratory flow through Bevendean could reflect the dominant habitus of established residents, or indeed could be an indication of local residents' lack of choice to migrate, tied to high levels of social rented housing occupancy.

Other property-related factors were deemed influential on patterns of in-migration to Bevendean. The primary example of which in the West of the neighbourhood, was 'upsizing' to a larger property, and in the East the desire to find a property suitable for a family (in both cases 16.7% of the respondent sample in question highlighted these factors as key to their decision to settle in the area). This East / West divide in respondents seeking a suitable family home (where 4.8% in the West, as opposed to 16.7% in the East reported this as a motivational factor) perhaps suggests that families moving into the area are targeting the East of the estate.

An interesting facet of findings from the West of the neighbourhood is signified by the 11.9% of respondents who indicated that they had been housed in the area as a result of their specific needs due to disability. This, in tandem with the skewed age profile of the respondent sample in this area (where half of respondents are aged sixty or above), could imply that the population in this area is particularly prone to isolation, thus may find interacting with neighbours (students or established residents) challenging. This could, arguably, compound tensions between established residents and students in the area by inhibiting opportunities for interaction between the two social groups.

Finally, factors related to the location of the neighbourhood in terms of proximity to transport links, the town centre, the beach, and / or the respondents' place of employment were not considered important. Place-specific motivations and cultural appeals were similarly overlooked by Bevendean residents in the East and West of the neighbourhood, suggesting that the area lacks 'Brighton-appeal', as identified earlier in this section by in-migrants to Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover.

In summary, this section has highlighted the breadth and diversity of motivational factors influencing graduates' and non-graduates' decisions to live in particular enclaves of Brighton. Graduates across all areas, apart from Hanover, have typically identified the affordability of the destination property as pivotal to their decision to locate in their neighbourhood. Graduates in Hanover, however, were more concerned with the specific appeals of the neighbourhood and the community living there, with particular emphasis on 'Brighton-appeal', describing the 'cultural-pull' of Hanover as of prime significance. The non-graduate sample were more likely to have developed patterns of non-migration, or 'staying', with notable proportions of non-graduate respondents having lived in their communities since birth. This trend was particularly prevalent in Coombe Road, and Hartington Road and Triangle. Non-graduates were also less likely to prioritise the place-specific and cultural appeals of their neighbourhood as influential to their decisions to move there.

To summarise the dominant trends in Bevendean, in-migration to the East of the neighbourhood was predominantly tied to the securing of a suitable family property. A significant proportion of respondents in the East had never engaged with processes of migration, having lived in Bevendean since birth. The primary motivation for in-migration to the West of Bevendean was the desire for a larger property, with again, a notable presence of lifelong resident 'stayers'.

6.3.2. Neighbourhood appeals

The next two sections consider survey respondents' perceptions of the appeals (see Table 10) and disadvantages (see Table 11) of their neighbourhood *once resident there*. These will be discussed within the context of respondents' motivations to move to the area, as outlined above in Section 6.3.1. This overview will form a 'benchmark' against which respondents' perceptions of change to their neighbourhood can be 'measured' in Sections 6.4 and 6.5.

Affordability was identified in the previous section (6.3.1) as a significant motivation for graduate in-migration to Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hollingdean; the more affordable of the four research sites in question. Table 10 illustrates that this concern with the economic aspects of migration was echoed in graduate respondents' views on the appeals of residing in their chosen neighbourhood; particularly in Coombe Road, where over half (54.5%) of the graduate respondent sample cited affordability as a major appeal of their local area. This concern with affordability was not shared by the non-graduate population in these areas, again,

reflecting their failure to cite this as a factor motivating their in-migration, as discussed in Section 6.3.1:

“[Coombe Road is] one of the cheapest parts of Brighton to live in, but you're still close to everything you want from it - the beach, town centre pubs and so on” (Coombe Road non-graduate respondent).

Hanover respondents (graduate and non-graduate), in line with their stated rationale for moving to the area, identified the community, and the nature of the resident population as two of its strongest assets. These appeals are exemplified by the two quotes below, which reveal the significance placed by graduates and non-graduates on the relaxed ambience of the community, and the open-mindedness of its resident population:

“The people here are awesome. There aren't many places that attract the sort of people Brighton does - everyone's here for a good time, they're friendly and open to new experiences, it's got a festival atmosphere about it - especially in summer in Queens Park or on the beach” (Hanover graduate respondent).

“The people are the main attraction here. Open minded. I can be myself - I don't need to keep my behaviour in check here” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

The appeal of living in an ‘alternative’ community, with its attendant open-minded population, as propounded by the Hanover respondents quoted above, reflects the emphasis placed on the vibrancy, buzz and bohemian charm of the area as positive characteristics. These aspects of Hanover were particularly valued by the graduate respondent group, of whom 61.0% stated their appreciation of the area’s unique charm (with half as many non-graduates agreeing, at 30.6% of the non-graduate sample). These respondents were explicit in their enthusiasm for creativity, bohemia, colour, and buzz, all of which belie a tendency to subscribe to the ‘alternative’ lifestyle. A predisposition for the ‘alternative’ way of life, and the suitability of Hanover as a neighbourhood within which to pursue this lifestyle is described by one graduate respondent below:

“You immediately feel like you're somewhere different - there's nowhere else like it - it's got the right balance of hippy and civilisation!” (Hanover graduate respondent).

Another Hanover respondent compared the neighbourhood to Camden, an area of London well known for its ‘alternative’ populations, retail and cultural amenities, describing Hanover as:

“Gorgeous - quaint, boho, buzzing - it's Camden but with a beach and a rolling national park!” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

The cultural charms of Hanover, therefore, substantiated an important part of the overall appeal of residing there for both graduate and non-graduate respondents. These neighbourhood-specific cultural appeals were often contextualised by the broader appeal of Brighton as a city. This is illustrated by the following quote, where a graduate resident of Hanover describes the neighbourhood as “uniquely Brighton - colourful, interesting people, has a zest about it” (Hanover

graduate respondent). Indeed, the wider appeal of Brighton as a city was also recognised by 22.2% of graduate respondents in Hartington Road and Triangle, where one graduate reflects: “it's about living in Brighton really, not here specifically. It's pretty run down now compared to other parts of the city, like Hanover or Hove” (Hartington Road and Triangle graduate respondent). These quotes reveal respondents tapping into the broader cultural appeal of Brighton, rather than recognising the more limited appeals of their immediate neighbourhood of residence. Similar thoughts were articulated in Hollingdean, where the appeal of living in Brighton was second only to affordability among the graduate respondent sample. Here, a more disparaging perception of the neighbourhood itself was common, with the benefit of being situated in Brighton perceived to outweigh any immediate benefit of residing in Hollingdean, as illustrated by the following quote:

“Being in Brighton generally is the main appeal. There isn't anything fantastic about this neighbourhood, apart from we have good neighbours, and feel safe letting our children walk home from school. It was about getting the most house for our money” (Hollingdean non-graduate respondent).

So far, the neighbourhood appeals identified by respondent populations outlined in this section have largely correlated with the motivations for in-migration discussed in Section 6.3.1. Table 10, however, indicates some prominent appeals to living in the case study sites that were not recognised by respondents as motivations to move there; i.e. they are positive attributes of the case study sites that have been recognised once respondents have in-migrated and settled in the area. As such, these characteristics will herein be referred to as ‘post-migration appeals and disadvantages’. The most notable post-migration appeal, recorded among graduates and non-graduates across all areas, was proximity to natural surroundings, with particular reference to the beach, the sea, the South Downs and parkland. The South Downs were most regularly cited as an ideal place for walks, or simply for the views they offer of rolling countryside. The beach was referred to both in its natural capacity, and also as a social hub for gatherings; particularly during the summer months, with some respondents referring to the beach atmosphere as resembling that of a summer festival. There was no obvious graduate / non-graduate or neighbourhood divide with regard to those respondents stating the appeal of the proximity of natural surroundings, with significant proportions of both respondent groups identifying this asset in most case study sites. The most striking response, however, was identifiable in the graduate population in Coombe Road, where 45.5% stressed the appeal of the natural surroundings of the case study site. This was often related to the neighbourhood’s equidistance from the South Downs and the beach.

Retail and cultural amenities (where cultural amenities refer to restaurants, pubs, theatres, music venues and galleries) were highlighted by a significant proportion of both graduates and non-graduates in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover as post-migration appeals of being resident in these areas. These benefits were not recognised by graduates or non-graduates in Hollingdean, however, perhaps due to its relative isolation from the retail outlets and cultural

amenities in the town centre and on Lewes Road, both of which are easily accessible from the other research sites. Interestingly, the proportion of graduates who cited these amenities as a key appeal outweighed the proportion of non-graduates by approximately one third in all three areas, with 45.5%, 38.9% and 29.0% of graduates in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle and Hanover citing this appeal, respectively. This could be due to the provision of retail and amenities being skewed to cater for this social group in these case study sites, with less to interest non-graduates in more mature lifecourse phases residing in these areas.

In Hartington Road (24.0%), and more markedly still in Hanover (38.9%), the non-graduate group implied either a deterioration of the post-migration appeals of living in their neighbourhood, or their absence entirely. Some deeper analysis of the qualitative responses to this question indicate that residents reporting a deterioration of the area are referring most often to the disintegration of the fabric of the community, as suggested by the following quotes from non-graduate respondents resident in Hartington Road and Triangle and Hanover:

“It used to have a really tight community. There's still the bare bones of it, but it's nothing like it used to be. It's sad” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

“It's crumbled as a community - it's very sad - I'm aware that things change, but this seems irreversible which is a great pity” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

Furthermore, this deterioration was often tied to the in-migration of students to the area, the mass purchase of previously owner occupied housing by landlords, and its consequent conversion to private rented HMO (most often for students), as reported in the quote below from a Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent:

“There aren't any [appeals]. It's so run down in this area now, and the community that was here once many years ago has vanished completely. It's all student houses, I can't remember the last family that I saw move into a house. If one goes up for sale, there's a landlord straight in there turning it into a rental investment. That's why the properties look so poor here, they're left to go to rack and ruin. It's ruined the value of our property here I think - I refuse to sell to a landlord - we want to get out but we can't afford to move” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

This perception of neighbourhood change and its ties to the student population is discussed in more detail in Section 6.4 below. The deterioration and absence of neighbourhood appeal discussed above was not detected to the same degree in Coombe Road or Hollingdean, where only 14.0% and 11.3% of the non-graduate group stated an absence or negative change in neighbourhood appeal, respectively. This could be a result of comparatively less entrenched processes of studentification in these case study sites, where student in-migration has occurred only in more recent years (compared to Hanover and Hartington Road and Triangle). Indeed, 22.6% of Hollingdean's non-graduate respondents stated the ‘peaceful and quiet nature’ of the neighbourhood as one of its

major appeals, suggesting that noise nuisance tied to high numbers of student residents is not a major issue in this case study site.

In Bevendean, by far the most dominant appeal identified by both East and West respondent groups was its proximity to natural surroundings. This appeal was predominantly stated with reference to the South Downs, and the views of this rural landscape enjoyed by much of the Bevendean estate due to its peripheral location on the North East boundary of the city, adjacent to the South Downs national park (see Figure 40). Additionally, respondents living in the West of the area cited the green space between the North and South sections of The Avenue as a valued part of their community, providing outdoor space for dog walking, and for local children to play. The value placed on open green spaces, and views onto the rolling South Downs from the Bevendean estate, suggests that representations of rurality are important to conceptualising Bevendean residents' ties to the area. Unfolding processes of studentification in the area could, therefore conflict with these images of the rural idyll, perhaps exacerbating established residents' perceptions of negative neighbourhood change as a result of student in-migration.

Figure 40: East-West view along The Avenue showing West Bevendean surrounded by the South Downs National Park.



In summary, affordability was identified by the graduate population as a primary post-migration appeal of residing in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hollingdean. The place-specific cultural appeals, and the prevailing attitude / politics of its resident population were perceived by graduates and non-graduates in Hanover as fundamental to its appeal as a residential

area. The broader appeal of the city ('Brighton-appeal') was also cited by graduates in Hartington Road and Triangle, Hanover and Hollingdean. All of these aspects echoed the motivations of respondents to in-migrate, as detailed in Section 6.3.1. In addition to these, respondents recognised valued characteristics of each case study site that had emerged once they had settled in their chosen neighbourhood. These included proximity to the South Downs, the beach and to local parks and green spaces; the vibrancy, bohemian charm, and tendency towards the 'alternative' lifestyle in Hanover; and access to retail and cultural amenities in all case study sites apart from Hollingdean. Finally, respondents' perceptions of the absence, or deterioration of neighbourhood-appeal, via negative processes of urban change tied to increasing student populations was noted in Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover. In Bevendean one significant post-migration appeal was identified, focusing on local green spaces afforded by the South Downs national park, and 'the green' situated to the West of the estate, suggesting the importance of representations of rurality to the established residential community in this case study site.

6.3.3. Neighbourhood disadvantages

The in-migration of students and the transformation of tenure from owner occupied to private rented HMO were recognised as a significant disadvantage by approximately one-quarter of non-graduate residents in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover (see Table 11). Interestingly, 45.5% of graduates in Coombe Road also highlighted the presence of large numbers of student residents as a disadvantage to living in the area. This significant percentage may reflect the family-oriented household composition of the graduate respondent group in Coombe Road, where 54.5% of graduates are couples with children. This compares to around one-third in Hartington Road and Hollingdean, and less than one-quarter in Hanover. Indeed, the proportion of graduate respondents in Coombe Road living in family households with children exceeds that of the non-graduate sample in the area (of which only 43.6% live in this type of household). Thus, the disadvantages associated with the student population, such as night-time noise and anti-social behaviour, may be perceived in a more negative way by graduates in Coombe Road due to the inherent conflicts with their family-oriented lifestyles and routines.

As noted above, disadvantages affecting 'quality of life' are often associated with high numbers of student residents, and the impacts 'student lifestyle practices' can have on other households in residential areas. The quote below summarises some of the disadvantages tied to student populations in Coombe Road:

“The noise has become unbearable. All the houses on this street are sold to landlords to rent to students, the area's gradually turning into a campus. It's much messier as an area now. Shared student houses make much more rubbish than normal, but the council doesn't give them bigger bins so the bags get left out on the road, then the bin men refuse to take more than will fit into the bin so they're left for the foxes and seagulls. We've had rats - the downstairs flat has had real problems with rats getting in” (Coombe Road non-graduate respondent).

Indeed, alongside the enlarged presence of students and landlords, such ‘quality of life’ issues (i.e. noise nuisance, litter, parking) dominated respondents’ reports of the disadvantages of living in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover; suggesting that student populations and the impacts associated with their expansion have been recognised across these three areas. Of these lifestyle / quality of life issues, the most prevalent in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover was noise nuisance. In the quote below, one Hanover non-graduate respondent outlines several typical sources of noise nuisance in the neighbourhood, all of which are related to students residing in, or passing through the area. This emphasises both the common perception of noise nuisance as a disadvantage closely related to the presence of student populations in all three case study sites listed above, and the specific context to this issue in Hanover, where the University of Brighton Phoenix Halls of Residence is reported to act as a hub for on-street noise nuisance:

“[It's] very noisy at night, we suffer from living close to the university halls and also on the edge of Southover Street - a major thoroughfare for students staggering back from the town centre to parts of Hanover and queens park. Our next door neighbours are students from the music college - they have drum kits the lot. We've asked them politely on so many occasions - often in my dressing gown - to quieten down. I've been sworn at in return” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

Further neighbourhood-specific and respondent group-specific disadvantages can be identified in Table 11. For example, burglaries were identified as a disadvantage by the graduate population in Coombe Road (18.1%), and traffic was recognised by 21.1% of non-graduate respondents in this case study site, the latter widely perceived to be unrelated to students in the area. On the whole, however, it is fair to say that the disadvantages of residing in these three neighbourhoods (Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover) were those commonly associated with enlarged student populations.

Data collected in Hollingdean presents a different range of disadvantages, when compared to the Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle and Hanover, discussed above. Dominant amongst these in the Hollingdean graduate respondent group were isolation (more specifically the distance from the town centre and the beach, coupled with poor transport links), and the lack of ‘atmosphere’ and cultural amenities in the area. The latter gave rise to the perception among graduate respondents in Hollingdean of a quiet, ‘boring’ neighbourhood, compared to others in the city. Unique also to Hollingdean was the graduate respondent group’s failure to recognise noise

nuisance as a disadvantage to living in the area, as has been noted in all other areas. Noise was acknowledged as a problem by 20.8% of non-graduate respondents in Hollingdean, however, this represents less than half the proportion of non-graduates in Coombe Road and Hanover, and one-third of the number in Hartington Road and Triangle who listed noise as a primary disadvantage, thus suggesting that this 'quality of life' issue is much less intense in Hollingdean than in other neighbourhoods. Similarly, a mere 6.7% and 7.5% of graduates and non-graduates, respectively, cited the presence of students and / or landlords as a significant disadvantage to living in the area, unlike the other case study sites discussed above. Overall, these results suggest that processes of studentification have yet to take hold in Hollingdean.

Students and landlords residing and investing in Bevendean were identified as the primary disadvantage by respondents in the East and the West of the area (23.3% and 33.3% respectively). It should be noted that the proportion of respondents identifying this disadvantage was 10.0% greater in the West, which has witnessed a greater degree of student in-migration in recent years, compared to the East of the case study site. Noise nuisance was the second most cited disadvantage to living to the West of Bevendean, where it was identified by 21.4% of the respondent group. This is a notably small percentage compared to the proportions recorded in other research sites; suggesting that only 2 in 10 respondents regard noise nuisance as a disadvantage to living in West Bevendean. Similarly, in East Bevendean, noise nuisance was an issue for only 20.0% of respondents. Here, isolation was rated as a problem equal in magnitude to the in-migration of students to the area. Thus, it would appear that a relatively small proportion of established residents in Bevendean perceive the in-migration of students and its related negative impacts to be of great disadvantage in the area, in comparison to the other case study sites.

Table 9: Reasons for moving to neighbourhood (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	graduate	Non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
<i>Property</i>										
Bigger property	16.7	6.7	0	3.5	5.6	4	3.2	5.6	6.7	13.2
Affordable property	7.1	10	45.5	17.5	38.9	16	0	0	46.7	11.3
Property suitable for a family	4.8	16.7	0	36.4	16.7	10	9.7	13.9	20	17
Property with a garden	0	0	18.2	1.8	0	2	0	0	6.7	5.7
Council property	13.3	13.3	0	15.8	0	0	0	5.6	0	20.8
Council property (disabled)	11.9	3.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Social networks</i>										
Family/friends nearby	0	13.3	0	5.3	11.1	14	0	2.8	0	3.8
Quiet residential family area	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Moved in with partner	2.4	6.7	0	1.8	0	0	0	5.6	6.7	0
Always lived here	14.3	20	0	21.1	0	20	3.2	2.8	0	13.2
Post (Brighton) student	0	0	0	9.1	22.2	0	12.9	0	6.7	0
Inherited property	0	0	0	1.8	0	4	0	2.8	0	0
<i>Location</i>										
Location (general)	0	0	0	0	5.6	4	3.2	5.6	0	3.8
Proximity to transport links: commuter	0	0	0	0	5.6	0	6.5	2.8	0	0
Proximity to town, beach etc.	2.4	0	0	7	5.6	0	3.2	8.3	0	1.9
Proximity to work / set up business	2.4	6.7	9.1	1.8	11.1	2	9.7	8.3	6.7	3.8
Local services (e.g. School)	0	0	0	10.5	0	0	3.2	2.8	0	0
<i>Place appeal / culture</i>										
For the specific community / neighbourhood	7.1	6.7	0	5.3	11.1	12	25.8	27.8	0	0
Brighton appeal	0	0	0	0	16.7	2	19.4	11.1	6.7	5.7
Local cultural amenities (pubs, restaurants)	0	0	0	0	5.6	2	9.7	8.3	0	0
Other	2.4	6.7	9.1	7	0	2	0	0	0	0
No answer	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.2	5.6	0	0

Table 10: Appeals of neighbourhood (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
<i>Property</i>										
Property was main appeal	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	2.8	6.7	1.9
Property with garden was main appeal	2.4	3.3	0	0	0	4	0	2.8	13.3	7.5
Affordable	4.8	6.7	54.5	7	27.8	0	0	0	40	7.5
<i>Social networks</i>										
Proximity to friends / family	4.8	6.7	0	12.3	5.6	16	6.5	2.8	6.7	15.1
Community / people in the neighbourhood	14.3	13.3	0	10.5	16.7	10	25.8	25	6.7	15.1
always lived here - our home	4.8	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	7.5
<i>Location</i>										
Proximity to services (Drs, school etc.)	7.1	0	45.5	26.3	0	6	3.2	11.1	0	9.4
Natural surroundings (beach, Downs, parks etc.)	52.4	56.7	45.5	15.8	22.2	18	22.6	30.6	6.7	18.9
Proximity to work	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6.7	3.8
Transport links	11.9	10	0	14	11.1	6	16.1	13.9	6.7	13.2
<i>Place appeal / culture / local services</i>										
Being in Brighton - the appeal of the city	0	0	0	5.3	22.2	10	16.1	0	13.3	11.3
Aesthetics	0	0	0	0	5.6	4	19.4	11.1	0	0
Vibrancy / fun / buzz / boho feel / creativity	0	0	0	0	22.6	6	61.3	30.6	0	0
Retail and cultural amenities (pubs, restaurants)	14.3	10	45.5	35.1	38.9	26	29	19.4	6.7	9.4
Quiet / peaceful area	16.7	16.7	9.1	3.5	11.1	6	3.2	5.6	6.7	22.6
None / has changed	14.3	10	0	14	11.1	24	12.9	38.9	13.3	11.3
Disabled	2.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No answer	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1.9

Table 11: Disadvantages of neighbourhood (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	Graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	N= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
<i>Economic</i>										
Expensive	0	0	0	0	0	0	12.9	8.3	0	0
<i>Physical</i>										
Isolated / too far from town	4.8	23.3	0	1.8	0	6	0	2.8	33.3	22.6
Steep hill	0	0	0	3.5	0	12	3.2	8.3	0	0
Litter / rubbish over spilling / rats / broken glass	7.1	10	9.1	19.3	5.6	12	16.1	2.8	6.7	7.5
Run down / down at heel	7.1	16.7	54.4	28.1	16.7	14	0	11.1	20	9.4
Cramped	0	0	0	0	5.6	2	6.5	11.1	0	0
Pollution (dump / asbestos)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5.7
<i>Social</i>										
Students / landlords	33.3	23.3	45.5	24.6	16.7	24	9.7	27.8	6.7	7.5
Halls of residence	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.2	19.4	0	0
Noise	21.4	20	45.5	49.1	27.8	58	41.9	50	0	20.8
Noise / rowdiness – street	14.3	0	0	1.8	0	6	9.7	11.1	0	1.9
Noise - households (e.g. parties)	2.4	10	0	8.8	0	10	3.2	5.6	0	7.5
Bad transport links	2.4	20	0	0	11.1	2	0	0	20	7.5
Parking is difficult	2.4	0	0	17.5	50	26	35.5	33.3	0	5.7
Break-down / change of community	2.4	0	9.1	10.5	5.6	6	3.2	13.9	6.7	3.8
Disrespect / intimidation	2.4	0	0	3.5	0	0	3.2	2.8	0	0
Traffic / roads / speed	7.1	6.7	0	21.1	0	0	3.2	5.6	0	3.8
Mini motorbikes	7.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Drug abuse / dealing	0	3.3	0	0	0	0	0	8.3	0	1.9
Burglaries / crime / vandalism	0	0	18.1	1.8	0	2	9.7	5.6	0	5.7
Retail: not enough / poor choice	4.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13.3	7.5
Lack of community facilities / gathering places	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6.7	1.9
<i>Cultural</i>										
Lack of cultural amenities	2.4	3.3	0	3.5	0	0	0	0	20	11.3
Lack of vibrancy / atmosphere / boring / too quiet	2.4	3.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	26.7	13.2
None	14.3	16.7	0	3.5	5.6	4	6.5	0	0	5.7
No answer	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.2	0	0	1.9

In summary, the disadvantages of living in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover, were largely reported to be student and ‘quality of life’-related, with the primary problem identified being noise nuisance. In Hollingdean, noise nuisance was not identified as a problem on the same scale as the other research sites, with residents here stating isolation as the most significantly negative aspect of living in the neighbourhood, followed by the lack of vibrancy and cultural amenities. Similarly, a comparatively limited proportion of respondents in Bevendean cited noise nuisance as an issue. Of these, the greater proportion resided to the West of the case study site, where greater clusters of student residence are evident.

