

Gown and Town: The unfolding presence of studentification in Clarendon Park, Leicester

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Contents

List of Figures	i
Acknowledgments	ii
Definitions	iii
Abstract	iv
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1. The Study	1
1.2. Justification	2
1.3. Rationale for Clarendon Park, Leicester	2
1.4. Aims	5
1.5. Dissertation Structure	6
Chapter 2: Literature Review	7
2.1. Introduction	7
2.2. Gentrification	7
2.3. Studentification	9
2.4. Impacts of studentification	12
2.5. Studentification and policies	14
2.6. Media and community representation of the student identity	15
2.7. Summary	18
Chapter 3: Methodology	19
3.1. Introduction	19
3.2. Participant recruitment	19
3.3. Focus groups	20
3.4. Interviews	22
3.5. Data Analysis	23
3.6. Positionality	24
3.7. Ethical Considerations	25
Chapter 4: The development of Clarendon Park as a studentified neighbourhood	27
4.1. Introduction	27
4.2. Housing Changes	27
4.3. Service Adaptations	29
4.4. The popularity of Clarendon Park	32
4.5. Summary	37
Chapter 5: Community impacts, solutions and changes	38
5.1. Introduction	38
5.2. Impacts of studentification	38
5.3. Community solutions	42

5.4. Clarendon Park's future	44
5.5. Summary	48
Chapter 6: Conclusion	49
6.1. Introduction	49
6.2. Research findings	49
6.3. Recommendations for future research	52
References	53-63
Appendices	64-68

List of figures

All figure were produced using QGIS

Figure 1: A map showing the number of students aged 18 and over in Leicester from Census 2001

Figure 2: A map showing the number of students aged 18 and over in Leicester from Census 2011

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Definitions

Houses of Multiple Occupancy (HMO):

- Under the terms of the 2004 Housing Act any household consisting of over 3 unrelated people is known as a HMO (Hubbard, 2008)

Abstract

Studentification addresses the impacts a growing student population has within a defined residential space. By researching the processes and impacts of studentification of Clarendon Park, Leicester, this dissertation suggests that the unfolding characteristics of studentification can have varying effects within the host community. Based within a qualitative paradigm the study aims to include both established residents and students' perspectives of studentification. The dissertation argues that studentification is a diverse process with the impacts of the phenomenon being largely based upon varying perceptions of those involved. The study ends by arguing for further research to explore the future of Clarendon Park's community in the wake of new policy documents and increasing awareness of the diversity of varying student experiences towards the challenges of studentification.

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1. The Study

Universities have always had significant implications on the shape and form of their host communities (Hubbard, 2009; Kenna, 2011). The relationship between student accommodation and urban change has only recently been explored by geographers (Smith, 2002; Hubbard, 2008), with a larger focus previously on-campus relations (Chatterton, 1999). Thus, studies on studentification have prevailed to explain the processes of increased student residency in a defined area (Smith, 2002). Hubbard (2009) implies that studentification is evolving, with increasing involvement of private investment capital and changing student needs, patterns are moving away from traditional houses in multiple occupation (HMOs) towards purpose-built student accommodation (Smith and Hubbard, 2014).

With the expansion of university admissions, due to recent governmental aims to have over 50% of young people in higher education (Hall, 2008), questions are being continuously raised over the fragile relationship between town and gown (Hubbard, 2009; Smith, 2005). Concerns have been raised over studentification and unbalancing communities (Smith, 2005), with studentification recently being coined not merely to describe the process of an area becoming a student enclave (Munro et al. 2009; Smith, 2002), rather it has also been used within academics and media discourses to signify community destabilisation and decline (Smith and Holt, 2007; Smith and Hubbard, 2014). This pattern is commonly associated within Britain (Smith, 2002), however trends are developing at international scale, with patterns emerging in Europe (Garmendia et al. 2012) and Australia (Fincher and

Shaw, 2009). Thus, studentification is becoming an increasingly more diverse and complex phenomenon that needs to be addressed at local level (Hubbard, 2008)

1.2. Justification

The study of studentification has been pursued for two key reasons. Firstly, as noted by Hubbard (2008: 324) there has been little focus within literature on the positive impacts of studentification within a community. Much academic research and media narratives have stemmed from a homogenous student experience and stereotypes (Hubbard, 2008; Smith, 2005; Munro and Livingston, 2012). Thus, this dissertation will present the opportunity to express the positive contributions studentification have had within a community. Secondly, Holton and Riley (2013) argue that there has been a lack of focus on the student's personal experience of studentification, in relation to their involvement in the community, accommodation preferences and service changes (Hubbard, 2008; 2009). As a result, this study will explore the decision-making process students make in deciding on a location to reside in. This will help understand why the process of studentification unfolds in some areas over others.