6.3.4. Sense of belonging

This section examines respondents’ ‘sense of belonging’ in their resident neighbourhood, and how it is affected by studentification. As in previous sections, patterns emerging in graduate and non-graduate respondent groups in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, Hanover, and Hollingdean will be compared and contrasted first; followed by a summary of the (dis)similarities between the senses of belonging reported by respondents residing in the West and the East of Bevendean. Generally speaking, Table 12 reveals a neutral to high sense of belonging across all case study sites, with very few respondents categorising their sense of belonging as ‘extremely low’.

Table 12 shows that graduate and non-graduate respondent groups in Coombe Road and Hollingdean display similar trends in their reported sense of belonging. In both case study sites, the sense of belonging reported by graduates tends to be slightly lower overall than that reported by non-graduates, and fairly evenly spread across the ‘high’, ‘no opinion’, and ‘low’ categories; with approximately one-third of the graduate sample falling within each group. Half of the non-graduate respondent sample in Coombe Road and Hollingdean stated that they had a high sense of belonging, with a further 18.9% of this group in Hollingdean rating their belonging as ‘extremely high’. This suggests that non-graduates residing in Coombe Road and Hollingdean have formed stronger ties to these areas than graduates.

The comparative lack of neighbourhood-attachment reported by graduates in these case study sites could be explained, in part, by the neighbourhood appeals and motivations for in-migration that were identified by this group (discussed in Sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2). To summarise, affordability was the most frequently cited appeal of living in Coombe Road and Hollingdean by graduate respondents (where 54.5% and 40.0% of graduate respondents made mention of this economic-led factor respectively). In contrast, the non-graduate group in this area perceived access to retail and cultural amenities, and the peaceful nature of the neighbourhood to be the dominant appeals of Coombe Road and Hollingdean, respectively. This suggests that non-graduate residents place greater emphasis on the value of the non-economic characteristics of their neighbourhood. This could indicate the effect of the lifecourse, whereby graduates may perceive residing in these

neighbourhoods as a temporary step on the property ladder; with aspirations to eventually settle in a more suitable neighbourhood later in life. This aligns with the comparatively young age profile of this population, discussed in Section 6.2.2.

Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover display markedly different graduate and non-graduate perceptions of belonging to those described above. Graduates in these neighbourhoods appear to have formed more substantial ties to the area than non-graduates. This is particularly notable in Hanover where 93.6% of graduate respondents reported a high, or extremely high sense of belonging. This compares to less than half of the non-graduate population (47.2%), with the majority of remaining non-graduates (41.7%) categorising their belonging as 'low' or 'extremely low'. This reveals some degree of polarisation of the sense of belonging reported by graduates, compared to non-graduates in Hanover. Further inspection reveals that non-graduate respondents in Hanover who have indicated a low or extremely low sense of belonging, commonly report that negative change has occurred within the neighbourhood since their in-migration. For example one respondent, in the following quote, describes how the appeals of the neighbourhood, as they were perceived when the household first moved into the area, had now changed:

“They've dissipated since we've moved here. We liked the pubs...now they're the bane of our lives because us and our children are kept up by louts coming home all hours pissed, banging on the walls next door, pumping music out...this is not our place anymore” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

There is some suggestion here that the perceived deterioration of the area is tied to the shifting phase of lifecourse within the household, whereby the cultural and lifestyle norms propagated in Hanover were at the time of in-migration desirable; however, as the respondents' lifecourse phase has matured, and the household has become more family-orientated, these neighbourhood characteristics have lost their appeal. Indeed, conflicts between the vibrancy and 'alternative' cultural charms of the area, and the demands associated with nurturing a family was commonly cited by respondents reporting low or extremely low belonging in Hanover. Thus, it would appear that the low sense of belonging reported by some non-graduates living in Hanover is at least in part related to household composition and the lifecourse phase that this implies.

Additionally, non-graduates reporting weak ties to their neighbourhood in Hanover commonly referenced neighbourhood change as a causal factor, as illustrated by the following quote:

“It used to be a unique, creative, supportive and interesting community to be part of. We were very proud to be part of it, but we feel totally pushed out now” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

Table 12: Sense of belonging (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	Graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	Graduate	non-graduate	graduate	Non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	N= 31	n= 36	n= 15	N= 53
Extremely high	16.7	16.7	0	3.5	16.7	2	58.1	27.8	0	18.9
High	45.2	53.3	36.4	49.1	66.7	40	35.5	19.4	33.3	50.9
No opinion	11.9	13.3	36.4	19.3	11.1	40	3.2	8.3	26.7	18.9
Low	21.4	16.7	27.2	26.3	5.5	16	3.2	30.6	40	9.4
Extremely low	4.8	0	0	1.8	0	2	0	11.1	0	1.9
No answer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.8	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 13: Has your neighbourhood changed over the last five years? (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	graduate	Non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
Yes	83.3	70	72.7	64.9	50	64	54.8	80.6	40	41.5
No	14.3	30	27.3	28.1	50	32	41.9	13.8	53.3	56.6
Don't know	2.4	0	0	7	0	4	3.3	5.6	6.7	1.9
No answer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

This perceived change, and the resultant sense of disenfranchisement from the local community has had a detectable negative impact on this respondent group's sense of belonging to the neighbourhood, and suggests that processes of neighbourhood change have become deeply embedded in this area. This sense of detachment and its ties to the perception of neighbourhood change in Hanover is discussed in more detail in Section 6.4.

In Bevendean, respondents resident to the East of the case study site reported a slightly stronger sense of belonging than those resident in the West, with 70.0% of the former group reporting high or extremely high belonging, compared to 61.9% of the latter. In line with this trend, fewer respondents (16.7%) indicated low or extremely low belonging in the East when compared to the West (26.2%). Thus, generally speaking, belonging in Bevendean among established residents is high in both areas, although slightly less so in the West, where the student population is more concentrated. Qualitative material collected in West Bevendean indicates that respondents here perceive the student population to have increased dramatically over the previous two years, as suggested by the following quote:

“[In the] last 2 years the number of students (living in West Bevendean) has exploded”
(West Bevendean respondent).

This aligns with residents' perceptions of the recent unfolding of studentification in Bevendean emerging from focus group research, discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1. Based on these findings, it could be suggested that processes of change related to student in-migration have not yet become embedded in Bevendean to the extent that they have impacted on established residents' sense of belonging. This contention is re-enforced by one West Bevendean respondent's description of change in the neighbourhood. S / he states that West Bevendean is “*becoming a 'student paradise'* ”, suggesting that processes of change are underway. The temporal specificities of the processes and perceived impacts of studentification emerge, therefore, as key considerations with regard to its conceptualisation on the micro-scale.

In summary, a graduate / non-graduate divide to the reported sense of belonging was identified in Coombe Road and Hollingdean, where non-graduates divulged stronger ties to the area than graduates, who were more concerned with the economic advantages of living in the area, as opposed to its place-specific appeals. Conversely, in Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover, graduates reported a stronger sense of attachment, with the specific cultural and lifestyle appeals of these neighbourhoods constituting the foundations of these bonds. Non-graduates in Hartington Road and Triangle and Hanover cited disenfranchisement from their local community, resulting from an embedded set of processes of neighbourhood change related to the in-migration of students, and the consequent deterioration of aspects of their neighbourhood they had once valued. Similarly, Bevendean respondents cited ‘student-related change’ in their area. This was perceived, however, to have occurred more recently, therefore becoming less entrenched than the changes

reported in Hanover. This perhaps helps to explain the elevated sense of neighbourhood attachment reported among Bevendean residents, compared to that in Hanover.

6.4. Perceptions of neighbourhood change: unfolding studentification?

This section explores the extent to which neighbourhood change is perceived to have occurred over the previous five year period in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, Hanover, and Hollingdean; examining how, what and why graduates and non-graduates perceive change to have unfolded, and how this is related to student populations. Processes of change in Bevendean, and how these may be perceived differently amongst the East and West respondent groups in this area are also discussed, towards the end of the Section.

Over half of both graduate (53.3%) and non-graduate (56.6%) respondents in Hollingdean, in contrast to the other case study sites, reported that they had *not* detected change in their neighbourhood during the last five years. The aspect of change most frequently recognised by the remaining 40.0% of graduates and 41.5% of non-graduates in Hollingdean was ‘population change or imbalance’; more specifically family households moving out of the neighbourhood, as illustrated by the following quote:

“[Hollingdean] feels less of a family area now. Families don't want to move here as much because of the schools now the admissions policies have changed” (Hollingdean non-graduate respondent).

The respondent quoted above has noted the implementation of a new fixed catchment area-based School Admissions Policy (SAP), introduced by Brighton and Hove City Council in September 2008. It is suggested, above, that this policy has dis-incentivised family in-migration to Hollingdean, thus causing the population profile to shift. This concern contrasts with those expressed by respondents in the other case study sites (discussed in the following paragraphs) in that it fails to identify the in-migration of student residents, or the activity of private landlords / letting agencies as influential on patterns of neighbourhood change. Thus, it would appear that change in Hollingdean is not perceived to be tied to increasing numbers of student residents. Indeed, when asked whether the student population had influenced change, only 40.0% of graduates and 41.5% of non-graduates in Hollingdean replied that it had; inferring that processes of studentification have not become as overtly entrenched in this area as has been noted in the other case study sites. There is some qualitative evidence to suggest, however, that students are beginning to cluster in this neighbourhood, with concomitant early-phase processes of studentification beginning to unfold. This is signalled in the two quotes below, where Hollingdean respondents suggest that students are tending to occupy properties in the neighbourhood previously owned by families who have out-migrated:

“There are a few more student houses now. I see MTM boards up where I didn't before. I think they're probably moving in where families are going. They're obvious houses for students” (Hollingdean non-graduate respondent).

“There are some noisy student houses around here - more and more of the houses for sale are going to landlords who let them out to students...families don't want to live here like they used to because they have to send their kids to crap schools” (Hollingdean non-graduate respondent).

Interestingly, these quotes do not identify students, landlords or letting agents as the primary drivers of change, instead seeing the in-migration of students as a ‘back-filling’ process, with students taking residence as the area depopulates through family out-migration. The following quote exemplifies this more clearly, with one resident, mindful of the current economic recession and the implications this has for the housing market in Hollingdean, suggesting that students are valued in-migrants, occupying properties that could otherwise potentially become empty homes:

“Someone needs to move into the area, and at the moment families can't raise the money to move and upsize, so who else is going to buy property? If the landlords weren't buying it, it would be empty, and no-one wants that” (Hollingdean graduate respondent).

This marks a relatively positive representation of studentification in Hollingdean. This should, however, be considered within the context of the expression of more negative views, as exemplified in the quote below. In this quote, a Hollingdean resident, who is aware of the occurrence of some extreme examples of student-related anti-social behaviour in Bevendean, divulges his / her fears of similar problems unfolding in her own neighbourhood:

“[It's] little things like the gardens aren't as well cared for as they used to be, and you hear stories about the kids out on the grass in the Avenue (in Bevendean) until 6 o'clock the next morning drinking and heavens knows what. We don't want that to happen here” (Hollingdean non-graduate respondent).

Coombe Road, conversely, saw the highest proportion across all case study sites of both graduates and non-graduates noting an *increase* in the number of student residents over the last five years (81.8% graduates, and 80.7% non-graduates replying yes); and those recognising that students *had influenced* neighbourhood change (72.7% of graduates and 71.8% of non-graduates). There were some respondent group-specific nuances to the specific neighbourhood changes associated with the in-migration of students. Graduates in the neighbourhood tended to correlate the physical deterioration of Coombe Road with the increasing student presence in the area, as illustrated by the following comment:

“The student houses are scruffier, their priorities are different, they're not really interested in making a home they're here to have fun. I was a student once I know what it's like! They're not really too much of a problem for us, it just brings the look and feel of the area down” (Coombe Road graduate respondent).

Non-graduates, however, indicated that population imbalance and noise nuisance were the most significant changes tied to increasing student in-migration. The following quote from a non-graduate resident of Coombe Road discloses his / her explicit concerns regarding the impact of population imbalance on the local primary school:

“We're quite concerned about the effect it's having on the local school. In the last few years its intake has really fallen - it's because families are leaving and aren't replaced - they're replaced by students. Families can't afford to buy here anymore...eventually questions will be asked about how legitimate it is to keep it open” (Coombe Road non-graduate respondent).

Non-graduates in Coombe Road, therefore, indicated more intense concern regarding the engrained social changes resulting from studentification (e.g. population change), and those related to the conflicting lifestyles of local students (e.g. night-time noise nuisance) reflecting findings from interview research with local residents in this case study site (Chapter 5, Section 5.3); as opposed to those related to the visual aesthetics of the area, the primary concern expressed by the graduate population in this case study site.

Figure 41: Image showing the proximity of the Phoenix Brewery Halls of Residence, Hanover, to residential properties.



The apparent divide in opinion between graduates in Coombe Road, who have expressed less concern regarding embedded social change than the non-graduate sample, was echoed in Hanover.

Here, 75.0% of non-graduates believed that students had influenced change over the last five years. The aspects of neighbourhood change identified as of most concern to non-graduate respondents were population imbalance (19.4%); changing tenure profile (22.2%); changing atmosphere or 'feel' of the area (19.4%); and noise nuisance (33.3%). It should be noted that noise nuisance in this area, unlike any of the other research sites, was perceived to be closely associated with the University of Brighton Phoenix Brewery halls of residence, situated at the foot of Southover Street, the central West-East thoroughfare through this case study site (see Figure 41). This represents an important specificity of this case study site, setting it apart as the only residential area studied where university-managed halls of residence play a central role in forming the spatial patterns of student residence. The following quote exemplifies the specific noise nuisance issues associated with residing in close proximity to the Halls of Residence, as described by one non-graduate respondent:

“Noise at night...all through the night - from the halls of residence occupants mainly - is having a huge affect on us, and our children when they come home to stay. It was a ridiculous place to build a halls of residence in the middle of a residential area” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

The negative changes highlighted by non-graduates in Hanover contrast markedly with the more positive response expressed by the graduate group in the area, 32.3% of whom said they had recognised no change specifically tied to local student populations, the same proportion also noting that students had always lived in the area. The only significant student-related transformation to be noted by graduates in Hanover was noise nuisance; with 19.4% of this group placing some responsibility for this on student populations residing in Hanover. Graduates, therefore, appear less aware of, or concerned by, the impacts of students on Hanover. Instead, qualitative evidence suggests that graduates tend to view student populations as an established, integrated part of the wider community, as exemplified by the following two quotes from graduates resident in Hanover:

“We have always had a large student presence on our street. They don't cause any more problem than other youngsters in the area. In fact, I like their influence on the area, it's part of what makes Hanover different to Hove” (Hanover graduate respondent).

“There are loads of students here, but it's a student area, it's what you'd expect - there's a halls at the bottom and a campus round the corner. They're part of the fabric of the place” (Hanover graduate respondent).

The first of the two quotes above suggests that the student population is part of what makes Hanover a unique and attractive place to live, compared to other parts of the city. Both of the above quotes indicate the long-standing presence of students in Hanover, implying that any change student populations may have made to the neighbourhood would have taken place over a more extended period of time than the previous five years. Contrasting this with the dominant perception of student in-migration expressed by residents in Coombe Road, it could be suggested that Hanover signifies a more mature phase of studentification. However, this view remains particular to the

graduate respondent group in Hanover. Within the non-graduate group surveyed in Hanover, a more significant proportion perceived students to have influenced change within the last five years than those surveyed in Coombe Road (75.0% and 71.8% respectively). Furthermore, 86.1% of non-graduates in Hanover believed that the student population in the area had increased in the last five years, further emphasising the divide in graduate / non-graduate perceptions here. The quotes below from non-graduate respondents in Hanover provide some further insight into this group's perceptions of student-related change. They reveal a sense of dispossession among non-graduate respondents resulting from change occurring to the neighbourhood as a result of the in-migration of students over time. The labelling of Hanover as a "student quarter", and the sense of loss inferred by the first respondent's perceived lack of influence over his / her own neighbourhood is a powerful insight into the social changes that have occurred in Hanover as student populations have become enlarged:

"It's like a student quarter here now, it feels like the University or the council or whoever have done it on purpose - sectioned this bit of the city off and said blow the people who own homes there, let's make this the student quarter. We have no influence in our own neighbourhood any more. We want to get out but we're stuck in the recession now" (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

"We feel like we're being watched over by the University halls now, we don't want this ivory tower beacon flashing at the bottom of the hill, we want our neighbourhood to be like it used to be - thriving, but tranquil - without the need for this constant surveillance of behaviour" (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

Interestingly, although it is widely recognised (by graduates and non-graduates) that students have been present in the neighbourhood for many years, these quotes suggest that the processes of change associated with these populations are still perceived by non-graduates to be unfolding (with reference to the establishment of a 'student quarter', or 'academic corridor') and impacting on their quality of life and sense of belonging.

Student-related change in Hartington Road and Triangle is perceived to have occurred in the last five years by only 50.0% of graduates, and 66.0% of non-graduate respondents in the area. These are comparatively low proportions, and the following three quotes further illuminate this finding. They suggest a sense of apathy among the established residents who remain in Hartington Road and Triangle, alluding to some degree of resignation to the student-related processes of change they have described. Thus, it could be suggested that a specific characteristic of the 'heavily studentified' area is emerging in Hartington Road and Triangle, whereby a severely diminished established residential community relinquishes their perceived 'ownership' of the neighbourhood, with some sense of permanency:

“It must reach a certain point where it's basically a student area - it felt much like that when I moved here 6 years ago” (Hartington Road and Triangle graduate respondent).

“It's a student area now. There's little left of the community that was here. A few strongholds - the big characters of the area, but they'll be gone one day and that will be it. It will just be a student ghetto” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

“We're 80% student on this street now: this area is finished...nothing will reverse this now” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

In terms of contrasting graduate and non-graduate responses in this area, there is less division than was evident in Coombe Road and Hanover, with both respondent groups identifying noise nuisance as a problem (27.8% and 28.0% of these respondent groups respectively). In addition to noise, the most significant aspect of change recorded in Hartington Road and Triangle was the perception of specifically landlord-driven change to the area, with 31.1% of graduates and 22.0% of non-graduates laying blame for negative neighbourhood change with the practices of local landlords, rather than with students. This may provide further insight into the apparent perceived lack of student-driven change in the area, as discussed above, with residents having instead identified landlords as the driving force behind processes of studentification. Qualitative evidence of this is provided by the following quotes:

“It's the landlords moving in rather than the students - although the students are the demand for the lettings. They're just youngsters, so they don't know how to run a household - there's no-one taking responsibility and the landlords don't care. So we're left to bang on their door at 5am when the music is still shaking our children's bedroom's and suffer drunken abuse” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

“It's the greedy landlords - property is cheaper here and its next to the university so it's prime location for the investors to get in there before the families can” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

“Student houses bring the appearance of the area down. This is the landlords' responsibility, they don't live here often, so they don't have to look at it so they don't care” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

The emergent theme focusing on the perceived influence of landlords on neighbourhood change within survey data collected in Hartington Road and Triangle reflects concerns emerging within local media and political discourses in 2008 (see Chapter 4, Sections 4.2 and 4.3). These concerns were rooted in building community unrest in the Hartington Road area regarding ‘irresponsible’ landlord practices resulting in the ‘over-development’ of properties to accommodate increasing numbers of students (via the development of conservatories, dormers and extensions). Evidence presented in Chapter 4 indicates that the ‘bulk sale’ of a number of HMO managed by the University of Sussex to a private developer appeared to ignite community resistance to studentification, resulting in the constitution of a community action group (EGRAG). These concerns were highlighted by a number of survey respondents, as illustrated by the following quotes:

“Developers are starting to move in big-style and change family houses into shared houses. It's the same all over I know but it's so expensive here now, families can't afford to compete with the developers and landlords - they're getting priced out of the area” (Hartington Road and Triangle graduate respondent).

“More landlords, more conversion, more conservatories added to the back to house additional students. The place is becoming a developers paradise” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

“Landlords have moved in here big-style. They're buying up so many properties. They're being developed into shared houses for students mostly” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

“Landlords have moved into this area in a big way in the last 5 years. You see these houses being converted to shared houses...we've got nothing against students, we were students here, but there are so many living in this part of Brighton, more move in every year it seems. We feel like we've reached the critical mass now. It's beginning to feel like a student ghetto” (Hartington Road and Triangle graduate respondent).

Although the inadequacy of planning regulations were highlighted as an issue during focus group research in Hartington Road and Triangle in 2007, the specificities of these more recent issues were not identified at this time. Subsequent local media coverage, political concern, and evidence from analyses of the survey data indicate the *emergence* of these concerns tied to the further unfolding of studentification in this case study site during the research process. Importantly, these findings also highlight the *micro-scale* processes of studentification at the *sub-case study site* level. The concerns highlighted above among residents of Hartington Road, reinforce localised patterns of micro-scale studentification identified in other case study sites (for example student clustering causing localised issues on The Avenue, West Bevendean). This point is further emphasised by the inauguration of a community group in Hartington Road (EGRAG) specifically representing residents in a small part of the case study site.

Broadly speaking, recognition of neighbourhood change, in particular that influenced by student populations, was widespread amongst respondents in Bevendean. In West Bevendean 100.0% of households surveyed believed that the student population had increased in the last five years, with 86.7% of respondents in the East agreeing. Similarly, a greater proportion of respondents in the West (85.7%) of the neighbourhood stated that students had affected change in the area, compared to those in the East (63.3%), in line with the more concentrated student population in this part of the neighbourhood.

To summarise, evidence from Hollingdean suggests that it may be exhibiting the signs of ‘proto-studentification’, with graduate and non-graduate respondents beginning to note student-related change occurring on a small scale. In Coombe Road, a distinct divide between graduate and non-graduate perceptions of change was detectable, with non-graduates tending to express concern over more deep-seated social change, and lifestyle conflicts affecting family life in the neighbourhood. A similar dichotomy was evident in Hanover, with non-graduate respondents placing particular

emphasis on their sense of dispossession, resulting from the perceived ‘loss’ of the local community. In Hartington Road and Triangle, the role played by landlords, developers and letting agencies was stressed, and evidence of community unrest regarding the unfolding of processes of studentification during the research process was revealed. This was contrasted by distinct evidence of apathy and resignation to the deep-seated permanency of change among residents of Hartington Road and Triangle, suggesting that distinct micro-scale pockets of studentification have unfolded on different temporal scales within this case-study site. In conclusion, this suite of diverse place-specific and respondent group-specific perceptions of student-related neighbourhood change reinforces the need for a micro-geographic approach to conceptualising these processes, and indeed an approach that is sensitive to the varying needs and values of different populations within these geographies. The life-course again emerges here as important in terms of demarcating populations of similar lifestyle practices, tolerance and sensitivities to their surroundings.

6.5. Perceptions of neighbourhood change: the impacts of student in-migration.

The following Section seeks to explore the specific impacts associated with the in-migration of students to each of the five case study sites. Respondents from each case study site were asked to rate how they felt students had impacted on thirty two aspects of their neighbourhood, on a five point scale ranging from ‘much worse / much less’, ‘worse / less’ or ‘no impact’, to ‘better / more’, ‘much better / much more’ or ‘don’t know’. For example: levels of car theft in the neighbourhood have become *much worse* as a result of student in-migration; or the local population is *much less* diverse; the availability of cultural amenities such as pubs and restaurants is *much better* as a result of student in-migration; or local established households are *much more* likely to move out of the area. For ease of analysis and presentation, these categories have been collapsed into ‘worse / less’ (referring to the combined categories ‘much worse / less’ and ‘worse/less’), ‘no impact’, and ‘better / more’ (referring to the combined categories ‘much better / much more’ and ‘better / more’), and will be referred to as such herein.

Figures 42 to 46 present these findings in the form of bar charts summarising the graduate / non graduate response in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, Hanover and Hollingdean, and the East / West response in Bevendean. The differences and commonalities between the perceptions of these respondent groups and across the different case study sites are teased out, with some discussion of how these findings illuminate the processes underpinning student-related neighbourhood change, thus contributing to a more nuanced conceptualisation of studentification. It should be noted that both positive and negative impacts were recognised by residents, the general trend here being one of graduate / non-graduate agreement on the negative impacts, with more divided opinion evident in relation to the positive effects of students, these being emphasised more by graduate respondents. Generalisations such as this are scarce amongst these analyses however. Indeed, akin to the lack of cross-neighbourhood or cross-respondent group uniformity of opinion regarding more general neighbourhood change (discussed in Section 6.4), similarly diverse

graduate-specific, non-graduate-specific and neighbourhood-specific intricacies are apparent within this data set. Nonetheless, one marked commonality was evident across neighbourhoods and respondent groups: the generic concern with worsening noise nuisance. Thus noise nuisance will be addressed first, before moving on to discuss the complexities of the remaining impacts.

Hollingdean aside, noise nuisance was the most significant negative impact commonly cited by both graduate and non-graduate groups across all case study sites. In Hartington Road and Triangle, this was a more significant problem for non-graduates than graduates, with 80.0% of non-graduate respondents indicating that on-street noise had worsened, compared to 55.6% of graduates. In Hanover, a similar graduate / non-graduate divide was evident, although noise nuisance from households and back-gardens was more commonly cited as a problem here than noise on-street, with 61.1% of non-graduates reporting worse household noise events, and 29.1% of graduates agreeing. This is perhaps surprising given the insights proffered by responses to earlier survey questions regarding the disadvantages of living in Hanover, which did not stress noise nuisance (discussed in Section 6.3.3). A key theme emerging from these data was recognition amongst respondents in Hanover of the specific challenges associated with living near the Phoenix Halls of Residence, foremost among these being *on-street* noise nuisance caused by students coming and going from the halls, and collecting outside at night-time. These contradictory findings could suggest some intra-neighbourhood micro-geographic specificity to the range of impacts associated with increasing numbers of student residents, whereby respondents' experiences of the local student population in Hanover vary depending upon their proximity to the Phoenix Halls of Residence. The following quote from a respondent residing in close proximity to the Phoenix Halls further expands on this contention:

“We wish we'd found a place further up the hill away from the Halls. It's noisy outside every night with students coming and going, especially since the smoking ban - they all congregate outside and outside all the pubs” (Hanover graduate respondent).

This respondent believes s/he would have had a different lived experience of the neighbourhood had s/he lived further away from the Halls of Residence, suggesting that even within the neighbourhood boundary, micro-geographic nuances to the impacts of studentification are present. This echoes findings presented in the previous Section (6.4) regarding the micro-processes of studentification in Hartington Road and Triangle.

Although noise nuisance was also recognised as a significant issue in Coombe Road, the graduate / non-graduate divide identified in Hanover and Hartington Road and Triangle was not evident. Instead, a virtually identical proportion of graduates and non-graduates noted the worsening of noise nuisance in response to the in-migration of students to this area, with approximately 60.0% of both respondent groups detecting a worsening of on-street noise nuisance, and in the region of 70.0% reporting the same for noise from student households. Finally, Hollingdean respondents as a whole failed to note noise nuisance as a problem on the same scale as the other research areas,

with only 7.1% and 13.3% of graduates and 32.1% and 26.4% of non-graduates suggesting that noise on-street and from local households had worsened, respectively. Thus conflicting perceptions of noise nuisance are evident both between and within neighbourhoods, and also between respondent groups, revealing the inherent unevenness of respondent opinion.

In addition to noise nuisance, some other common ties between Coombe Road and Hartington Road and Triangle were identifiable in terms of trends in graduate and non-graduate opinion. Conversely, Hanover and Hollingdean largely stand alone both in terms of area-based and respondent group-based trends. This will be discussed further towards the end of this Section. The broad patterns emerging in Coombe Road and Hartington Road and Triangle suggest general agreement between graduate and non-graduate residents with regard to the socially and structurally embedded negative impacts of student populations. Specifically, the negative impacts referred to here are the deterioration of the local community (recognised by approximately 45.0% of both graduate and non-graduate respondent groups in Coombe Road, and 35.0% in Hartington Road and Triangle); a more unbalanced population (approximately 52.0% of Coombe Road respondents and 45.0% of those in Hartington Road and Triangle); increased likelihood of established residents out-migrating from the area (approximately 50.0% and 35.0% respectively); decreased quality of life for local children (approximately 46.0% and 41.0% respectively); and for older people (approximately 40.0% and 40.0% respectively). Figures 42 and 43 indicate some considerable concurrence between graduates and non-graduates in both Coombe Road and Hartington Road and Triangle. In addition to those embedded socio-structural impacts listed above, graduates and non-graduates in both areas also agreed that litter from inappropriately disposed domestic refuse sacks had worsened (approximately 70.0% of respondents in Coombe road, and 68.0% in Hartington Road and Triangle), as had pressures on on-street parking (approximately three-quarters of respondents in Coombe Road, and 65.0% in Hartington Road and Triangle) illustrating that the two respondent groups also shared concern over some of the physical and environmental impacts of studentification.

This uniformity of opinion across the graduate and non-graduate group did not permeate the range of negative issues associated with student in-migration. The most striking example of divided opinion being that associated with the abandonment of furniture and white goods by student households, either on-street or in front gardens and yards. This was thought to have worsened by 72.7% of graduates in Coombe Road, and only 38.6% of non-graduates. Generally speaking, however, it was uneven recognition of the positive impacts of students that revealed the most salient divisions of opinion between graduates and non-graduates in these case study sites. The most prominent examples of this divide were apparent in Hartington Road and Triangle where 72.3% of graduates felt that the area had become more vibrant as a result of student in-migration, compared to only 14.0% of non-graduates. Similarly, 55.6% of graduates felt the availability of

cultural amenities was improved as a result of the presence of students in the area, as opposed to only 12.0% of non-graduates.

It should be stressed here that graduate respondents in Hartington Road and Triangle placed some particularly pointed emphasis on the positive impacts of students compared to graduates in Coombe Road. For example, in addition to noting the positive effect of student populations on the vibrancy of the area, as described above, over 70.0% of graduates in Hartington Road and Triangle also felt that students had improved the local economy, the success of local businesses, and buy to let investment opportunities; with a further 50.0% stating that students had beneficially diversified the local population in terms of ethnic group. Thus, it would appear that both similarities and divisions exist between graduates and non-graduates in terms of their perceptions of the specific impacts of students on Coombe Road and Hartington Road. It can be justifiably contended, however, that more shared opinion was evident with regard to the deeper negative socio-structural impacts of studentification, with more conflicting views expressed with reference to the positive influence students are perceived (largely by the graduate population) to have had on these case study sites.

Hanover and Hollingdean display quite individual trends, independent of one another and the other sites researched. Strong divides in graduate and non-graduate opinion typify findings in Hanover. Hollingdean residents, however, failed to recognise either the negative or positive aspects of student in-migration to any significant degree when compared to the other areas studied, with the most distinct divisions in opinion tending to occur in relation to the positive impacts associated with student households, akin to Coombe Road and Hartington Road and Triangle. These trends will be discussed in more detail towards the end of this section.

Figure 44 illustrates the polarisation of graduate and non-graduate perceptions of the impacts of studentification in Hanover. The thirty two variables are, in the main, thought to have worsened by both groups. This is consistently expressed by a significantly larger proportion of non-graduates than graduates, however. To exemplify this divide: 50.0% of the non-graduate respondent group in Hanover felt that the population had become unbalanced as a result of student in-migration, as opposed to only 16.2% of the graduate population; 52.8% of non-graduates felt that the quality of life of children and older people in the neighbourhood had deteriorated, as opposed to just 19.3% and 22.6% of graduates respectively. A similar trend is evident with respect to the positive impacts identified in Hanover, for example, 61.3% of graduates felt that students had improved the vibrancy of the neighbourhood, as opposed to 38.9% of non-graduates in the area. Some deep divides are therefore evident between the views of graduate and non-graduate populations. This reflects previous discussions of the more general perceptions of neighbourhood change in Hanover (see Section 6.4), where it was revealed that only one-quarter of graduates believed that students had influenced change in the area, as opposed to three quarters of non-graduates. Within this context, it was established that the increasing sense of disenfranchisement from the local

community cited by the non-graduate respondent group, was largely tied to the perception of student populations asserting their 'ownership' of the area, to the extent that it had become student territory, thus weakening the non-graduate sense of belonging.

In addition to the emerging graduate / non-graduate divide in Hanover, some other neighbourhood-specific themes can be teased out. It has been outlined above that graduates in Hanover perceive students to have had a more positive impact on the neighbourhood than non-graduates. This positive influence, however, was not stated as overwhelmingly by graduates in Hanover as it was by those in Hartington Road and Triangle. This may relate to differing perceptions of the temporal frame of studentification in these case study sites. It was noted in Section 6.4, that graduates in Hanover tended to perceive students as an established part of the local community due to the overall longevity of student residence in this neighbourhood. This was not evident among Hartington Road and Triangle graduate responses. Hanover graduates' perceptions of recent student related change could arguably be more tempered, therefore, due to the distinct temporal context of studentification in this neighbourhood.

Also of interest in Hanover was the failure for respondents to recognise pressures on on-street car parking as a problem directly attributable to increasing student populations in this case study site, with only 6.5% of graduates and 11.1% noting the importance of this issue. Given the widely recognised problems with parking in Hanover (largely a product of the urban landscape of this case study site which is dominated by narrow streets and terraced housing with no driveways or garages), as was noted by focus group respondents in Section 5.5, it is noteworthy that local residents have not cited this as a student-related problem. This suggests that parking is viewed as a generic issue in the community, rather than one specifically tied to the student population.

To further exemplify the emerging neighbourhood-specific impacts in Hanover, 'intimidating behaviour / harassment' and 'criminal damage / vandalism' were noted to have worsened by over a third of non-graduates here, where they received negligible recognition in any other case study site. Conversely, the ethnic diversity of Hanover was not perceived to have improved as a result of student in-migration, as it was in the other three neighbourhoods. This may indicate a different student demographic in Hanover, compared to that in the other case study sites.

Hollingdean respondents displayed notably different perceptive traits to those discussed above, with very few negative or positive impacts receiving significant recognition by either graduates or non-graduates in this neighbourhood. Of the negative effects of student in-migration that were identified, the physical and environmental impacts were the most frequently cited both by graduates and non-graduates. For example, 33.4% and 49.1% of these respondent groups cited the worsening problem of inappropriate refuse sack disposal, respectively, and 40.0% and 49.0% of graduates and non-graduates felt that gardens in the area had become increasingly neglected with the increase of student HMO.

Examination of the perceived positive effects of students in Hollingdean reveals that 60.0% of graduates, and 41.5% of non-graduates identified the positive influence of students on the local buy-to-let housing market. This reflects findings discussed in the previous section, that suggested students were, to some extent, 'welcomed to the area' with some respondents claiming that students were occupying what would otherwise have become empty homes. Other commonly cited positive impacts included the support of local businesses (stated by 53.3% graduates and 13.3% non-graduates), and the diversification of the area's ethnic profile (cited by 40.0% of graduates and 15.1% of non-graduates). These more uneven expressions of graduate / non-graduate attitude reveal a trend more closely aligned with Hanover, whereby positive perceptions of students appear to be more pervasive among graduates in Hollingdean, than among the non-graduate group.

In Bevendean, some significant variance is apparent between the perceived impacts of studentification in the West and the East of the neighbourhood, as indicated by Figure 46. The deepest divisions between the West and East respondent groups are apparent among variables describing the deeper, more embedded social changes to the neighbourhood. These variables are considered to have worsened by a more significant proportion of respondents in the West of the case study site than in the East. This correlates with the uneven spatial distribution of student residence across the neighbourhood, with more significant clustering evident in the West. To exemplify this point: 35.7% of West Bevendean respondents felt that the strength of the local community had deteriorated, compared to 6.6% of respondents in the East; 38.1% of respondents in the West felt that the population profile had become more unbalanced, compared to 13.3% in the East; and 42.8% of respondents residing in the West of the case study site felt that local established residents were more likely to move away from the area as a result of student in-migration, compared to 26.7% of respondents in the East. This pattern was replicated in variables related to conflicting lifestyles in Bevendean, with much greater proportions of respondents citing worsening noise nuisance in West Bevendean (77.1% with regard to on-street noise nuisance, and 72.4% with regard to noise nuisance from households and gardens) than in the East (36.7% citing worse on-street noise, and 33.3% identifying a worsening of household and garden noise).

Conversely, the West and East respondent groups expressed concern in similar proportions regarding the physical and environmental impacts of expanding student populations. For example, 76.3% of West Bevendean respondents and 76.7% of those in the East stated a deterioration of the appearance and upkeep of local gardens, and 73.8% / 56.7% of West / East respondents cited the deterioration of the external appearance of local properties. Thus, it would appear that respondents living in the East of the case study site, where student occupancy is less dense, are identifying the more 'superficial' physical impacts of studentification. Whereas Western respondents are concerned by the more deep-seated socio-structural effects of student in-migration; arguably reflecting the more significant clustering of students in this locale.

Other noteworthy findings in Bevendean, again emphasising the uneven East / West distribution of student residence in this case study site, are respondents' views on the frequency of public transport servicing the East and West locales of Bevendean, and the ethnic diversity of the neighbourhood. First considering the latter, the majority of respondents in the West (64.3%) felt that the ethnic profile of the area had diversified as a result of student in-migration, compared to 0.0% of respondents in the East. Indeed, the majority of East Bevendean respondents (70%) felt that students had had no impact on ethnic diversity in the neighbourhood. This disparity undoubtedly reflects the denser student population in West Bevendean, and may also indicate a particularly diverse student population in West Bevendean. The majority of respondents in West Bevendean (59.5%) cited an improvement to the frequency of local transport in the area (referring here to the 25C bus route introduced to connect the University campus' with the town centre, including stops in West Bevendean en route). This service, however, does not extend to East Bevendean, perhaps explaining why only 10.0% of the respondent sample in this area felt they had seen an improvement in public transport. Recognition of this impact in West Bevendean was unique, when compared to the other case study sites where the vast majority of respondents felt that students had had no impact on the quality of public transport servicing their neighbourhoods.

In conclusion, noise nuisance was the most frequently cited negative impact, by graduates and non-graduates in all areas except Hollingdean. The intricacies of graduate and non-graduate views on noise, and the intra-neighbourhood unevenness in opinion recorded in Hanover concisely exemplifies the complex, multi-faceted expressions of studentification between respondent groups, and between and within research areas. Some common themes were identified in differences between graduate / non-graduate perceptions of the negative impacts of students in Coombe Road and Hartington Road and Triangle (with some emphasis here on shared concern with the more entrenched socio-structural examples of neighbourhood change). Divisions in opinion between the two respondent groups were also exposed however, particularly in relation to the perceived benefits of students, which were more widely recognised by graduates, particularly in Hartington Road and Triangle. This important distinction is further substantiated by Table 14, which summarises graduate and non-graduate responses when asked to state the one primary benefit students had brought to their neighbourhood. It is clear that the most frequently cited response in the non-graduate sample across all areas was 'None' (i.e. students had not benefitted the case study site in any way), stated by 45.6% of non-graduates in Coombe Road, 36% in Hartington Road and Triangle, 44.4% in Hanover, and 45.3% in Hollingdean. This perception was not replicated in the graduate sample, with less than one-quarter of graduates (and as few as 6.7% in Hollingdean) in any case study site stating that students had brought no benefits to their neighbourhood, corroborating the contention that graduate / non-graduate views on the positive impacts of students are polarised, as asserted earlier in the section.

Hanover shares few common themes with any other areas, suggesting that a different set of processes are at work in this area, these variations perhaps being temporal in nature, indicating a deeper, more mature phase of studentification in this neighbourhood. Findings in Bevendean appear to be tied to the disproportionately high density of students living in the West of the case study site where the deeper socio-structural impacts have been more widely recognised. Finally, Hollingdean was again found to display limited evidence of established processes of studentification.

Table 14: One key benefit students bring to the neighbourhood (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate
	N= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	N= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
None	59.5	43.3	18.2	45.6	22.2	36	12.9	44.4	6.7	45.3
Life / fun / buzz	7.1	10	27.3	5.3	22.2	10	19.4	5.6	0	3.8
Bring young people / 'fresh blood' into area	2.4	20	9.1	5.3	0	6	12.9	5.6	20	5.7
Spend money	4.8	0	45.5	21.1	22.2	16	29	19.4	26.7	13.2
Create jobs	4.8	0	0	1.8	5.6	0	0	2.8	6.7	7.5
Casual work force	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.2	0	0	0
Culture / creativity	0	0	9.1	0	11.1	2	16.1	8.3	0	0
Diversify population	0	13.3	0	1.8	0	2	0	0	6.7	0
Attract a certain type of cultural amenity	0	0	0	0	11.1	2	3.2	0	0	0
Friendly interaction	2.4	10	0	0	0	2	0	13.9	0	1.9
Students benefit the city, but not specifically this neighbourhood	2.4	0	9.1	0	5.6	8	3.2	2.8	20	3.8
Knowledge / educated workforce	0	0	0	1.8	5.6	2	0	0	6.7	0
Filling empty homes / investment opportunities for local people	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.8	13.3	0
No answer	2.4	0	0	3.5	5.6	2	3.2	2.8	0	0

Figure 42: Chart showing graduate / non-graduate perceptions of the impacts of studentification on Coombe Road (%)

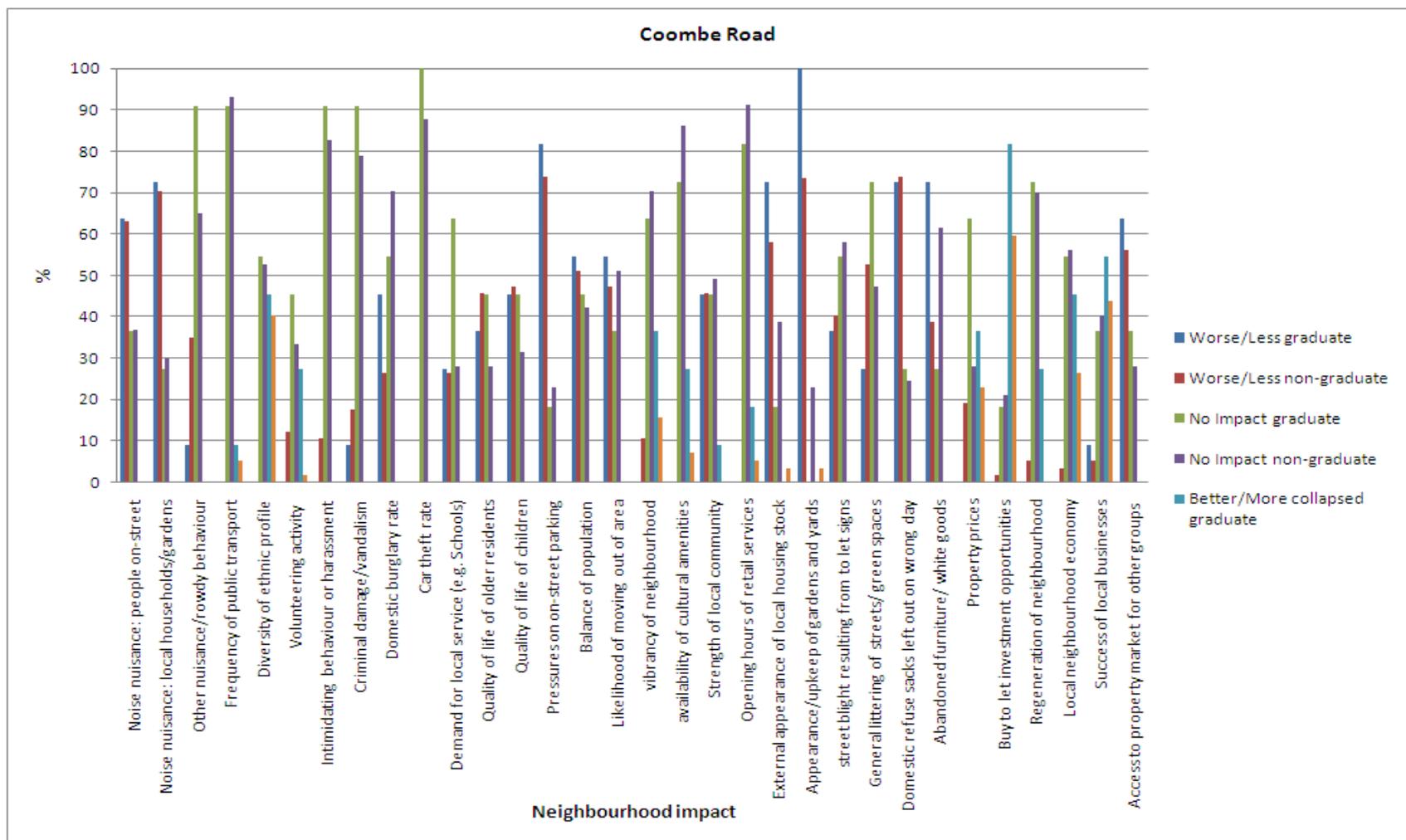


Figure 43: Chart showing graduate / non-graduate perceptions of the impacts of studentification Hartington Road and Triangle (%)

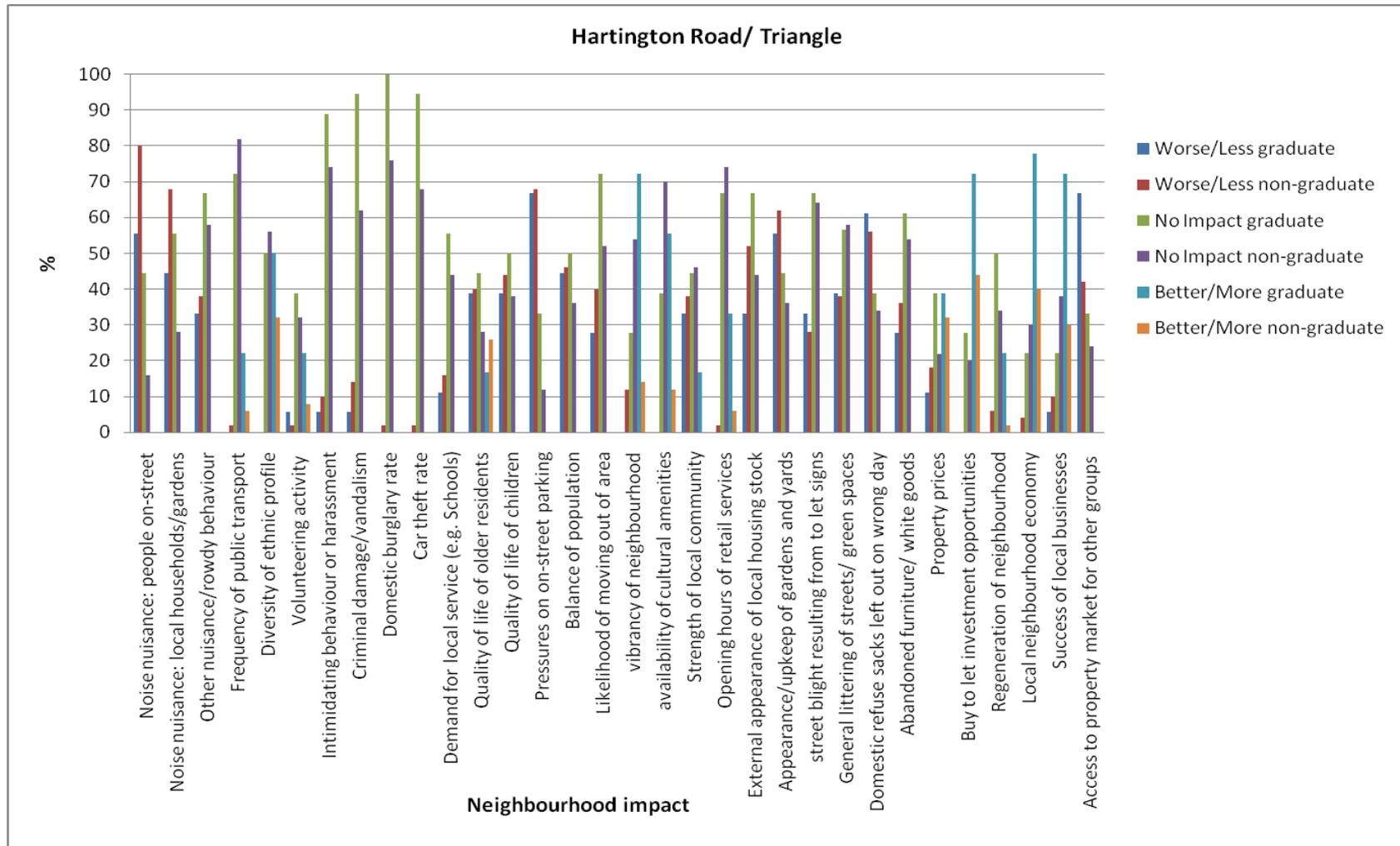


Figure 44: Chart showing graduate / non-graduate perceptions of the impacts of studentification on Hanover (%)

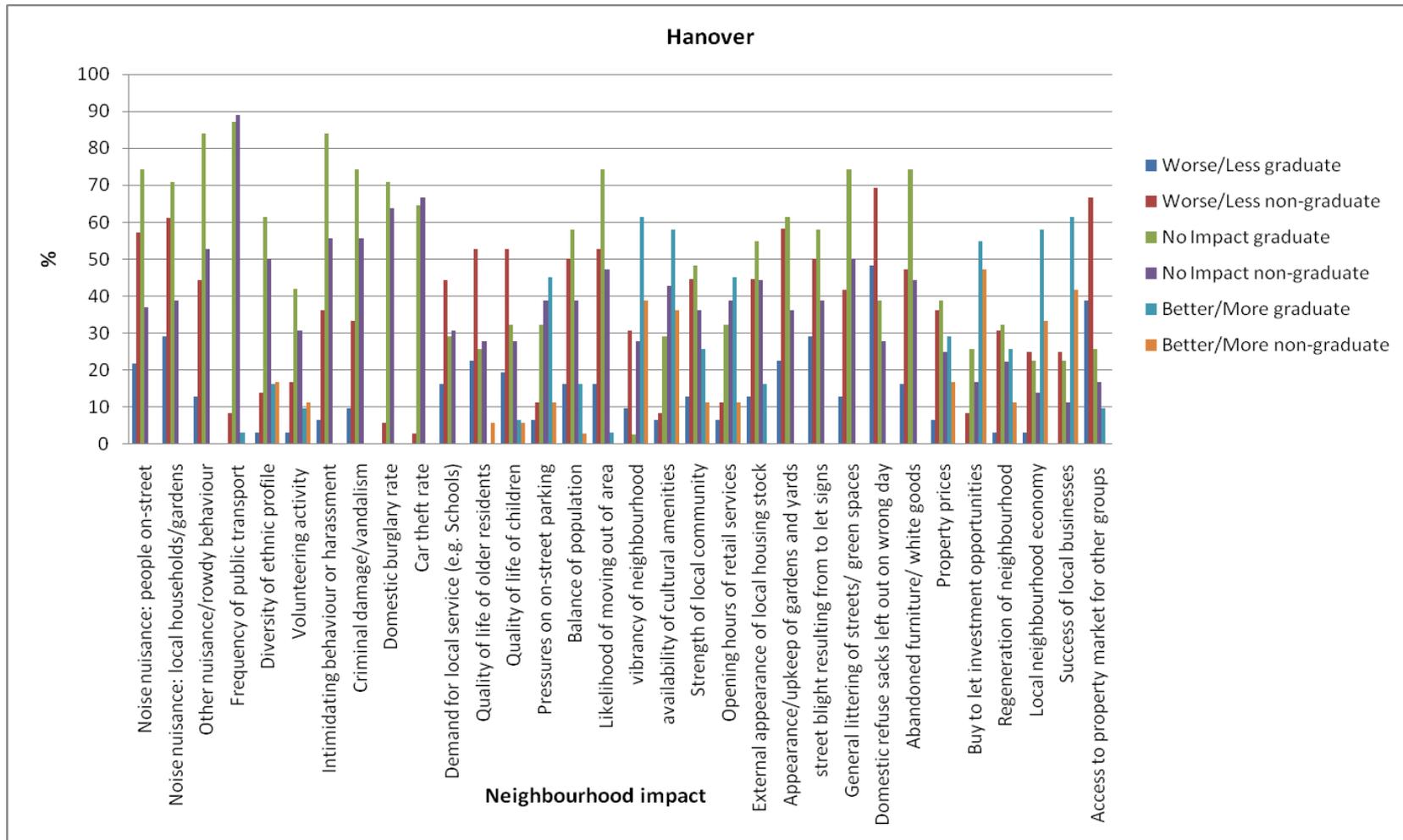


Figure 45: Chart showing graduate / non-graduate perceptions of the impacts of studentification on Hollingdean (%)

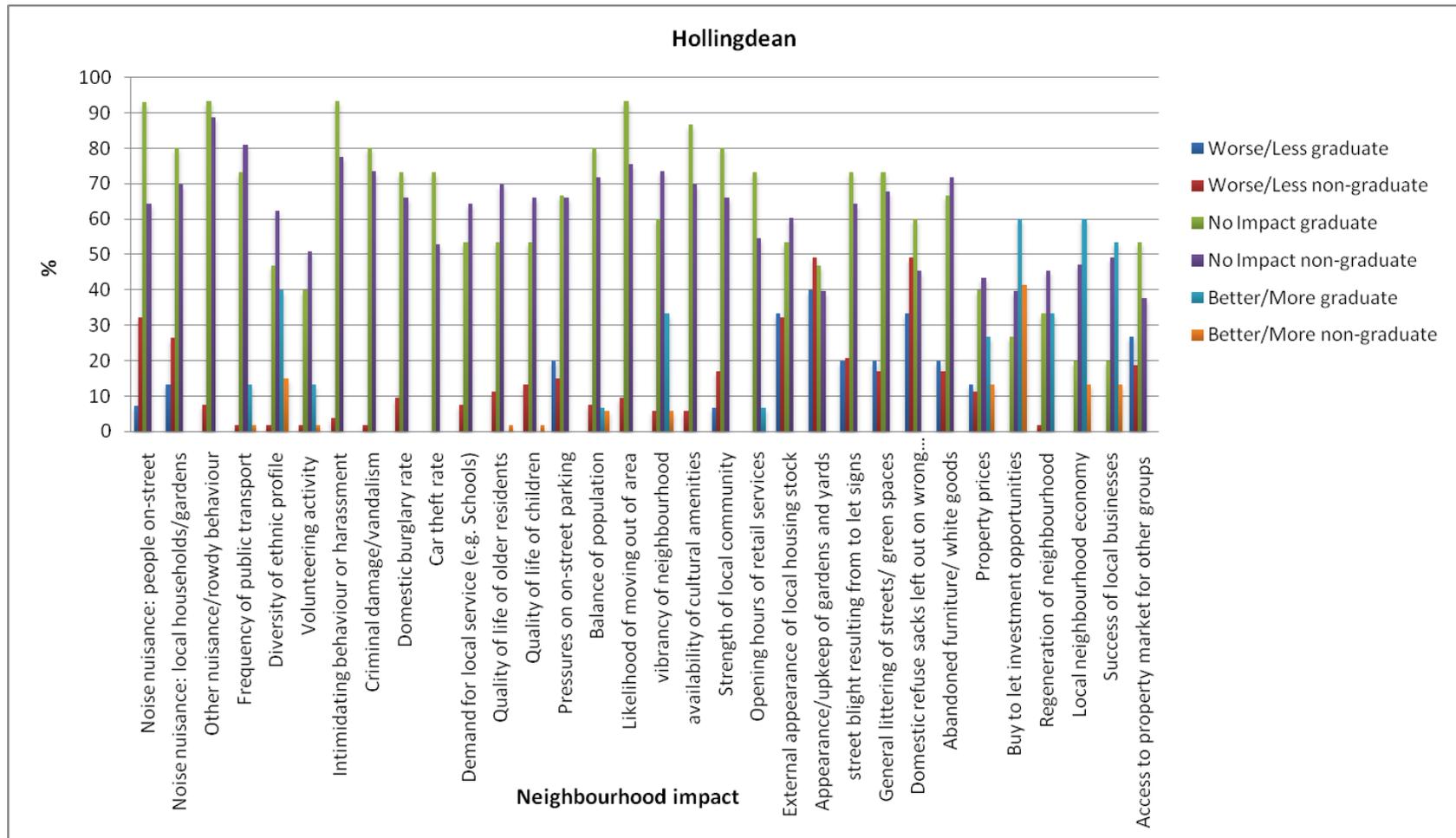
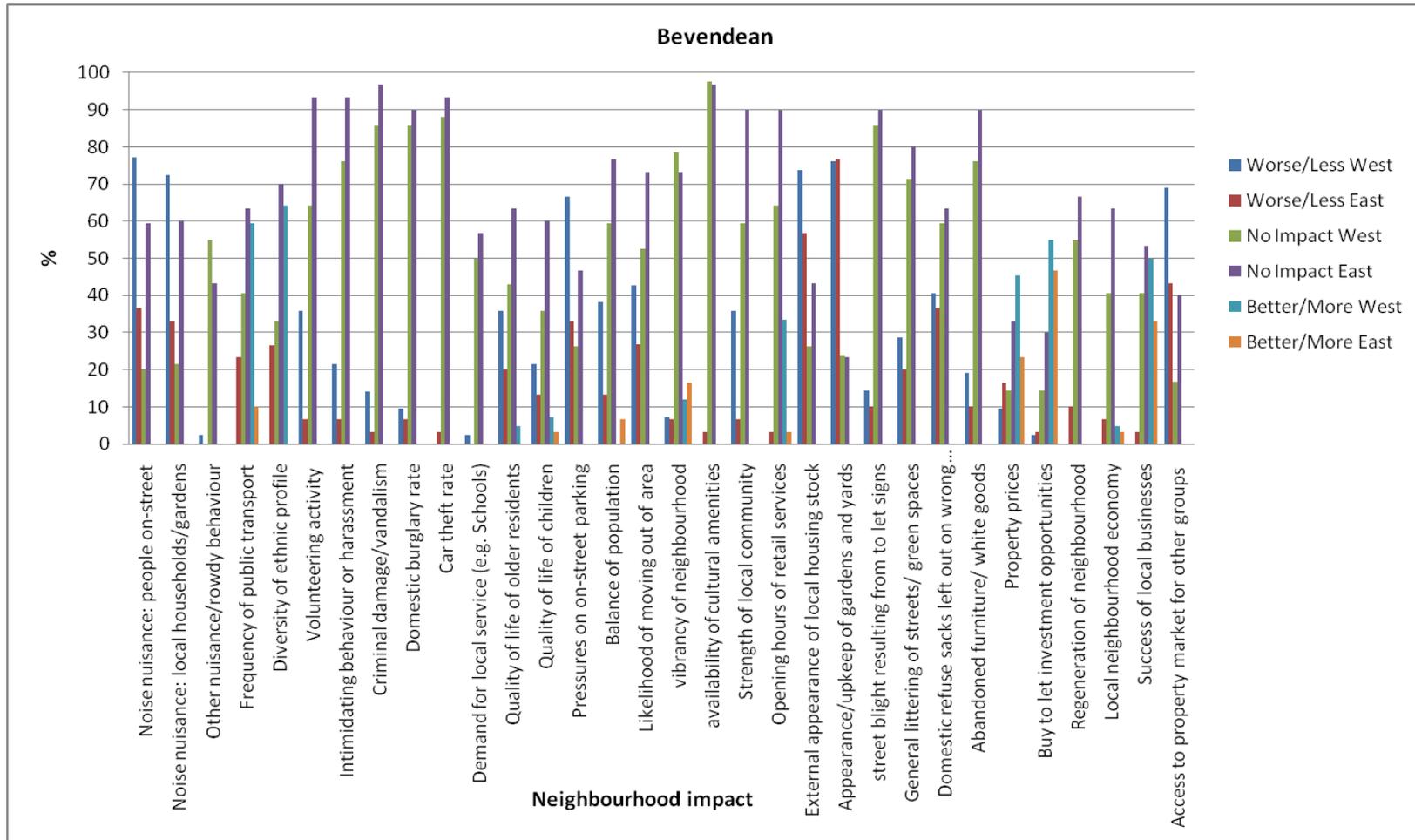


Figure 46: Chart showing graduate / non-graduate perceptions of the impacts of studentification on Bevendean (%)



6.6. Perceptions of students as a social group: lifestyle and conflict

The research rationale outlined in Chapter 1 outlines an agenda for exploring levels of community cohesion, and how these are influenced by resident:student (or town:gown) relations. Chapter 2 expands on this, introducing theories of youth identity formation, intergenerational conflict, and ‘othering’ as a foundation upon which to conceptualise the cohesiveness of studentified neighbourhoods. This section explores these themes by illuminating how students are perceived as a social group by local residents, how this may or may not be interconnected with graduate and non-graduate tolerance of neighbourhood change, and respondents’ experiences of ‘conflict’ with local student populations. Respondents in all areas were asked how they would describe the ‘typical student’ in their neighbourhood, whether they were aware of conflict arising between students and local residents, and if so what this conflict had involved. These data form the basis of the analyses presented below. A number of ‘common themes’ were identifiable within these data across all case study sites. These will be discussed initially, before the intricacies of the data are examined towards the end of the section.

The most common response to the question ‘how would you describe the ‘typical student’ in your neighbourhood?’ among graduates and non-graduates in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, Hanover and Hollingdean was that this depended on the individual students in question; with some respondents explicitly indicating that they were unhappy to stereotype students (see Table 15). This reveals a largely balanced view of students as a diverse social group across the four case study sites, which is perhaps unexpected given the depth of feeling expressed by some respondents regarding the negative impacts of students on their quality of life and surrounding neighbourhood. This rhetoric of tolerance is unpacked below, where the neighbourhood and respondent-specific nuances present in the data are examined and contrasted. It should be noted here that although a cross-cutting theme of tolerance is evident, this is countered by a number of expressions of frustration and intolerance of students as a social group. These perceptions will also be outlined and exemplified.

Indeed, it is important to be mindful that established residents’ general reticence to ‘stereotype’ students as a social group may have masked underlying negative perceptions of students, underpinned by rhetorics of intolerance and ‘othering’. To substantiate this point, it was commonplace where respondents expressed extreme antipathy towards students, for this sentiment to be coupled with a statement from the respondent clarifying that they were not ‘anti-student’. This is exemplified by the following quote from a non-graduate respondent from Hartington Road and Triangle:

“[Students are] obnoxious, drunk, thoughtless. I’m not anti-student, but some of them are horrible little worms” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

Generally speaking, however, as noted above, a marked proportion of respondents' in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, Hanover and Hollingdean expressed largely harmonious or ambivalent views of 'the typical student'. The most commonly cited reasons for tolerating students were the recognition of students' relative inexperience of residing in a community without parental support and guidance; the perception that students are generally ignorant of the negative impacts of their lifestyle practices on established households (particularly when alcohol and / or drug-abuse is perceived to have influenced students' behaviour); and the apportionment of 'blame' for negative urban change on landlords and developers (and to some extent other local institutional actors such as the universities, discussed in more detail in Section 6.7). Thus it would appear, by and large, that recognition of a range of negative impacts of enlarged student populations, as discussed in previous sections, has not engendered overwhelmingly disparaging perceptions of students as a social group among survey respondents.

The only detectable swell of negative opinion in response to survey respondents' descriptions of the 'typical student' in their area occurred within the non-graduate respondent group in Hanover, where 27.8% of respondents expressed negative opinions of students as a social group, with 19.4% of this group also stating that students in their neighbourhood were 'noisy' and 'disrespectful', and a further 16.7% describing students as 'thoughtless' (see Table 15). This reflects the comparatively negative views expressed by non-graduates (discussed in Section 6.5 above) regarding the impacts of expanding student populations on residential neighbourhoods in Brighton, when compared to graduates. There was limited uniformity to this trend, however, with divisions of opinion evident within the non-graduate group. These were particularly apparent in Hanover, where alongside those non-graduates who stated a dominantly negative view of students, as outlined above, 19.4% expressed positive perceptions, with 25.0% stating that students were 'friendly' and made 'pleasant additions to the neighbourhood' (see Table 15). This implied division within the non-graduate group in Hanover may indicate the localised impacts of the Phoenix Halls of Residence (see Section 6.5, and Chapter 5, Section 5.5.4 for detailed discussion); with those respondents expressing particularly negative views perhaps being those residing in close proximity to the Halls of Residence, thus most directly affected by the reported noise and on-street rowdiness. The following quote from a non-graduate respondent living some distance from the Halls of Residence suggests that this may be the case as s/he indicates an awareness of more intense noise nuisance problems in the immediate vicinity of the Phoenix site:

“[They are] living the student life, they're fine though, don't cause me any problems here. I know down the other end the halls cause people big noise problems at night” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

This postulation is supported by data collected in relation to conflict between students and local residents in Hanover. For example, Table 16 reveals that 63.9% of non-graduate respondents in Hanover were aware of some conflict arising between students and local residents in the

neighbourhood. As such, Hanover was the only case study site where the majority of non-graduates reported detecting conflict. In all other case study sites, the majority of both graduates and non-graduates stated that they were *not* aware of conflict between established residents and students, again exposing the distinct and complex trends of opinion emerging in Hanover.

Table 17 provides some detail on the nature of the disharmony described. In Hanover, the dominant theme was noise-related conflict, which was reported by 27.8% of non-graduate respondents. This observation aligns with the contention that the comparative vociferousness of non-graduate respondents in Hanover may be tied to the intensity of noise nuisance events and on-street disturbances occurring around the Phoenix Halls of Residence site. Indeed, the following two quotes further emphasise the role of the Phoenix Halls of Residence in stimulating resident / student opposition in Hanover, validating suggestions made in earlier sections that the Halls of Residence has engendered a distinct set of processes of studentification in Hanover:

“Countless examples of squaring up to the trouble makers and receiving nothing but abuse. The security staff at the halls aren't interested either. We feel completely on our own here...isolated from the community we used to love living in, the reason we moved here” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

“We have been threatened with physical violence in the past from Phoenix students and from houses over the back” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

As was noted in the previous section (6.5), some clear divisions were evident between graduate and non-graduate views on the impacts of students on Hanover, with graduates tending to emphasise the benefits of student populations (such as enhanced vibrancy and enriched cultural capital). This trend appears to be echoed in reports of conflict in the neighbourhood, with approximately half the number of graduates (35.5%) disclosing awareness of resident / student tensions in Hanover, compared to non-graduates (63.9%); and also in graduate perceptions of students as a social group, which are more positive than those reported by non-graduates in Hanover. The following quotes flesh out this observation by illustrating three positive facets of students as a social group, as identified by graduates in Hanover. The first quote outlines the economic and cultural benefits students are perceived to bring to Brighton and to Hanover, revealing the creativity of student populations in Brighton to be of particular value to this graduate:

“Completely depends on the household. I think it's only the minority that cause a problem and we undoubtedly rely on them as a city for the economy, we also value their creative input. My husband and I often visit the Grand Parade exhibitions - what a fabulous thing to have on your doorstep! It's just a shame they don't stay in the area for longer than a couple of years” (Hanover graduate respondent).

The quote below reveals two further benefits associated with an enlarged student presence, identified by a graduate respondent in Hanover. The first highlights the value of student custom at one of Hanover's local pubs. The second refers to the value placed by this graduate on the

continuous perpetuation of the 'student lifestyle' achieved, in part, as a result of the short-term migration flow of student populations through Hanover. This is an important point to note for two reasons: first, as it exposes a sense of nostalgia and fond familiarity with studenthood; and second because it identifies the transience of student populations as a *positive* facet of this migrant group:

"A lot of our regular customers are students which keeps it fresh as they're changing all the time, one lot moves on, another arrives. They're fun people to have around. I do feel like I'm still caught up in the student life though, I probably should have moved on, but I'm still loving it!" (Hanover graduate respondent).

Further to the student / post-student lifestyle overlap outlined above, the ties between these social groups are also evident in the mixed worker (graduate) / student sharing of HMO. This trend is not easily quantifiable due to the lack of data collected on mixed HMO formation. However, Smith and Holt (2004) have noted the significance of mixed worker / student household formation in Brighton, and the quote below illustrates one graduate's positive experience of sharing accommodation with students:

"I graduated a couple of years ago, but I live with 2 post graduates, they're my mates. I have a few mates still at Uni" (Hanover graduate respondent).

Table 15 reveals a largely ambivalent perception of students in Hartington Road and Triangle. Aside from the contention that students tended to be 'disrespectful' and 'thoughtless' (asserted by 18.0% of non-graduates in the area), strong anti-student sentiment was limited. Similarly, Table 15 also indicates that there was no overwhelmingly positive opinion of students. Only one variable emerged as significant, indicating that 38.7% of the graduate group 'had no problem with / no strong opinion' on students; suggesting a predominantly indifferent attitude towards students in Hartington Road and Triangle.

Among the graduate sample here, as discussed with reference to Hanover graduates' perceptions of students, a number of respondents empathised with the student lifestyle, and indicated shared-experience with local student populations:

"I was a student not so long ago - I was lazy and a bit thoughtless, but they're not bad people!" (Hartington Road and Triangle graduate respondent).

It was noted in Section 6.3.1 that a significant proportion of graduates from the Brighton universities chose to settle in Hartington Road and Triangle, thus it could be argued that graduates here, having a specific lived-experience of 'Brighton student life', may as a result express particularly high levels of tolerance to current student populations.

Conversely, some non-graduate respondents in Hartington Road and Triangle did express some relatively extreme views of students, exemplified by the following quote:

“Totally inconsiderate. I don't like generalising but I'm just being honest that has been the extent of my experience of them. They're weasels” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

Additionally, some examples of negative constructions of students as a social group rooted in ‘class’ were evident among a number of responses from non-graduates in Hartington Road and Triangle. This echoes a similar theme emerging from focus group discussions in this case study site (see Chapter 5, Section 5.4.3). To illustrate this point, one non-graduate respondent referred to local students as “middle class drinkers”, and another stated that:

“[Students are] irresponsible and thoughtless. They're usually middle class types, a bit spoilt and they don't seem to care at all that these are our homes, our castles, and think they are free to do as they wish regardless of us” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

However, as suggested by Table 15, such negative representations of students were minimal, with most respondents expressing a relatively balanced view, whereby problematic lifestyle practices were recognised but tolerated, with responses in some cases sympathetic to the hardships of student life, as illustrated by the quote below:

“They tend to be fine until they've had a skin full. They have parties all night which we don't appreciate. I'm not anti-student though. Students need to live somewhere and to be honest I'm concerned about how many they cram into these places. Their living conditions must be questionable - that is not on” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

Such undertones of ambivalence and tolerance, as expressed by non-graduate respondents in Hartington Road and Triangle, could be tied to the characteristics of this sample group. As outlined in Section 6.2.3, 44.0% of the non-graduate households surveyed consisted of couples with non-dependent children, suggesting a relatively large presence of ‘empty nesters’. As such these couples’ children may be attending, or may have attended, a higher education institution. This in-direct experience of the student lifestyle may have encouraged a more tolerant attitude towards students and their lifestyle practices. It could also imply that these households are now less concerned by quality of life issues that may have been of some significance when they had dependent children living at home; for example, noise nuisance at night.

It should also be noted that Hartington Road and Triangle residents vocalised particularly strong views regarding the role of landlords in the instigation and perpetuation of negative urban change; rather than apportioning blame solely on local student populations (discussed in Section 6.4). Indeed, the general view that landlords and developers had been instrumental in initiating and augmenting structural and social urban change in Hartington Road and Triangle, could inform interpretations of ambivalence towards students as a social group. One respondent, quoted below, exemplifies this point by noting the sense of disempowerment among established residents, tied to

the prolific and unregulated activity of local developers in the area, and the neighbourhood change associated with this:

“People are beginning to get angry here. They feel out of control, like the developers can do as they wish and screw the locals. That bitterness is going to overflow at some point. It's a matter of time” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

The influence of landlords was also noted by non-graduates in Coombe Road, where akin to Hartington Road and Triangle, there was limited evidence of any significant aversion to students as a social group. Instead, landlords were recognised as the primary drivers of negative processes of urban change, as exemplified by the following quotes:

“Some of them are ok - to be honest, it's not the students I've got anything against, it's the fact that the landlords are buying up every house in the area - that's not the student's fault, they've got to live somewhere” (Coombe Road non-graduate).

“Some of them (students) are lovely, I've got nothing against them as people, it's the greedy landlords that need shooting! Noise isn't really an issue for us here because we've not got students as neighbours” (Coombe Road non-graduate).

“They're not all bad, but they can be really inconsiderate. Landlords need to take more responsibility too” (Coombe Road non-graduate).

Conflict between students and established residents was not deemed to be widespread in Coombe Road, with the majority of graduates and non graduates unaware of any notable hostility between the social groups (72.7% and 59.6% respectively). However, 27.3% of graduates who had identified some discordance noted that this conflict had involved an ensuing argument between the student(s) and resident(s) in question; often involving raised voices and / or foul language (Table 17). Thus the examples of confrontation reported in this neighbourhood tended to be more extreme than those reported in the other three case study sites. The following quote exemplifies this:

“We find them (students) very arrogant. I've been out to ask them to be quiet at all sorts of times and we've been called very abusive names. On one occasion I asked them not to urinate on my wall on their way home at god knows what time. And when I came outside the next day, there was a pint pot of urine sitting on the wall. I know where that came from” (Coombe Road non-graduate).

Graduate respondents in Hollingdean reported the greatest proportion of positive perceptions of students as a social group, with one-third of this group describing student populations in positive ways. The following quote outlines one respondent's opinion of students following his / her own experience at university; revealing aspirations for his / her own child to gain a university education and experience student life. This further emphasises the importance of shared-experiences between graduates and students for inspiring more positive perceptions of students at more mature stages of life-course:

“The same as any other 20-something. A bit irresponsible, but that's quite endearing really - I was a student I remember what student life was like, and I hope my daughter will go to Uni too” (Hollingdean graduate respondent).

In contrast, only 9.7% of non-graduates in the area shared such positive views, illuminating a divide between graduate and non-graduate opinions of students in Hollingdean. Overtly negative perceptions of students were limited, however, among both graduates and non-graduates (Table 15). This suggests widespread ambivalence towards students as a social group, akin to the trend emerging in Hartington Road and Triangle. This ambivalence, however, has arguably emerged for different reasons within Hollingdean. The presence of ‘more challenging’ social groups, for example, was cited by the respondent quoted below, who describes tenants residing in social rented housing in Hollingdean more negatively than local student populations. This suggests an alternative social context to the apparent ambivalence towards students in Hollingdean, compared to Hartington Road and Triangle:

“Not with students, it's the council tenants that are the problem, they're a nightmare some of them - really noisy and they're in these bitchy little cliques, they tried to spread rumours about my Mum” (Hollingdean non-graduate respondent).

A deep divide is evident between the East and West of Bevendean, with regard to the proportion of respondents who expressed negative views on students as a social group. Markedly more opposition to students was expressed by residents of West Bevendean (42.9%) than respondents residing in the East (10.0%). In some cases, however, these negative views were expressed with reference to the minority of students, rather than indicating that students as a social group were inherently problematic, as exemplified by the following quote:

“80% of them are fine, 20% of them are arseholes. I'm in a funny situation because I do a lot of work on student houses I'm a builder and a handyman, through MTM, so I benefit from them as well. Some of the states I've seen houses in is unbelievable. I went to a house while the students were away over Christmas, they had a bolognaise before they left, left half of it in the pan for a month while they were away, washing up everywhere, the place had rats droppings all over it” (West Bevendean respondent).

Interestingly, this quote also provides some insight into the construction of these negative views. In this example the respondent cites visual evidence of students’ ‘chaotic’ lifestyles, and based on this constructs a disparaging representation of students, rooted in the perceived inability of students to adhere to normative household practices.

Perceptions of students in West Bevendean, therefore, were typically negative, with more prominent evidence of the desire to assert a particular social identity in Bevendean, thus distancing student populations as marginal and ‘other’. This noted, however, 28.9% of West Bevendean respondents asserted a positive view when asked to describe the ‘typical local student’, citing favourable characteristics such as friendliness and “bringing life into the area”, thus marking some balance of opinion in the area.

The most frequently stated response in East Bevendean was one of ‘no strong opinion’, indicating the comparative ambivalence of residents here, compared to those in West Bevendean. In addition, around one-quarter of the East Bevendean group characterised students as being ‘friendly’ or ‘pleasant to have in the neighbourhood’. This is illustrated by the quote below from one East Bevendean respondent, who speaks of the value of students as neighbours who spend time in the neighbourhood during the day, thus are more likely to be available to engage in conversation:

“They’re friendly. We’ve had the ones over the road come and chat to us when we’re doing our front garden. They’re around during the day more than the working people, so there’s more opportunity to say hello” (East Bevendean respondent).

There was also some awareness among East Bevendean respondents of more problematic experiences of students to the West of the neighbourhood, as suggested by the following quotes:

“I know people further down on estate have had problems with noise - we haven’t up here - fewer student houses and we’re a noisy house anyway with 3 kids living here” (East Bevendean respondent).

“We’re lucky here in this immediate vicinity, there’s no real trouble, I know further down towards the Avenue they have more trouble” (East Bevendean respondent).

In terms of conflict, one-third of respondents in the West reported that they had witnessed, or were aware of student / resident confrontation, as opposed to 20.0% in the East. The latter marks a relatively high proportion given the largely ambivalent views of students reported by respondents residing in the East of the case study site. In the West, although the majority reported no knowledge of conflict, the examples given by those who did were of comparatively confrontational situations, as demonstrated by the quotes below, where respondents cite damage to property and abusive language:

“I kicked the door in on a student house when they wouldn’t shut up at 4am” (West Bevendean respondent).

“Our student neighbours had an argument with the next door neighbours on the other side. The students kicked the fence down between the properties” (West Bevendean respondent).

“We have complained many times late at night and been told to F off, in the end we just call the Police” (West Bevendean respondent).

“My neighbours have had words with students about the noise, I once caught one of them urinating on the green at 10 o’clock at night and had a...slanging match” (West Bevendean respondent).

These experiences mark more extreme examples of conflict than those reported in other research sites, suggesting more volatile student / community relations in Bevendean.

Table 15: How would you describe the typical student in your neighbourhood? (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	Graduate	non-graduate	Graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	N= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	N= 36	n= 15	n= 53
Depends on individuals	19	10	36.4	40.4	38.9	24	41.9	30.6	26.7	13.2
Don't like stereotyping	0	0	27.3	0	0	4	9.7	11.1	6.7	1.9
Largely positive	28.6	16.7	18.2	3.5	5.6	2	16.1	19.4	33.3	9.4
Friendly / pleasant to have in neighbourhood	23.8	26.7	27.3	7	0	0	3.2	25	6.7	13.2
Fun	0	0	9.1	1.8	0	2	6.5	0	0	1.9
Fine / no problem with them / no strong opinion	16.7	33.3	9.1	22.8	38.9	12	25.8	0	20	9.4
Largely negative	42.9	10	0	10.5	5.6	16	3.2	27.8	0	7.5
Noisy	21.4	10	0	22.8	0	10	12.9	19.4	0	11.3
Disrespectful / thoughtless	6.7	20	9.1	14	11.1	18	0	16.7	0	5.7
The minority spoil it	4.8	0	0	0	5.6	2	3.2	8.3	0	0
They don't interact / not friendly	4.8	0	0	1.8	0	0	0	0	0	1.9
Young / immature / inexperienced	4.8	6.7	9.1	8.8	5.6	10	9.7	8.3	13.3	3.8
Don't know any / don't interact with them	16.7	23.3	0	12.3	5.6	14	9.7	11.1	0	17
No answer	2.4	0	0	1.8	5.6	12	3.2	0	6.7	7.5

Table 16: Are you aware of any conflict between students and established local residents in your neighbourhood? (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	Non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	Non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	N= 15	n= 53
Yes	33.3	20	27.3	36.8	22.2	30	35.5	63.9	7.1	7.5
No	66.7	80	72.7	59.6	72.2	66	64.5	36.1	92.9	88.7
Don't know	0	0	0	1.8	0	2	0	0	0	0
No answer	0	0	0	1.8	5.6	2	0	0	0	3.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 17: What has this conflict involved? (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	Graduate	Non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
Argument	11.9	10	27.3	12.3	0	6	9.7	11.1	0	1.9
Shouting	4.8	3.3	9.1	10.5	11.1	4	0	2.8	0	1.9
Abusive language	4.8	3.3	0	3.5	5.6	4	3.2	11.1	0	3.8
Noise related	21.4	13.3	18.2	17.5	11.1	6	12.9	27.8	13.3	1.9
Other anti social behaviour	4.8	3.3	0	0	5.6	0	0	8.3	0	0
Vandalism / damage to property	2.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argument	0	0	0	1.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
No answer	61.9	66.7	63.6	63.2	72.2	76	48.4	38.9	80	92.5

In Summary, an overall rhetoric of tolerance towards students as a social group was punctuated by some examples of relatively extreme conflict. The majority of these examples occurred in Bevendean and Hanover. In the latter case study site, this conflict was largely associated with issues arising from the Phoenix Halls of Residence, predominantly associated with noise nuisance. Resident-student relations in West Bevendean may have been comparatively less congenial due to the rapidity of studentification in recent years (Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1). These rapid changes may have resulted in more prevalent and extreme conflict as established local residents struggle to adjust to the influx of populations with differing lifestyle practices and social norms, resulting in the increased noise nuisance and anti-social behaviour reported in the quotes from West Bevendean respondents. Indeed, the majority of examples of conflict reported across all case study sites arose due to the differing socio-behavioural expectations of respondents and students, and predominantly stemmed from noise nuisance. It is important to note that some perceived positive facets of students as a social group were also cited. This occurred predominantly in Hanover, among graduate respondents in this case study site. Here, nostalgic accounts of respondents' own student experiences were recalled, and the presence of students in Hanover was clearly valued by some respondents, who perceived the cultural influences of students and the local perpetuation of the student lifestyle positively.

6.7. Provision of student accommodation and managing neighbourhood change

This section explores respondents' perceptions of the roles played by 'institutional actors' in providing (in)adequate student accommodation in Brighton, and the management of neighbourhood change resulting from expanding student populations in the five case study sites. There has been some preceding discussion (see Section 6.4), illuminating the inclination of established residents, particularly those in Hartington Road and Triangle, to readily apportion some of the blame for negative neighbourhood change on 'absentee landlords' and developers, rather than just on student populations. The planning and management of student housing has important urban policy implications, which, it has been argued both in academic and lay discourses (Chapter 2, Sections 2.5 and 2.8) have to date been neglected, particularly in light of the political emphasis on mixed and balanced communities over the last fifteen years. This section seeks to illuminate respondents' perceptions of the planning, delivery and management of student housing and related urban change at the neighbourhood level, in line with the research rationale set out in Chapter 1 to consider the policy implications of studentification for the broader political agenda of sustainable communities.

The section begins (6.7.1 below) by considering respondents' views on the supply and demand for student accommodation. Specifically, this analysis focuses on the extent to which demand for accommodation specifically built for and / or targeted at students (i.e. purpose built student halls of residence and other university-managed student accommodation) is being met in Brighton; and respondents' expectations of the local universities and Brighton and Hove City Council to meet this need. The primary conclusions drawn from this analysis are that both graduate and non-graduate

respondents perceive the provision of student accommodation in Brighton to be inadequate, with the expectation that both the universities and Brighton and Hove City Council should assume co-responsibility for dealing with this short-fall. The second key finding emerging from Section 6.7.1 is the limited general awareness among respondents, both of the adequacy of student accommodation provision in Brighton; and of the roles and responsibilities of local actors in its planning and delivery. This permeated the non-graduate group to a particularly notable degree.

A general lack of awareness and understanding among respondents also emerges as a dominant theme in the latter half of the Section (6.7.2), where the degree to which local councillors, national government, the Sussex Police Service, and the local students unions are effectively dealing with the negative impacts of studentification is explored. Here it is noted that despite recognising Brighton and Hove City Council and the universities as responsible actors, respondents' indicate a limited comprehension of the tangible mechanisms or processes by which these actors could better fulfil their responsibilities.

Broadly speaking, opinion on the effectiveness of the institutional actors considered (Brighton and Hove City Council, the universities, local councillors, national government, the Sussex Police Service and the local students unions) was mixed, with a disproportionately high number of respondents claiming not to possess a complete enough understanding of the roles, responsibilities and activities of these actors to enable them to judge their effectiveness in dealing with the negative issues associated with studentification. One group, however, expressed a different pattern of response. The graduate respondent group in Coombe Road articulated a greater breadth of awareness both of the issues, and of a variety of ways to mediate these.

6.7.1. The supply and demand for student accommodation in Brighton: who is responsible?

Table 18 summarises the response to the question 'do you think there is enough accommodation specifically allocated for students in Brighton and Hove?' (explicitly referring to purpose built student halls of residence and other university-managed accommodation, excluding private rented student HMO). These data reveal that very few (either graduate or non-graduate) respondents felt that students were adequately accommodated in the city. Graduates across all four case study sites indicated more vociferously that they believed there was an under-supply of PBSA; this perception being particularly prevalent among Coombe Road graduates, where 90.9% of this respondent group stated that demand was exceeding supply. Among non-graduate groups, the response was more mixed, with non-graduates in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover expressing a relatively even split of opinion. In these case study sites approximately 40.0% of non-graduates believed that students were not adequately housed (in concurrence with the graduate population). This was matched by a similar proportion of this group responding that they didn't

know. This suggests less awareness among the non-graduates surveyed in these neighbourhoods of the scope, scale and supply: demand relationship of student accommodation in Brighton.

This trend may be indicative of a generally higher awareness among graduates of the struggles associated with securing university-managed accommodation, having experienced this aspect of studenthood themselves (particularly those graduates who attended the University of Brighton or the University of Sussex, thus having had direct experience of searching for accommodation in the city).

Given the concern expressed by non-graduates regarding the deterioration of their neighbourhoods as a result of the in-migration of students (discussed in sections 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6), the response to survey question 20 from this group (as summarised in Table 18, above), is perhaps surprising. It suggests that approximately half of non-graduates in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover have failed to associate the disproportionate in-migration of students to their neighbourhood with the city-wide underinvestment in PBSA. Instead, non-graduates across all case study sites appeared largely uncertain as to the supply: demand (im)balance. This trend appeared most pronounced in Hollingdean, where 69.8% of non-graduates stated that they didn't know whether enough accommodation was provided specifically for students. This reflects, as has been discussed in previous sections (6.4 and 6.5), the more general lack of recognition of student-related urban change in this neighbourhood relative to the other case study sites.

Graduate respondents from Coombe Road, the group indicating the greatest depth of concern regarding the under-provision of student accommodation in the city, also proffered the most significant response when asked to justify this opinion (in response to question 21 'do you think there is enough accommodation specifically allocated for students in Brighton; why is this?'). Indeed, 36.4% of this respondent group specifically identified the need for more Halls of Residence in Brighton, to accommodate the increasing demand from an expanding student population. Furthermore, these concerns were couched within the context of an undersupply of affordable family housing, both in Coombe Road and across the city more widely, with 18.2% of Coombe Road graduates stating that students were unfairly occupying housing intended for families, as illustrated by the following quote:

"I think there's a big underlying issue about affordable housing here, this city is a nightmare now if you're not well established on the property ladder. We need to free up some of the housing that students are occupying for young families" (Coombe Road graduate respondent).

Table 18: Is there enough accommodation provided specifically for students in Brighton and Hove? (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	Graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	Non-graduate	Graduate	non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
Yes	2.4	6.7	9.1	7	5.6	2	12.9	16.7	13.3	3.8
No	52.4	36.7	90.9	45.6	66.7	50	48.4	36.1	60	24.5
Don't know	42.9	36.7	0	47.4	22.2	46	35.5	41.7	26.7	69.8
No answer	2.4	0	0	0	5.6	2	3.2	5.6	0	1.9

Table 19: Should student housing feature in the Local Authority's core housing plan for the city? (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	Graduate	non-graduate	Graduate	non-graduate	graduate	Non-graduate	Graduate	non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
Yes	73.8	60	81.8	61.4	88.8	60	67.7	63.8	100	49.1
No	11.9	10	9.1	10.5	0	8	0	2.8	0	18.8
Don't know	14.3	30	9.1	28.1	5.6	30	22.6	27.8	0	30.2
No answer	0	0	0	0	5.6	2	9.7	5.6	0	1.9

Table 20: Should the local Universities have a housing strategy to accommodate students in the city? (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	Graduate	non-graduate	Graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	Graduate	Non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
Yes	90.5	80	81.1	75.4	88.9	70	77.4	61.1	100	60.3
No	0	0	0	0	0	2	3.2	0	0	0
Don't know	7.1	20	15.7	22.8	11.1	28	16.2	33.3	0	32.2
No answer	2.4	0	3.2	1.8	0	0	3.2	5.6	0	7.5

Table 21: Could local Councillors deal more effectively with the negative impacts of studentification? (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	graduate	Non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	Non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
Yes	14.2	20	54.5	21.1	11.1	30	16.1	30.6	26.6	24.6
No	23.8	23.3	27.3	15.8	38.9	16	12.9	19.4	46.7	39.6
Don't know	57.2	56.7	18.2	63.1	50	54	61.3	36.1	20	28.3
No answer	4.8	0	0	0	0	0	9.7	13.9	6.7	7.5

This may reflect, to some degree, the unique household composition of the graduate respondent group in Coombe Road; where 36.3% are couples with children, 30 % of whom have dependent children, marking a particularly high proportion of families within this group compared to graduate groups surveyed in other case study sites. This comparatively disproportionate representation of families could explain the emphasis they have placed on the availability of family housing within the context of discussions around the lack of PBSA, and the resultant dominance of student HMO in Coombe Road. It is interesting to note here that the perceived lack of PBSA has been more readily tied to a broader concern regarding the dearth of affordable family housing in the area, rather than to issues related to quality of life, population change, or threats to local service provision.

Having established that the majority of respondents who expressed any opinion on the provision of student accommodation felt that demand had outstripped supply in the Brighton, Table 19 and Table 20 show that the vast majority of graduates and non-graduates felt that student accommodation should feature in Brighton and Hove City Council's core housing strategy for the city, and that the universities should implement their own tailored strategies to more adequately house students in the city. Thus, responsibility for housing students was perceived to lie with both Brighton and Hove City Council and the universities. Reflecting the pattern inherent within Table 18, graduates again appear to be more definitive in their opinion, with few graduate respondents indicating uncertainty. This compares to approximately one-third of non-graduates across all areas, who stated that they didn't know if student accommodation should feature in Brighton and Hove City Council's housing strategy, or if the local universities should implement their own student accommodation strategies. Again, this highlights the comparative lack of knowledge and awareness of the issues of student accommodation in the non-graduate population surveyed.

When respondents who felt that student housing should feature in Brighton and Hove City Council's core housing strategy were asked to justify this response, the primary reason provided was the need for more regulation and control over the unfolding processes of studentification at the local government level; as illustrated by the following two quotes from non-graduate respondents:

"I Don't think the local authority does enough to control and regulate. How did we end up in this position with over 300 first year students and countless shared houses in a once peaceful residential area?" (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

"They need to take more responsibility. I'm not sure they realise the effects it's having. I think they've been blinded by the money the students bring into the city, which is important I realise, but so are our day-to-day lives. It's a basic human right being able to get a good night's sleep and feeling comfortable in your own home" (Coombe Road non-graduate respondent).

Indeed, despite pervasive evidence outlined earlier in the section of the limited understanding of the issues of student accommodation expressed by the non-graduate population, it should be noted

that some examples can be identified to the contrary. In these examples, respondents exhibited a comprehensive grasp of the issues, and potential solutions for mediating these, as was also found to be the case during focus group research (particularly in Hartington Road and Triangle, see Chapter 5, Section 5.4.4). The following two quotes from non-graduate respondents exemplify this. The first, from Hartington Road and Triangle reveals that the respondent is aware of the current lack of planning legislation regulating the production of HMO, with the second from a respondent in Hanover disclosing awareness of interventions undertaken elsewhere to engender and maintain balanced communities:

“There needs to be policy in this city to get students into halls and out of communities - to redress the balance. They need legislation” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

“Glasgow limits the number of student homes in each street / terrace / road. Brighton needs to do the same if they want a truly vibrant city with a good mix of residents (including students)” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

Few respondents in either graduate or non-graduate groups in any of the four case study sites indicated that they felt student housing should be excluded from the city’s housing strategy document. Among the few who did state this however, the common justification for this was related to the exemption of students from liability to pay council tax. Although this concern was expressed by the minority of respondents, it raises an important misconception that a large student population results in higher rates of council tax for other residents, who are required to make up the short-fall in council tax revenue. This misconception was most prevalent among established residents in Coombe Road, as exemplified by the following two quotes:

“We end up paying for them twice that way: we pay their council tax and we pay for them to be housed as well” (Coombe Road non-graduate).

“Because we end up paying for it as the tax payer. It should be the universities paying for it” (Coombe Road non-graduate).

Similarly, respondents were asked to substantiate their claims that the universities should (or should not) be strategically planning and providing student accommodation. The most commonly cited reason here was the universities’ perceived financial gain from students via tuition fees, thus their attendant responsibility to cater for students’ needs while they are resident in Brighton. This echoes the relatively pro-student opinion outlined in the previous Section (6.6), and is illustrated by the quote below:

“It’s their (university’s) responsibility, and they’re quick enough to take students’ tuition fees” (Hanover graduate respondent).

A specific emerging theme within the Hanover non-graduate response to this question was the location and resultant impacts of the University of Brighton managed Phoenix Halls of Residence. Reflecting the emergence of university: resident tensions in Hanover, arising from the position of

the Halls of Residence in the heart of a densely population residential area (as noted in Sections 6.4 and 6.5 in relation to noise nuisance and dispossession of the local area), the respondents quoted below emphasise that alongside increasing the number of bed spaces for students in the city via development of PBSA, careful consideration of the location of these developments was also crucial:

“They are taking over our community. The University needs to provide out of town halls of residence - quality accommodation that students aspire to live in, that's away from existing residential communities” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

“Not enough University provided accommodation, the halls are in the wrong place - ridiculous putting a halls in Brighton's densest residential area” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

“They should keep students, particularly first years in the halls and those taking a degree in partying and boozing, away from residents - this would mean students wouldn't be continually bothered by people who need sleep” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

In Bevendean over half (52.6%) of respondents to the West of the case study site felt that student accommodation provision was inadequate in Brighton, as opposed to 36.7% in the East, reflecting, as discussed in previous Sections (6.1.1, 6.4 and 6.5), the more concentrated student population and consequently the more heavily embedded set of processes of urban change in the former. The principal reason given for this response in both the West and the East of Bevendean was the depletion of local affordable family housing stock via conversion to student HMO; with approximately one-quarter of respondents in both samples citing this as a concern, illustrated by the following quote:

“They're [students] living further down estate in houses meant for family living – this is some of very little affordable housing left in the city” (West Bevendean respondent).

Almost three-quarters of the West Bevendean respondent sample felt that Brighton and Hove City Council should assume responsibility for providing adequate student housing in the city, thus removing pressure from local family housing provision. This compares to a similarly noteworthy 60.0% of respondents in East Bevendean. An overwhelming majority of respondents from both samples felt that the universities should be meeting the city's demand for student accommodation: 90.5% in the West; and 80.0% in the East. Of these respondents 21.4% and 20.0% in the West and East, respectively, qualified their response by stating that the universities should take responsibility for students while they studied in the Brighton; including the provision of their accommodation.

In summary, there was consensus among respondents that the provision of student accommodation in Brighton is inadequate. Generally speaking, the Universities and Brighton and Hove City Council were perceived to be jointly responsible for this, although concerns regarding the perceived injustice of local authority investment in student accommodation, given students' exemption from council tax payments, were raised in Coombe Road. Indeed, compared to the

general lack of awareness of the roles and responsibilities of the universities and local strategy-makers to plan and deliver student housing, which constituted the dominant theme of this section, Coombe Road respondents (graduates in particular) were more attuned to these institutional structures, and the wider impacts of studentification on the city, for example on the under-provision of affordable family housing. This indicates a fuller understanding of the broader issues of studentification, which can perhaps be tied to the tendency for Coombe Road graduates to express more critical views of the negative impacts of students on their neighbourhood, discussed in Section 6.5. This, alongside the disparaging views of the University of Brighton expressed in this section by Hanover respondents tied to the questionable location of the Phoenix Halls of Residence, and the perceived poor management of the student populations it accommodates, suggests that more vociferous views are accompanied by a greater depth of understanding of the issues. The broad pattern of unawareness reported in this section, which also resonates through the next section may, therefore, reflect the sense of tolerance and ambivalence towards students highlighted in Section 6.6, and in the qualitative research presented in Chapter 5.

6.7.2. Managing the negative impacts of studentification: the role of local institutional actors

It has been established in Section 6.7.1 above, that the majority of graduates and non-graduates across the four case study sites believe that Brighton and Hove City Council and the city's universities should take co-responsibility for planning and delivering student accommodation. When asked how else these actors could better deal with the negative effects of studentification, respondents were, by and large, unable to provide examples. Indeed, more than half of all respondents (graduate and non-graduate, across the four case study sites), when asked how Brighton and Hove City Council could better deal with the negative impacts of studentification, responded that they didn't know, or with no answer. This, again, highlights a uniformly constrained local knowledge of the roles and responsibilities of institutional actors and the complaint mechanisms provided for local residents.

Of the remaining proportion who did respond, the most frequently cited suggestions were as follows. In Hanover, 22.6% of the non-graduate respondent sample felt that the Noise Abatement Service at Brighton and Hove City Council could be improved and extended. This service provides an on-call team who will visit reported noise events in the city, measure the extent of the noise pollution and issue warnings, on the spot fines, or in the case of repeat offences, confiscate stereo equipment. This service, however, is made available only between the hours of 10pm and 5am on Friday and Saturday nights. Residents in Hanover who had used this service felt that student noise nuisance was not constrained by the working week, and cited frequent noise disturbances during Sunday – Thursday; as illustrated by the following quote:

“Provide a noise service that deals with noise during the week. Students don't live by the normal 5 day working week, 2 day off weekend. Their partying is limitless!” (Hanover non-graduate).

Almost one-quarter of graduates in Hanover (22.6%) felt that Brighton and Hove City Council could improve its refuse collection service in order to better meet the needs of overcrowded student HMO, thus reduce over-spilling rubbish bags and the consequent street littering it created in the neighbourhood. In terms of suggested remedial action to be taken by the universities (aside from development of more student accommodation), the most frequently cited recommendation was again from Hanover non-graduates, one-quarter of whom felt that the universities should exert more discipline on their students in order to control their behaviour in the community, as illustrated by the following quote:

“Students should not be put into residential areas unless there are proper, strict and workable sanctions against the dreadful minority who misbehave so grievously. Any such strategy must reflect these principles of respecting neighbours” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

These examples posit the Hanover survey sample (graduates and non-graduates) as overall the most well-informed in terms of the perceived short-falls of Brighton and Hove City Council and the local universities in dealing with the negative impacts of studentification. This perhaps reflects both the maturity and embedded nature of the processes of studentification in this area, and also the location of the Phoenix Brewery Halls of Residence, which has undoubtedly inspired a more distinct town: gown divide in this case study area.

Conversely, in Hollingdean, aside from the proportion who offered no answer, or did not know, the most significant response was asserted by graduates (26.7%) and non-graduates (15.1%) who stated that they had never felt the need to complain to the universities or to Brighton and Hove City Council regarding student-related issues. This again appears to be a reflection of the comparatively less embedded processes of studentification evident in this neighbourhood, which, it has been suggested posits Hollingdean as an example of ‘proto-studentification’.

Interestingly, in Coombe Road, 18.2% of graduates stated that they didn't feel either the universities or Brighton and Hove City Council had sufficient power to exert any suitably effective level of control over the negative processes of change occurring in this case study site, as exemplified by the following quotes:

“I think the Landlords should be taking more responsibility not the University, I don't really see what the Uni can do about hedges and rubbish” (Coombe Road graduate respondent).

“I can't think of anything they could do that's got much chance of working other than fining students if they get complained about, but the Uni's too namby-pamby to do anything like that” (Coombe Road non-graduate respondent).

This sense of resignation to the problems associated with student in-migration was echoed by some respondents in Hartington Road and Triangle, as illustrated by the following quote:

“It’s difficult to manage anyone’s behaviour. People will behave as they wish. It’s the Police’s job if anyone, but I don’t think it gets that extreme very often” (Hartington Road and Triangle graduate respondent).

“I think the landlords need to be more regulated. [It’s the] only way to ease [the] problem, but the council won’t do that, they’ve got no power over the private landlords” (Hartington Road and Triangle graduate respondent).

This series of quotes from Coombe Road and Hartington Road and Triangle respondents elucidates a sense of apathy and acceptance of the negative aspects of studentification in these neighbourhoods. This may be in part due to the overwhelming proliferation of student HMO reported in localised parts of these case study sites (see reports of 80% student occupancy of the Saints Streets, the Triangle: Chapter 5, Section 5.4.1), leaving relatively few established residents remaining. This dissolution of the established residential community is framed by the longevity of studentification in Hartington Road and Triangle, and Coombe Road, where evidence from focus group and survey findings, and the percentage change in the proportion of student residence since 2001 (Chapter 4, Section 4.4.2) suggests that studentification unfolded here earlier than in Bevendean or Hollingdean. This temporal context may inform the tendency for respondents’ to appear resigned to the change that has unfolded, expressing less intense ‘loss-aversion’ than respondents in areas where student in-migration has occurred more recently.

In line with the micro-geographic approach to this investigation, this interpretation is mindful of the danger of conflating Hartington Road and Triangle and Coombe Road, given that some nuanced divisions are apparent between findings from these two case study sites. For example, Coombe Road respondents (in particular graduates in this area) have tended to be more out-spoken about negative neighbourhood change (Section 6.5), and as discussed earlier in Section 6.7.1, have demonstrated more engagement with the issues of student accommodation and its provision in the city. This could be a result of the more recent expansion of student residence in this case study site when compared to Hartington Road and Triangle (illustrated by a 49.3% increase in percentage student population in Coombe Road since 2001, compared to 28.1% increase in Hartington Road and Triangle: Chapter 4, Section 4.4.2) suggesting studentification has unfolded more recently in Coombe Road than in Hartington Road and Triangle. The key messages emerging from this discussion are the significance of the temporal specificities of studentification, the extent of the embedding of processes of change, and the localised clustering of student residence. These factors, it would appear, have had important influences on the perceptions of established residents in Coombe Road and Hartington Road and Triangle

With reference to Table 21 and Table 22, Coombe Road graduates again stand out as the most vociferous respondent group in terms of stating the short-falls of local councillors and national

government in mitigating the negative effects of increasing numbers of student residents in this neighbourhood. Over half (54.5%) of this group felt that local councillors could have dealt with the negative impacts of studentification more successfully, with 63.6% stating that they believed studentification was a national problem, and as such that national government should have better supported “the local authority in dealing with these issues, perhaps with more legislation” (Coombe Road graduate respondent). Indeed, some Coombe Road respondents indicated that at the national scale, studentification was an issue tied to State higher education policy seeking to widen participation, thus increase the number of university students in the UK, as suggested by the quote below:

“We're always hearing about more students, more degrees. I'm not convinced this is sensible. Some people aren't meant to have these sorts of careers, we need more people in vocational jobs” (Coombe Road graduate respondent).

The response quoted above, however, was not representative of the non-graduate group in Coombe Road, of which 63.2% stated that they didn't know whether local councillors could have had a more effective impact on measures taken to alleviate student-related negative neighbourhood change, largely citing a lack of knowledge of the role they play in the city. This perhaps suggests a difference in graduate / non-graduate awareness and understanding of State policy and local-level structures of governance in this case study site.

Similarly, in Hartington Road and Triangle, over half of both graduates and non-graduates, and 61.3% of graduates in Hanover, stated that they didn't know whether local councillors could do more to effectively deal with the negative aspects of studentification, again most commonly qualifying this statement by divulging their limited understanding of the role and responsibilities of local councillors; thus what influence they had at the local level to deal with such issues. This also appears to be the case with regard to understanding the potential role of national government in dealing with studentification through housing policy and urban legislative initiatives.

Table 22: Could National Government deal more effectively with the negative impacts of studentification? (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	graduate	Non-graduate	Graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
Yes	9.5	13.3	63.6	15.8	33.3	32	12.9	41.7	13.3	13.3
No	26.2	46.7	36.4	38.6	38.9	28	45.2	19.4	66.7	50.9
Don't know	59.5	40	0	45.6	22.2	40	29	22.2	13.3	28.3
No answer	4.8	0	0	0	5.6	0	12.9	16.7	6.5	7.5

With reference to this variable, graduates overall appear to be more knowledgeable than non-graduates, particularly in Coombe Road and Hartington Road and Triangle, where very few graduates cited no knowledge of the role of national government, as opposed to 45.6% and 40% of non-graduates in Coombe Road and Hartington Road and Triangle, respectively. This again suggests a divide between graduates and non-graduates regarding knowledgeability of governance structures and state policy initiatives.

In Hanover, 40% of graduates stated that they did not feel that national government could have mediated processes of studentification in their neighbourhood. This sets the graduate respondent group in this neighbourhood apart from that in Coombe Road, and Hartington Road and Triangle. The primary reason given for this view-point was the common conviction that Hanover was a unique community, with distinct localised issues that could not be 'scaled up'. Indeed, one non-graduate respondent insightfully stated that Brighton and Hove City Council should consider regulating the buy-to-let market on a locality-specific basis, given the specificities of each community in Brighton, illustrated by the quote below:

“Control the buy to let market on an area by area basis. The market is completely different here to say Kemp Town which is just next door. The local council needs the authority to deal with things locally” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

In Hollingdean, as with previous variables discussed, the response from graduates and non-graduates alike with reference to the role played by local councillors and national government, indicates the comparative incipience of studentification in this case study site, with the majority of respondents either stating that they did not think either of these institutional actors could have dealt more effectively with the negative impacts of student in-migration, or that they didn't know.

When asked if the Sussex Police Service could do more to mitigate the negative aspects of studentification, the majority of graduates in all areas stated that they could not (Table 23), with the most common validation for this opinion being the lack of necessity for police involvement (tied to the perception that any conflict occurring between established residents and students in the neighbourhood was not severe enough to warrant Police intervention). This pattern was replicated in the non-graduate respondent sample in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hollingdean. An additional caveat to some responses to this question cited the overburdened resourcing of the local police service; warranting prioritisation of more 'serious' incidents over conflict arising between residents and students. This trend did not emerge in Hanover, however, where 44.4% of the non-graduate group felt that the police service could have been more effective in dealing with student-related issues in the neighbourhood. In the main, this was connected to on-street and household noise events, and the “disappointing response from the local Police Force” (Hanover non-graduate respondent), as cited by 16.7% of Hanover's non-graduate group, with an identical proportion identifying drug-dealing and drug-abuse as of concern, and associated with local student populations:

“In the past, out of desperation I have visited houses to plead for quiet and drug taking has been evident. On checking I found that these were student houses. While not all drug takers are students of course there is clearly a problem with drink and drugs among the partying student population here, and I want it dealt with” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

“There's a real big drug abuse problem in this area, the Police don't appear to be doing anything about it” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

Finally, Table 24 summarises respondents' views on whether the local students unions (SU's) could have dealt more effectively with the neighbourhood-level negative impacts of student immigration. Again, a marked proportion of non-graduates in each of the four case study sites responded that they didn't know. Most commonly, respondents' validated this statement by acknowledging that they did not know enough about the specific role and responsibilities of the SU's. Among the graduate sample in Hartington Road and Triangle, Hanover, and Hollingdean, the dominant message was that the local SU's could not have done more to mitigate the negative impacts of students.

Most commonly, this response was coupled by the view that the SU's role as representative of the student population would prevent engagement with any issues or initiatives that would encourage a pejorative representation of student populations, as illustrated by the quote below:

“They're there for the students, not to be against them - they won't do anything that makes students look like a problem to society” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

In Coombe Road more emphasis was placed on the opportunity for the SU's to educate their student members by the graduate respondent group. This view was largely responsible for the greater proportion of graduates (36.4%) in this area stating that the SU's could have more effectively dealt with studentification.

Table 23: Could Sussex Police deal more effectively with the negative impacts of studentification? (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
Yes	14.3	16.7	9.1	17.5	4.6	16	9.7	44.4	13.3	9.4
No	38.1	46.6	54.5	56.2	75.1	54	61.3	27.8	80	60.4
Don't know	42.7	36.7	36.4	26.3	15.7	30	12.9	13.9	0	22.7
No answer	4.9	0	0	0	4.6	0	16.1	13.9	6.7	7.5

Table 24: Could the Students Unions deal more effectively with the negative impacts of studentification? (%)

	Bevendean		Coombe Road		Hartington / Triangle		Hanover		Hollingdean	
	West	East	Graduate	non-graduate	graduate	Non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate	graduate	non-graduate
	n= 42	n= 30	n= 11	n= 57	n= 18	n= 50	n= 31	n= 36	n= 15	n= 53
Yes	0	23.3	36.4	10.5	22.2	20	16.1	33.3	33.3	18.9
No	4.8	3.4	36.4	22.8	50	10	38.7	11.1	53.3	30.2
Don't know	90.4	73.3	27.2	66.7	27.8	50	22.6	36.1	6.7	41.5
No answer	4.8	0	0	0	0	20	22.6	19.5	6.7	9.4

There was some suggestion by non-graduates in Hanover that the SU's efforts could be more effective if a more appropriate support framework was provided by the university (in the case of the respondent quoted below, this involved more substantial disciplinary procedures), again highlighting the distinct town: gown tensions in Hanover, arising from the location and management of the Phoenix Brewery Halls of Residence:

“They (Students Union) achieved an amazing amount earlier this year. However, some students (particularly in Phoenix) are unwilling to abide by a voluntary move of cooperating with the 'Shhh' campaign. I furthermore worry that the university does not appear to back them (i.e. no sanctions against persisting offenders) and next year will see a new president: and once this survey is completed even less support from the university itself (i.e. they still won't listen to us)” (Hanover non-graduate respondent).

In Bevendean, as established in Section 6.7.1 above, the majority of respondents to the West and to the East of the case study site felt that both Brighton and Hove City Council, and the universities should assume responsibility for housing students while they studied in Brighton. Aside from providing accommodation, the most frequently suggested (by respondents in West Bevendean) methods for alleviating the negative issues associated with student in-migration (by Brighton and Hove City Council) were to improve the Noise Abatement Service (16.6%), and to impose more stringent regulations on the practices of landlords in the neighbourhood, and their increasing domination of the tenure profile (14.3%). Respondents in the East, however, most commonly cited the enforcement of better discipline and control of students' behaviour; as such exposing a limited understanding of the role of Brighton and Hove City Council.

Over half of both West (57.1%) and East (56.7%) respondent samples claimed that they did not know whether local councillors could do more to moderate the negative impacts of students on their neighbourhood, with a similar trend emerging regarding the perceived effectiveness of national government in dealing with urban issues. This echoes a similarly deficient knowledge of local and national governance structures to that expressed by non-graduate respondents in Coombe Road, and Hartington Road and Triangle (as discussed earlier in this section).

In East Bevendean, approximately three times the number of respondents (46.7%) felt that the local police service could not have dealt more effectively with student-related issues in the neighbourhood than those who felt that they could (16.7%). This finding was also evident (to a more limited degree) to the West of the case study site. Despite a relatively limited number of extreme cases of conflict between established residents and students in the neighbourhood, generally speaking, as indicated by these data, respondents from both sides of the West / East spatial divide felt that the student-related issues and / or conflict they had encountered had not warranted police intervention. As outlined above, this trend was more detectable in the East, where the student population is less concentrated, and in line with this, a further 16.7% of this respondent

group indicated they had not encountered any problems with students, thus had never had reason to consider involving the local police service.

Both Bevendean respondent samples indicated their lack of familiarity with the role of the local SU's when 90.5% of West Bevendean respondents, and 73.3% of those in the East disclosed that they didn't know whether this institutional actor could have dealt more effectively with the behavioural or lifestyle issues of local student populations; or indeed any other negative aspects of student in-migration identified within Bevendean. This could be indicative of the very limited proportion of graduates in these sample groups (as outlined in Sections 6.1.1 and 6.2.4), thus decreasing the likelihood of any direct exposure to the work undertaken by SU's.

In summary, the primary graduate / non-graduate patterns of dissimilarity in these data emerge around the knowledgeability of these two groups, this being particularly notable in relation to local and national governance structures, and the adequacy of the existing provision of student accommodation in Brighton. Graduates also tended to be more forthright in their views on the responsibilities of Brighton and Hove City Council and the universities to better meet the demand for student bed-spaces in the city.

Some specific patterns were evident within survey data collected from Coombe Road graduates, primary among these being a particularly vociferous response regarding the under-provision of PBSA in Brighton, and the consequent depletion of affordable family housing stock. This suggests less tolerance to urban change among established residents in Coombe Road, compared to the other case study sites; in particular Hartington Road and Triangle, where respondents predominantly expressed an apathetic attitude towards local institutional actor's short-comings in preventing or redressing negative urban change. Coombe Road graduates, although more vociferous in their views on the under-provision of PBSA, to a certain degree shared Hartington Road and Triangle respondents' apathy with regard to Brighton and Hove City Council and the universities' perceived ineffectual powers to mediate these issues. These (dis)similarities may reflect the temporality of the expansion of student populations in these case study sites, and the impact of localised clustering of students at the micro-scale within these case study sites. It is suggested that the relative 'maturity' of the processes of urban change evident in Hartington Road and Triangle could help to explain the sense of resignation to change articulated by respondents in this case study site. In turn, the comparative nascence of processes of studentification in Coombe Road could elucidate the more vociferous response that has been recorded in this case study site, with the potential for this to dissipate with time as processes become more entrenched, and the dwindling established residential population more 'battle-weary' akin to that observed in Hartington Road and Triangle.

Hanover respondents were most vocal in their awareness of the availability and short-comings of existing mechanisms in place at Brighton and Hove City Council and the universities for recording and dealing with noise nuisance and anti-social behaviour. Hanover respondents were also the

most forthcoming with their own suggested solutions, improvements and additions to the extant methods of managing local student populations, with particular reference here to more successfully managing the student population of the Phoenix Brewery Halls of Residence. This emphasises, again, the specific dynamics of this case study site resulting from the location of the student Halls of Residence, and the resultant tension this has caused between established residents, students and the University of Brighton.

Finally, data collected in Bevendean revealed that respondents to the West of the area were more likely to feel that the provision of PBSA in the city was inadequate, and, generally speaking, were more vocal with regard to their perceived disappointment with the effectiveness of local services in dealing with the negative impacts of student in-migration, compared to respondents to the East of the case study site. These broad themes should be understood within the context of respondents' limited knowledge of the roles, responsibilities and structures within which local institutional actors operate, a theme found to permeate much of the data discussed in this section; with particular reference to East Bevendean, and the non-graduate groups in Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, Hanover and Hollingdean.

6.8. Conclusion

This concluding section synthesises the key findings outlined in the chapter regarding the unfolding processes of studentification as they have been observed and recounted by established local residents at each case study site. It is important to note at this juncture that the respondent sample as a whole allows only the perceptions and motivations of a distinct cohort of established local residents to be explored; those who have remained resident in the neighbourhoods researched. The absence of data relating to residents who have chosen to move away from the case study sites perhaps inhibits the development of a thoroughly holistic conceptualisation of the processes and impacts of studentification. Indeed, it could be suggested that those residents 'choosing' to stay in these neighbourhoods are demonstrating a distinct level of tolerance to the negative aspects of urban change they have identified. One caveat to this observation must be noted, however. The economic context and housing market forces at play when the questionnaire survey was undertaken have undoubtedly been reflected in the responses of local established residents. As the following quote suggests, some residents have couched their opinions within wider discourses of constraint and restriction, whereby respondents who have indicated some desire and inertia to move out of their neighbourhood, have also spoken of feeling 'trapped' in their neighbourhood due to the economic recession:

“We hate it here, but we're trapped now as we don't want to move while the housing market is as it is, and we can't afford to finance a move” (Hartington Road and Triangle non-graduate respondent).

This indicates that some respondents felt unable to exercise choice in terms of their location and housing, rather than making a considered decision to remain resident in their case study site, which could have some bearing on their reported motivations and perceptions. Indeed, one respondent, quoted below, indicated that the precipitous economic situation at the micro-geographic scale was impacting on his / her perceptions of local landlords, who were thought by some respondents to be profiting from their investments despite the struggles of local established residents, who felt their mobility was restricted by financial and housing market constraints:

“They’re [landlords] still making money hand over fist while the rest of us wait patiently for a time when we can escape. They’re laughing ‘cause students are always going to need a place to live in the city...their market is guaranteed, and they’re probably gaining ‘cause of the falling interest rates too...so they’ll just sit on their rental revenues and weather the storm” (Coombe Road graduate respondent).

Thus, these conclusions must be couched within the context not only of state policy to expand higher education, and the limited planning and legislative frameworks in place to facilitate and support this expansion in terms of housing and urban planning; but also within the abstract forces of the global neoliberal financial system. More specifically, the economic context at the time of the survey (undertaken at the peak of the global economic downturn of 2008 onwards), and the tangible housing market forces associated with this downturn, at the local level. With this context in mind, the following paragraphs summarise the key findings presented in this chapter, and conclude by highlighting the complexities of studentification when viewed through a micro-geographic lens of enquiry.

Respondent’s perceptions of urban change, and how these are framed by discourses of conflict, tolerance, loss and in some cases ambivalence have dominated discussion throughout this chapter. Of particular interest here has been dissimilarities in opinion between graduate and non-graduate groups, and how these call upon rhetorics of familiarity and shared-experience to differing degrees. It was noted in Section 6.5, that while articulating concern with regard to the negative aspects of change associated with student in-migration, graduates tended to place greater emphasis on the positive impacts of students than non-graduate groups. It has been suggested that this is due to their own lived-experience of studenthood, and the ways in which this has imbued their perceptions of current student populations with nostalgia and tolerance. This unique experience of student life could also help to explain higher levels of awareness and understanding among graduate groups of the provision of PBSA in Brighton, the roles and responsibilities of local institutional actors in regulating the supply: demand balance of student accommodation and managing the outcomes when demand outstrips supply, and the local and national governance structures within which these processes unfold. Arguably, graduates’ more developed understandings of these processes, combined with their lived-experiences of studenthood, have fostered a greater degree of tolerance to urban change resulting from student in-migration, and a more positive perception of students as a social group.

Furthermore, Section 6.3 elucidates some specific motives for in-migration among graduate respondent groups, and some unique perceptions of neighbourhood appeals and disadvantages, compared to non-graduates. Graduates tended to favour their in-migration destinations primarily for economic reasons, with other appeals such as retail provision, cultural amenities, and natural surroundings more secondary to graduates' migration decision-making. Indeed, graduates from the Brighton universities who had settled in Hartington Road and Triangle spoke of the area as a 'trade-off' between the place-specific appeals of neighbourhoods such as Hanover, and the affordability of areas such as Coombe Road and Hollingdean. This contrasted with non-graduate groups, who tended to place more emphasis on the importance of natural surroundings and proximity to local services, retail and cultural amenities. The overall attitude to in-migrating and settling in these neighbourhoods conveyed by graduate groups therefore indicates less developed ties to 'place', instead perceiving their move into these neighbourhoods more as a 'stepping-stone' on their upwardly mobile transition to an ultimately more desirable place of residence. Indeed, in these terms, the clustering of graduate populations may be perpetuating some of the more entrenched characteristics of studentification; such as the relative transience of local populations; and a deterioration of community resulting from a lack of 'buy-in' from some social groups. In this sense, graduates could be seen as a 'half-way house' between 'student' and 'established resident'.

At this point it is pertinent to differentiate two distinct sub-groups within the over-arching descriptor 'graduate'. Sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 illustrate the dual-peak pattern emerging within the age profile and length of residence of graduates. These peaks indicate two distinct graduate in-migration events, common across Coombe Road, Hartington Road and Triangle, Hanover and Hollingdean. The first (and most significant) occurs at 5-10 years; and the second less pronounced peak emerges at 16-20 years. These peaks are replicated in the age profiles of the graduate groups, with those in-migrating most recently aged 25-35 years, and those who in-migrated earlier aged between 36-59 years. These two distinct groups could be termed 'early-phase graduates' and 'mature-phase graduates', with reference to their position on the life-course trajectory.

It is useful to make this distinction conceptually, in order to frame the comparatively distinct sets of processes unfolding in Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover, the two case study sites containing the highest proportion of graduates (25.7% and 44.2% respectively). It could be suggested that early-phase graduates tend to be more transient and concerned with affordability, demonstrating relatively limited investment in the local community (as they view their settlement more as a temporary position on the property ladder than a permanent laying down of roots), and perhaps more tolerance of student lifestyle practices, given their own relatively recent experience of studenthood. Conversely, mature-phase graduates could be conceptualised as less tolerant, having progressed to a later phase of the life-course, thus becoming more detached from their own more distant student experience. Mature-phase graduates are arguably more likely to live in

gentrified areas, and cite the importance of place-specific appeals, such as the availability of cultural amenities, the visual aesthetics of the neighbourhood, and its natural surroundings.

The age profile and length of residence characteristics of the graduate sample in Hartington Road and Triangle suggest that the early-phase graduate group are more prominent in this case study site, with the vast majority (72.2%) of graduates having in-migrated within the previous 5-10 years (compared to 45.2% in Hanover); and a similarly significant proportion (61.1%) aged 25-35 (compared to 48.4% in Hanover). Thus the Hartington Road and Triangle graduate respondent, generally speaking, could be termed 'early-phase', and the Hanover graduate respondent group 'mature-phase'.

This distinction aids the micro-scale conceptualisation of studentification in these two case study sites. Hooking up to Smith and Holt's (2007) conceptualisation of students as 'nascent' gentrifiers; and Smith's (2005: p.73) contention that studentification can represent a "gentrification factory", the early-phase graduate group in Hartington Road and Triangle could represent pioneer gentrifiers. Indeed, this argument becomes particularly resonant when considered within the context of the high proportion of graduates from the Brighton universities found to be resident in the Hartington Road and Triangle sample (discussed in Section 6.3.1). This lends weight to Smith and Holt's assertions that post-students (those who remain resident in their place of study following graduation) tend to settle in areas they lived in as students, and when this settlement gives rise to a critical mass of graduates, processes of gentrification unfold; thus situating students in the initial phase of a gentrifier lifecourse as 'nascent gentrifiers'. This contention overlaps with recent arguments contesting the necessity of contingent qualifiers (such as gentrifiers as owner occupiers) in traditional conceptualisations of gentrification (Chapter 2, Section 2.1), and feeds into ongoing debates within the literature of 'who' and 'what' constitutes a gentrifier (Rose, 1984; Lees, 2007; Smith and Holt, 2005; Lees, 2003; Clark 2005).

Hanover also has a high student population with a high level of associated urban change. Tolerance is higher here, however, than in Hartington Road and Triangle, which may be due to the greater proportion of graduates among the established residential community (44.2%, compared to 25.7% in Hartington Road and Triangle). The sense of dispossession among established residents in Hanover is particularly notable (as discussed in Section 6.4), perhaps because processes of studentification have unfolded here *following* the onset of gentrification in the 1980's (as opposed to gentrification building on the foundations laid by preceding processes of studentification; as has been suggested may occur in Hartington Road and Triangle). The sequential establishment of gentrification first, followed by studentification second, suggests that Hanover residents may have witnessed the valorisation of their neighbourhood during the 1980's, followed by the depletion of these acquired benefits as a result of the subsequent unfolding of processes of studentification from the 1990's onwards. This gain followed by loss, could arguably inspire a sense of dispossession, or

'loss-aversion' among the established residential community, associated with the expansion of the student population in this neighbourhood in the 1990's.

A distinction can be made here between those perceived benefits of gentrification that have subsequently deteriorated as a result of studentification, and those that have remained unaffected and / or have continued to 'improve'. For example, Ley (2003) discusses the importance of 'aestheticisation' as a hallmark of unfolding gentrification. Hanover undoubtedly has a unique visual aesthetic that is recognised across the city, and valued by Hanover residents, exemplified by the following quote from a graduate respondent in Hanover:

"You can see...the artwork people put on the outsides of their houses, the clever graffiti, the colours of the houses. It's a special part of the world and we're privileged to live here"
(Hanover graduate respondent).

The images presented in Chapter 4, Section 4.5.4 illustrate the 'aesthetic value' of Hanover. This is arguably one of the physical benefits of the gentrification of Hanover that has subsequently deteriorated as a result of studentification, as demonstrated by the images displayed below (Figure 48) depicting the studentified landscape of Hanover. This example of the debasement of the physical aesthetic of Hanover is juxtaposed, however, by the intensified accumulation of cultural capital in the neighbourhood, tied to the increasing student population resident here. Indeed, 47.1% of established resident respondents in Hanover felt that student in-migration had enhanced the vibrancy of the area, again, a characteristic that was noted to be of particular value to the neighbourhood's resident population (Section 6.5), as illustrated by the following quotes:

"It's different, exciting, keeps you on your toes. We have a lot of creative activity here, and a sense of belonging" (Hanover graduate respondent).

"The people here are awesome. There aren't many places that attract the sort of people Brighton does, everyone's here for a good time, they're friendly and open to new experiences, it's got a festival atmosphere about it" (Hanover graduate respondent).

These examples expose the complex interrelationships between studentification and gentrification in Hanover, further validating Smith and Holt's (2007) and Smith's (2005) calls to extend the lens of enquiry on gentrification to further disentangle these interconnections, enabling the development of fuller conceptualisations of studentification and gentrification.

It can also be concluded from the discussion above that the unique histories of urban change in these case study sites (Hanover and Hartington Road and Triangle) have emerged as important influences on the subsequent unfolding of distinctive, neighbourhood-specific expressions of studentification. Thus, it could be argued that more emphasis should be placed on the complex historiographies of change at the neighbourhood level, and the ways in which these can inform fuller conceptualisations of contemporary processes of urban change.

Figure 47: Images of the studentified landscape, Hanover



The graduate respondent group also plays a crucial role in the conceptualisation of studentification in Coombe Road. It was noted in Section 6.7.1 that this respondent group was the most informed regarding the provision of student accommodation in Brighton, and the most vociferous in terms of identifying the short-comings of local institutional actors in mitigating the negative repercussions of the supply: demand imbalance. Indeed, although more candid than graduates in Hartington Road and Triangle in terms of recognising the positive impacts of student in-migration, the graduate respondent group in Coombe Road expressed a similar level of ‘intolerance’ to that conveyed by the non-graduate population, suggesting a generally less tolerant attitude to student-related urban change than that recorded among graduates in Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover. Furthermore, the non-graduate respondent sample in Coombe Road displayed some distinct signals of intolerance in their stated displeasure at the perceived council tax burden placed on established residents, as a result of the revenue deficit caused by student exemption (see Section 6.7.1). Coombe Road, as was noted in Section 6.7.2, has experienced a more recent expansion of student populations than Hartington Road and Triangle, suggesting that studentification is less engrained in this case study site. Coombe Road is therefore situated on a lower tier of the ‘studentification hierarchy’ than Hartington Road and Triangle, reflecting the more recent unfolding of studentification in this case study site, and the concomitant tendency for respondents to express less tolerance to change, and a less apathetic attitude to mitigating and / or reversing these changes.

Hollingdean has, throughout earlier discussions of the key survey findings in this case study site, emerged as a neighbourhood on the cusp of studentification. Respondents in this case study site indicated that they had begun to recognise the physical and environmental signals of an expanding student population (for example, refuse sacks being left out on the wrong day for collection), and also noted the increasing out-migration of family households. However, there was limited emphasis on the role of students as drivers of this change, and no concern expressed regarding the more embedded socio-structural processes of student-related change, as reported in other case study sites. In this sense it has been suggested that this case study site is displaying signs of ‘proto-studentification’, which captures the sense of inertia associated with the potential for Hollingdean to progress up the studentification hierarchy given a further increase in the proportion of student residents. The following quote from a non-graduate respondent in Hollingdean succinctly summarises the intangible ‘promise’ of change in this case study site, stressing the importance of notions of transition / transformation, as urban areas are restructured and reorganised in response to migration flows and shifting population profiles:

“There are more untidy gardens and down-trodden looking homes than there used to be. Houses up for sale are being sold to landlords and rented out by agencies to young sharers. That's something we never used to see 10 years ago. It feels like less of a family area now. It feels a little bit disjointed, like we're undergoing change, but haven't settled into our new face” (Hollingdean non-graduate respondent).

Finally, due to the absence of graduate respondents in Bevendean, survey data for this area were analysed and presented along a spatial cleavage, dividing the case study area into two sections; West Bevendean and East Bevendean. Key findings from these two locales emphasised the progression from a low to a rapidly increasing proportion of student residents, and the urban change occurring alongside this. Respondents to the East of Bevendean recognised less change to the urban landscape, and limited embedding of socio-structural change, as opposed to respondents in the West who spoke of the rapid influx of students, and unfolding of studentification over the last two years. Tolerance remained relatively high here, however, despite a small number of more extreme examples of student: resident conflict. A high sense of dispossession was reported, however, as respondents recognised the accelerated change occurring in their community, which in turn inspired a diminished sense of control. In conclusion, therefore, Bevendean aptly demonstrates a *studentifying* urban enclave, again emphasising the importance of notions of transition, flux, and temporality to the conceptualisation of studentification. As such Bevendean provides a valuable case study in terms of witnessing the *unfolding* processes of studentification in ‘real time’ (Freeman, 2006).

In conclusion, it has been possible to expose some conceptual linkages between case study sites. Dominant among these have been expressions of loss, to varying degrees dependent upon contingent populations in each case study site, in response to the shifting socio-cultural and physical characteristics of the case study sites as they are increasingly imbued with the socio-

cultural motifs of studenthood. This said, it remains clear that a suite of contingent specificities exist within each case study site, with the density and lifecourse characteristics of the graduate population, the temporal phase of studentification, and the history of urban change in each case study site emerging as paramount contingencies to understanding these conceptual nuances. With this in mind, it is concluded that the key findings presented in this chapter emphasise the complex *micro-geographies of studentification*.

Chapter 7: Discussion and conclusion

7.1. Advancing conceptualisations of studentification

A key finding of this thesis is the unfolding of studentification in diverse ways. It is concluded, based on the empirical findings presented in preceding chapters, that the optimal lens of enquiry for observing and understanding the unfolding processes and impacts of studentification is the micro-geography (or neighbourhood, as defined in Chapter 1). This emphasises the need to transcend conceptualisations which homogenise the processes of change, and obscure the contingencies of micro-geographic specificities. It is noted that important differences have been identified at a smaller scale than the micro-geography in Brighton, however, the micro-geographic lens of investigation adopted has enabled these to be identified, compared and contrasted. Importantly, this key finding disrupts established media, political and lay conceptualisations of studentification, which tend to be neglectful of the varied expressions of studentification unfolding across a broad spectrum of urban contexts.

This conclusion problematises pre-existing academic conceptualisations of studentification (Smith, 2005; Smith and Holt, 2007; Hubbard, 2008), which although mindful of varied processes and outcomes rooted in macro-level contingencies (such as the characteristics of local student populations, the 'host town', and the incumbent history of town: gown relations, Hubbard, 2008), have generally overlooked the finer-grained intricacies at the sub-town / -city level. It can be argued that such conceptualisations have culminated in a rigid definition of studentification which runs counter to the complex processes of studentification identified in the thesis. In light of this, a less rigid and exacting definition of studentification is presented below that embraces its inherent diversity, while teasing out the four major commonalities at the micro-geographic scale in Brighton, as identified in Chapters 4, 5 and 6:

- The clustering of student residents; resulting in denser, more transient populations.
- The downgrading of the urban environment.
- Shifting habitus; with shifting social norms and increasing dominance of cultural lifestyles tied to studenthood.
- The resultant negative emotional outcomes for established resident populations such as dispossession, anxiety and conflict.

Importantly, it has been stressed throughout the thesis that studentification does not represent a homogenous set of processes with a fixed set of outcomes. It has also been noted that students are not a homogenous group; expressing important demographic, socio-economic, and cultural

differences in their characteristics, lifestyles and motivations to attend university. Mindful of these points, this definition is proffered as a summary of the commonalities identified across the micro-geographies studied in Brighton. It is not intended to homogenise the case study sites, however, and should be considered within the context of the key message of the thesis; notably that there is an inherent set of geographies to studentification, giving rise to complex spatial, economic and socio-cultural expressions.

The four characteristics of studentification set out above are discussed in further detail in the remaining sections, with reference to the key themes running through the thesis. These themes suggest explicit engagement with a number of contemporary theoretical debates in urban / social geography (the geographies of gentrification and belonging; the geographies of youth, adulthood and citizenship; intergenerational consciousness, conflict and cohesion; socio-exclusionary geographies and NIMBYism, and so on) and indeed beyond, through suggestions of tacit links with cultural literatures such as the geographies of emotion and affect. These are outlined in more detail in the remaining sections of the chapter, and mooted as avenues for further exploration in order to develop richer, deeper understandings of the complexities of studentification at the micro-scale. It is suggested, however, in line with Smith's (2009: p.1795) contention, below, that pre-existing conceptual instruments and theorisations of urban change may be insufficient in terms of advancing understandings of complex contemporary expressions of studentification.

“Arguably, it is possible that many of the preexisting conceptual tools and theoretical constructs of geography, urban sociology, and other disciplines are inadequate for resolving...complex relationships between contemporary urban restructuring, student populations, and extended systems of higher education that are unravelling”.

7.2. The diverse spatialities and temporalities of studentification

The revised definition of studentification presented above focuses on the four dominant commonalities emerging from the five case study sites. By outlining a more relaxed set of criteria than Smith's four tier definition (2005; discussed in Section 2.3), the definition presented above embraces the unpredictable and irregular expressions of studentification identified at the micro-scale in Brighton, allowing the unfolding of processes of studentification to be considered in a variety of urban contexts with differing tenure and socio-cultural profiles, and across a variety of temporal scales. Relaxing the conceptual constraints of studentification in this way reflects the findings presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, which clearly outline a range of socio-demographic (see Section 5.7 for summary), spatial and temporal (Section 6.8) contingencies that have influenced the different ways in which studentification has unfolded in each case study site in Brighton.

Clearly, the temporal dimensions of the processes of studentification have emerged as pivotal to shaping the diverse observed expressions of studentification when studied through the micro-geographic lens. Hanover and Hartington Road and Triangle expressed the most mature, embedded expressions of studentification; the temporal frame in these case study sites giving rise

to a number of specific outcomes. For example, the longevity of student in-migration in Hanover had resulted in many local residents perceiving students as an established part of the local community, with a number of positive benefits, such as enhancing the unique cultural vibrancy of the neighbourhood.

Spatial and temporal contingencies were also fundamental to conceptualising the complexities of studentification in Hartington Road and Triangle. Here, the ‘battle-weary’ resigned resident community of the ‘Saints Streets’, where studentification had become deeply embedded pre-2001, were juxtaposed to rapidly emerging community resistance in the Hartington Road area in response to unfolding processes of studentification in 2008. These examples represent a complex interweaving of spatial and temporal specificities, which have resulted in disparate manifestations of urban change with varied outcomes. The rapidity of change observed in Hartington Road (during 2008), and that reported to have occurred in West Bevedean between 2004 and 2008, are also crucial to note, compared to more ongoing processes of change reported elsewhere in the Hartington Road and Triangle case study site, Coombe Road and Hanover. This suggests varying speeds and rhythms of studentification, which have concomitantly inspired different community responses (from intense resistance to resignation), and highlights the unpredictability of studentification. Scale (temporal and spatial) and speed, in conclusion, are of paramount importance to conceptualising the complex processes studentification.

Hubbard (2009) has documented the increasingly complex interrelationships between studentification and gentrification. The findings from the thesis undoubtedly reinforce the complexity of these interconnections. For instance, studentification has been evidenced in Hanover as a proceeding phase of urban change, unfolding following the development of the Phoenix Halls of Residence in the 1990’s, following the gentrification of Hanover in the late 1970’s / 1980’s. This is juxtaposed by evidence suggesting incipient signifiers of gentrification in Hartington Road and Triangle; *following* unfolding processes of studentification (see Chapter 6, Section 6.8 for full discussion). The latter example illustrates Smith and Holt’s (2007) contention that studentification can mark the proto-phase of gentrification. The former example complicates this argument however, thus further emphasising the conceptual credence of the complex *micro-geographies of studentification*.

7.3. Studentification, shifting habitus and the geographies of loss

Urban histories and transformation, narratives of dispossession, and loss-aversion have emerged as significant with reference to the perceived ‘loss’ of communities in the wake of unfolding studentification. Recognition of the investment / loss dynamic, describing the relationship between established residents’ investment in a community and the subsequent loss of this accrued ‘community capital’, was a key theme within resident respondents’ narratives, particularly in Hanover. This reveals an emotiveness to studentification, a key theme around which the fragility

and volatility of studentified communities coalesce, denoted by the formation of specific community groups and organisations (evident in Bevendean, Hartington Road and Triangle and Hanover), and organised lobbying of institutional actors, notably exemplified in Hartington Road and Triangle, and Hanover. These observations arguably expose the absence of explicit engagements with theorisations of emotion and affect within the growing scholarship on studentification, in line with Smith's (2008: p.2543) comparable critique of gentrification studies:

“The connections between urban policy and the experiential and affectual impacts of gentrification are under-researched. There is a lack of understanding of how policies which seek to promote ‘positive’ gentrification may lead to ontological insecurity, anxieties and stresses linked to socio-cultural dispossession and displacement, and the disintegration of longstanding emotional ties to both people and place”.

Although not all aspects of the concept of habitus (discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.2) have been thoroughly examined, it provides useful conceptual context to discussions of studentification and loss-aversion. Urban change resulting from the ascribing of particular sets of socio-cultural meanings onto urban space, resulting in the delineation of ‘student areas’, and the incumbent shifting habitus in studentified areas has been clearly identified in Chapters 5 and 6. As has the tendency for intergenerational conflict to occur, resulting in some level of community disharmony, and the representation of these issues in local media discourses.

Hanover and Bevendean respondents were most forthcoming with narratives of loss and dispossession. Respondents from these case study sites also projected the strongest evidence of a distinct local habitus. In Hanover, this habitus was defined by the resident creative, politicised, ‘alternative’ populations that had gentrified the area from the 1970's onwards, and the specific cultural capital they had amassed. In contrast, Bevendean respondents derived a place-specific habitus from the community-centric ‘working-class’ roots of the neighbourhood (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993), reified by the relative immobility of local residents, a significant proportion of whom had lived in the area for more than 25 years, or since birth. Drawing on Butler's (2007) notions of the ‘original inhabitants’ of a residential area remaining, through lack of choice, in an increasingly ‘alien habitus’ (in this case, a ‘student habitus’), it is concluded that residents of neighbourhoods exhibiting a more distinct and defined habitus suffer a greater intensity of disenfranchisement when this habitus is destabilised and diluted as studentification unfolds.

Contrasting the dominant habitus’ of Bevendean and Hanover further stresses the capacity for studentification to unfold in disparate locations with contradictory characteristics. With reference to Savage *et al.*'s (2005) conceptualisation of elective belonging, and with some emphasis on the agency of students, these findings, in conclusion, further highlight the unpredictability of studentification. The tendency for students to cluster with ‘people like us’, thus accumulating particular forms of social capital and invoking a ‘student habitus’, coupled with the inscribing of shared-meanings onto urban residential space culminating in the delineation of a ‘student area’, could it is suggested, unfold in any neighbourhood. The locational preferences of students appear

to have influenced the location of student cluster-formations in close proximity to the university campus', and within relatively easy reach of the cultural amenities of Brighton town centre, however, the specific micro-characteristics of the neighbourhoods do not appear to have affected where processes of studentification have unfolded. This conclusion is pivotal to critiquing the established definition of studentification (Chapter 2, Section 2.3), which states a range of necessary qualifiers, such as the dominance of private rented tenure via conversion from predominantly owner-occupied housing, thus precluding the consideration of studentification unfolding in a social rented housing estate such as Bevendean. In this sense, parallels can be drawn with recent debates in gentrification, outlined in Chapter 2, Section 2.2, contesting the rigidity of the concept and its attendant range of unnecessary contingent criteria.

7.4. Studentification and the geographies of conflict

Conflict / cohesion has also emerged as a fundamental dualism, again emphasising the pertinence of emotive readings of the processes and outcomes of studentification. This binary opposition is bound-up in the politicisation and popularisation of 'community', and shifting conceptualisations of citizenship and contemporary adulthood in recent years (Section 2.7). Indeed, the lifecourse effect dominated discussions of established resident / student conflict, which, by and large, was reported by established residents' to have resulted from intergenerational differences in expected social practices and norms. Indeed, this begs questions of the centrality of amorphous notions of 'community' within these debates, suggesting perhaps that these tensions could be reflecting wider intergenerational conflict in contemporary society. In this sense, Pain's (2005) recognition of the shortcomings of intergenerational policy initiatives in the UK fuel Smith's (2008) assertions regarding the absence of State policy enabling effective mitigation of the negative outcomes of studentification; and highlights 'intergenerational practice' as a potential tool for mediating the conflicts occurring in studentified communities:

“The UK lags behind other countries in significant ways – for example, England has no intergenerational government policy, and no collaboration between the agencies focused on older and young people's services” (Pain, 2005: p.22)

Of course, this is not to detract from the importance of discourses and motifs of 'community' to debates of studentification. Indeed, the political hegemony of cohesive, balanced, sustainable communities has shaped the studentification research agenda, by presenting a utopian community model representing the antithesis of a studentified neighbourhood. In conclusion, observations of studentification unfolding unpredictably in Brighton, as student populations continue to expand, destabilises New Labour's sustainable community ideal and underlines the potency of the thesis in terms of contributing critically to academic readings of current political discourse in the UK.

Rooted in respondents' recognition and vocalisation of intergenerational differences, and perceived differences of 'class' between established residents and students, were examples of 'othering', NIMBYism, and the marginalisation of students as 'deviant' within spaces once demarcated as

'family-space' or 'working-class'. Such explicit socio-exclusionary discourses were most evident in Bevendean and Hartington Road and Triangle. Again, this underlines the importance of contingent local established populations, the formation of class-based and lifecourse-phase specific habitus', and the deployment of the expected social practices and norms associated with these in exclusionary ways. As such, rhetorics of otherness and marginalisation are important aspects of the micro-scale expressions of studentification.

Indeed, it is also crucial to note the inherent complexities of established residents' perceptions of students and studentification. For example, tolerance and / or ambivalence also resonated through some established residents' narratives, marking more balanced, and in some cases positive perceptions of students as a social group, and the processes and outcomes of studentification in Brighton. This suggests, in some agreement with Pain (2005), below, that ambivalence may mark a worthwhile framework within which to conceptualise student / resident relations:

"Within family studies, 'ambivalence' has been suggested as a better framework than 'conflict' versus 'cohesion' for conceptualising intergenerational relationships, encompassing the many contradictions and tensions of social relationships between young and old...this may be also be a useful way of thinking about some configurations of relations at the level of the community." (Pain, 2005: p.17)

Shared experience of studenthood was an important nuance affecting perceptions of students among established residents, highlighted by the relative tolerance of student lifestyle practices expressed by established residents who had attended university. This was evident in the tendency for graduate survey respondents to express more positive views of students than non-graduates, and suggests that the proportion of graduates residing in a studentified area will have a significant impact upon community perceptions of student-related urban change.

7.5. Extending the empirical foci of studies of urban change

The key contributions of the thesis have hinged on the adoption of a micro-geographic lens of enquiry to examine urban change in Brighton, and the sustained observation of the case study sites over a period of three years; enabling the processes of studentification to be scrutinised as they unfold. It is concluded that a more broad-brush methodology would have masked the micro-scale complexities observed, and a 'snapshot' approach to observing the processes and impacts of change would have generated a more superficial analysis; arguably insufficient in terms of conceptualising the volatility and rapidity with which studentification can unfold. This emphasises the value of a fine-grained approach to theorising urban restructuring, as advocated by academics scrutinizing processes of gentrification at the micro-scale such as Butler and Robson (2003) and Freeman (2006). Moreover, the worth of Freeman's (2006) methodology involving data collection over some considerable period of time, enabling the researcher to observe processes of urban change 'in-situ', is underlined in its tendency to generate deeper, richer accounts of urban transformation.

7.6. Reflections

A number of interesting themes emerged from the thesis that clearly warrant further research. Evidence of the movement of student populations into central Brighton between 2006-2009 was identified. Unfortunately, it was not possible, due to limited time and resources, to examine more than five case study sites to a sufficient level of detail. However, undoubtedly the processes of change unfolding in these more central locations as a result of increasing student populations would further deepen and embellish the existing analyses.

Further limitations to the thesis result from the inability to capture the perceptions of displaced populations from the case study sites. Since no method for tracing displacees could be identified, this group could not be targeted. Undoubtedly capturing the perceptions of this group would have further deepened the analyses presented in Chapters 5 and 6. Another further dimension to this study that may have broadened understandings of the processes of studentification given further time and resources to pursue it, was the migration motivations and residential aspirations of student populations in Brighton. Finally, in terms of data constraints, the limitations of 2001 GB Census data in terms of enumerating Higher Education students should be noted, as should the lack of robust individual student level enrolment data from the Universities prior to 2006, as has been discussed at some length in Chapter 3.

In terms of 'scaling up' the key findings of the thesis, it would be valuable to explore the application of the new conceptualisation of studentification outlined earlier in the chapter within other studentified urban settings in the UK, and those further afield such as North American, Canadian, and Australian College towns and cities, where subjective evidence of studentification has emerged, but as yet has not been explored empirically.

Finally, the findings of the thesis are timely, given the potentially dramatic changing structural conditions which are likely to affect the provision of student accommodation in Brighton in the coming years. It was noted in Section 4.3.1 that the forthcoming Student Housing Strategy in the city estimates the provision of upwards of 5,000 additional student bed-spaces in PBSA, to be developed in Brighton. As such, the thesis serves as a longitudinal benchmark upon which to measure and examine the effects of PBSA development on the destudentification of the case study sites, and the specific impacts of large-scale PBSA development on surrounding communities. This marks an exciting prospect for further research, enabling robust conceptualisations of future change to be formulated using the key findings of the thesis as a historical comparator.

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Appendix



University of Brighton

Household survey: Students and quality-of-life in your neighbourhood?

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University of Brighton

As part of my research at the University of Brighton, I am conducting a household survey of quality-of-life issues, and the role that University students play in neighbourhoods in Brighton & Hove City. The survey will inform my PhD thesis, and the development of a University of Brighton plan for student accommodation.

The survey is voluntary, and will take approximately 5-10 minutes to complete. The data will be collected and treated anonymously and securely: the paper copy of each survey will be stored in a locked filing cabinet; and the results will be stored on a secure, password protected computer. No identifiable personal data will be collected (i.e. name, address etc.)

The participants will be given the opportunity to receive feedback on the results of the survey. By agreeing to commence with the survey, you are agreeing to the storage and treatment of data I have just outlined. Here is an information sheet with more details including how to request feedback on the results of the survey.

SECTION 1

1) How long have you lived in this neighbourhood?

< 5 yrs 5-10 yrs 11-15 yrs 16-20 yrs 21-25 yrs >26 yrs

2) What is the name of this neighbourhood? (i.e. Hanover)

3) How would you describe your sense of belonging in this neighbourhood?

Extremely High No Opinion Low Extremely

High

Low

4) Why did you move to this neighbourhood?

5) What are the key appeals/attractions of living in this neighbourhood?

6) What are the disadvantages of living in this neighbourhood?

7) Do you feel this neighbourhood has changed over the last five years?

Yes

No (Go to Q.9)

Don't know (Go to Q.9)

8) What do you feel have been the key changes during this time?

9) Do you think the student population has increased over the last five years in this neighbourhood?

Yes (Go to Q.11) No (Go to Q.10) Don't know (Go to Q.10)

10) Do you think the student population has decreased over the last five years in this neighbourhood?

Yes No Don't know

11) Do you think the student population has influenced change in this neighbourhood?

Yes (Go to Q. 12) No (Go to Q. 12) Don't know

12) Why is this?

13) How would you describe the "typical student" in your neighbourhood?

14) Are you aware of any conflict (e.g. confrontation/shouting) between students and established residents in this neighbourhood?

Yes

No (Go to Q.15)

Don't know (Go to Q.15)

15) What has this conflict involved?

16) Have you heard of the term “studentification”?

Yes

No (Go to Q.15)

Don't know (Go to Q.15)

17) What does the term mean to you?

SECTION 2

18) How has the student population affected the following aspects of this neighbourhood

a. The regularity of public transport servicing your neighbourhood?

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

b. The mix of the people in your neighbourhood in terms of ethnic group

Much Less Mix Less Mix No impact More Mix Much More Mix Don't know

c. Noise nuisance from people on-street

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

d. Noise nuisance from local households/ gardens

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

e. Other nuisance/rowdy behaviour (e.g. playing ball games in restricted areas, misusing open spaces, urinating in public)

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

f. The amount of volunteering activity in the neighbourhood

Much Less Less No impact More Much More Don't know

g. Intimidating behaviour or harassment

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

h. Criminal damage/vandalism (e.g. graffiti, damage to bus shelters, damage to car wing mirrors)

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

i. Levels of domestic burglary

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

j. Levels of car theft

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

k. Demand for local services targeted at families (e.g. Primary schools, after school clubs)

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

l. Quality of life of older residents

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

m. Quality of life of children

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

n. On-street parking

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

o. Mix of the neighbourhood's population in terms of age

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

p. Likelihood of local established residents to move out of the neighbourhood

Much more likely More likely No impact Less likely Much less likely Don't know

q. The vibrancy of the neighbourhood

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

r. The nature of cultural amenities (such as pubs, galleries, restaurants, music venues etc.).

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

s. The strength of the local community

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

- t. **Opening hours of retail services in your neighbourhood** Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know
- u. **The external appearance/state of repair of local housing** Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know
- v. **The appearance/ upkeep of gardens and yards in the neighbourhood** Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know
- w. **Number of 'to let' signs** Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know
- x. **General littering of streets and green spaces in the neighbourhood** Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know
- y. **Littering resulting from domestic refuse sacks/ recycling** Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know
- z. **Abandoned furniture/ white goods on streets or in garden/yard areas** Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know
- aa. **Property prices** Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know
- bb. **Buy-to-let investment opportunities** Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know
- cc. **The regeneration of your neighbourhood** Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

dd. The local (neighbourhood) economy

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

ee. The success of local businesses

Much Worse Worse No impact Better Much Better Don't know

ff. The opportunity for other people in the local community (e.g. families, first-time buyers) to access the property market in the neighbourhood.

Much less opportunity Less opportunity No impact More opportunity Much more opportunity DK

19) Please describe the most important benefit that students bring to this neighbourhood

20) Please describe the most important challenge/problem that students bring to this neighbourhood

21) Do you think there is enough accommodation specifically allocated for students in Brighton and Hove?

Yes

No

Don't know

22) Why is this?

23) Do you think the issue of student housing should be part of the local authority's Core Housing Strategy for the City?

Yes

No

Don't know

24) Why is this?

25) Do you think the local Universities should have an Accommodation Plan to accommodate students in the City?

Yes

No

Don't know

26) Why is this?

27) Aside from the development of an Accommodation Plan, how do you think the local Universities could deal more effectively with the challenges that students bring to this neighbourhood?

28) Do you think Brighton & Hove City Council could deal more effectively with the challenges that students bring to this neighbourhood?

Yes

No

Don't know

29) Why is this?

30) Do you think your local Councillors could deal more effectively with the challenges that students bring to this neighbourhood?

Yes

No

Don't know

31) Why is this?

32) Do you think National Government could deal more effectively with the challenges that students bring to this neighbourhood?

Yes

No

Don't know

33) Why is this?

34) Do you think Sussex Police could deal more effectively with the challenges that students bring to this neighbourhood?

Yes

No

Don't know

35) Why is this?

36) Do you think the local students unions could deal more effectively with the challenges that students bring to your neighbourhood?

Yes

No

Don't know

37) Why is this?

SECTION 3

38) Sex

Male Female

39) Age (years)

<24 25-35 36-45 46-59 >60

40) Ethnic Group

White

White British White Irish Other white

Mixed

White & Black Caribbean White & Black African White & Asian
 Other mixed

Asian or Asian British

Indian Pakistani Bangladeshi Other Asian

Black or Black British

Black Caribbean Black African Other Black

Chinese or Other Ethnic group

Chinese Other

41) Are you a graduate from a University

Yes No Don't know

42) Please could you state which University you graduated from?

43) Which of the following categories best describes your personal qualification characteristics?

- No qualifications
- GCSE's/CSE's/O levels
- A/AS levels
- University degree
- PhD/ Qualified Medical Doctor
- Other qualifications

44) Which of the following best describes the composition of your Household?

One person

- Pensioner
- Other

One family and no others

- All pensioners
- Couple, no children
- Couple, with dependent children
- Couple, all children non-dependent
- Lone parent, with dependent children
- Lone parent, all children non-dependent

Other households

- With dependent children
- All student
- All pensioner
- Other

Would you be interested to receive feedback on the results of the survey? If so, please contact me, Jo Sage, via email j.sage@brighton.ac.uk by 30th April 2009. Once the survey analysis has been completed, a summary will be circulated to those participants who have emailed stating their interest.

Thank you for your help in completing this survey

Table 25: 2001 GB Census analysis of population and tenure by case study site, Brighton and Hove, and England and Wales.

Census Area Statistic	Variable	Bevendean (%)	Coombe Road (%)	Hartington Road and Triangle (%)	Hanover (%)	Hollingdean (%)	Brighton and Hove (%)	England and Wales (%)
Age	<24	39.5	39.5	39.0	34.4	36.6	29.5	5.9
	25-35	10.9	19.3	22.5	25.0	14.6	18.0	14.2
	36-45	13.0	14.9	14.7	18.1	14.9	15.3	14.8
	46-59	15.7	12.8	11.6	12.5	15.0	16.5	18.9
	>60	20.8	13.5	12.2	10.0	19.0	20.6	20.8
One person households	One Person: pensioner	13.0	9.0	11.4	10.3	16.8	16.0	14.4
	One person: other	10.4	19.2	24.6	26.1	14.9	23.4	15.5
	One family	65.2	55.2	42.5	45.3	56.4	51.0	63.3
	One family: all pensioners	10.2	5.5	3.9	2.2	7.5	6.9	8.9
Couple households	Couple: no children	13.1	16.7	15.2	18.1	12.5	17	17.7
	Couple: dependent children	22.1	16.1	13.3	13.9	17.5	14.9	20.7
	Couple: non-dependent children	7.9	3.6	2.1	2.5	5.0	3.6	6.3
Lone parent households	Lone parent family	11.9	13.4	8.1	8.7	13.8	8.6	9.5
	Lone parent: non-dependent children	5.4	2.6	5.5	6.6	10.4	2.5	3.0
	Lone parent: dependent children	6.5	10.8	2.5	2.1	3.4	6.1	6.5
Other households	Other households: dependent children	2.3	1.8	1.7	1.6	2.0	1.6	2.2
	Other households: all student	4.0	6.6	7.0	3.2	2.5	1.2	0.3
	Other households: all	0.3	0	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.4

Census Area Statistic	Variable	Bevendean (%)	Coombe Road (%)	Hartington Road and Triangle (%)	Hanover (%)	Hollingdean (%)	Brighton and Hove (%)	England and Wales (%)
	pensioner							
	Other households: other (including shared HMO)	4.9	8.2	12.5	12.7	6.8	6.4	3.6
Qualifications	No quals	38.9	21.5	14.6	12.3	29.2	22.1	28.9
	Level 1*	17.1	15.8	9.5	8.4	18.1	13.5	16.6
	Level 2**	13.7	14.3	13.4	13.5	16.0	17.8	19.4
	Level 3***	12.7	20.9	23.3	22.0	14.5	12.5	8.3
	Level 4****	10.2	21.6	35.0	41.4	17.0	28.7	19.9
	Other qualifications/ level unknown	7.7	5.8	4.2	2.4	5.2	5.4	6.9
Occupation groups	Managers and Senior Officials	10.4	9.8	12.3	14.8	8.0	15.7	15.1
	Professional Occupations	5.6	10.8	18.0	22.5	9.5	14.7	11.2
	Associate Professional and Technical Occupations	9.4	14.8	18.2	21.7	15.4	17.4	13.8
	Administrative And Secretarial Occupations	10.6	12.5	12.2	9.4	13.1	12.7	13.3
	Skilled Trades Occupations	14.7	12.6	8.8	5.9	16.1	9.3	11.6
	Personal Service Occupations	7.7	0.8	7.9	5.9	8.7	7.8	6.9
	Sales and Customer Service Occupations	14.3	12.6	10.4	7.7	10.3	9.2	7.7
	Process; Plant and	8.6	6.1	2.8	2.9	5.5	4.3	8.5

Census Area Statistic	Variable	Bevendean (%)	Coombe Road (%)	Hartington Road and Triangle (%)	Hanover (%)	Hollingdean (%)	Brighton and Hove (%)	England and Wales (%)
	Machine Operatives							
	Elementary Occupations	18.8	1.2	9.5	9.1	13.4	9.0	11.9
Tenure	Privately rented	15.0	28.0	40.3	27.9	16.9	21.2	10.8
	Social Rented	28.1	13.0	4.4	10.3	23.5	15.1	17.9
	Owner occupied	56.9	59.0	55.5	61.8	59.6	63.8	71.3
Notes	<i>* 1+ 'O' Level passes; 1+ CSE/GCSE any grades; NVQ level 1; Foundation GNVQ.</i>							
	<i>** 5+ 'O' Level passes; 5+ CSE's (grade 1's); 5+ GCSE's (grades A-C); School Certificate; 1+ 'S' Levels or 'AS' Levels; NVQ level 2; Intermediate GNVQ.</i>							
	<i>*** 2+ 'A' Levels; 4+ 'AS' Levels; Higher School Certificate; NVQ Level 3; Advanced GNVQ.</i>							
	<i>**** First degree; Higher degree; NVQ levels 4 and 5; HNC; HND; Qualified Teacher Status; Qualified Medical Doctor; Qualified Dentist; Qualified Nurse; Midwife; Health Visitor.</i>							