1.3. Rationale for Clarendon Park, Leicester

A case study approach was adopted for this dissertation. Clarendon Park is a relatively small suburban area within the Castle Ward, south of the city of Leicester, England. Based upon the 2011-2012 university admissions for the University of Leicester and De Montfort University, approximately 11% of students account for the usual resident population in Leicester (HESA, 2015). As demonstrated from the GIS analysis of 2001 (figure 1) and 2011 (figure 2), census data, the number of full-time students aged 18 and over within Leicester

has increased during this period. Importantly, this increase is largely concentrated in the Castle Ward area, where Clarendon Park is located in.

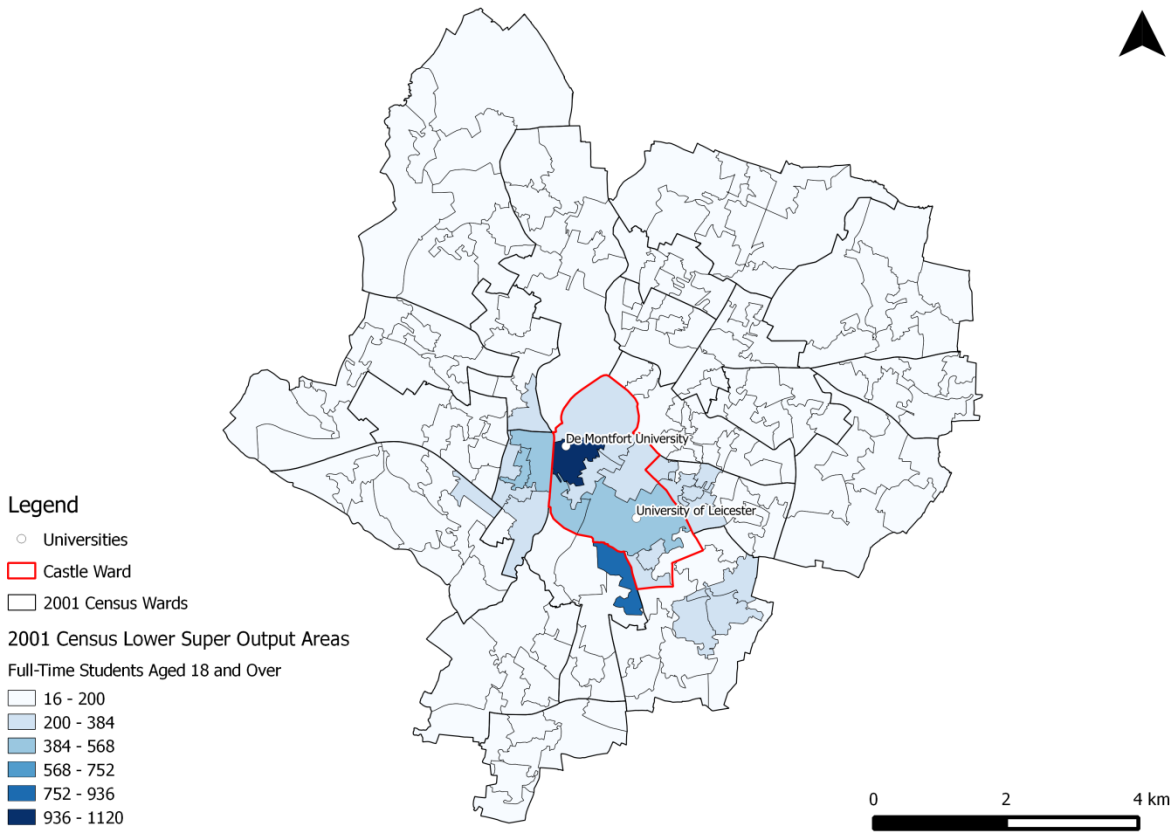


Figure 1: A map showing the number of students aged 18 and over in Leicester from Census 2001

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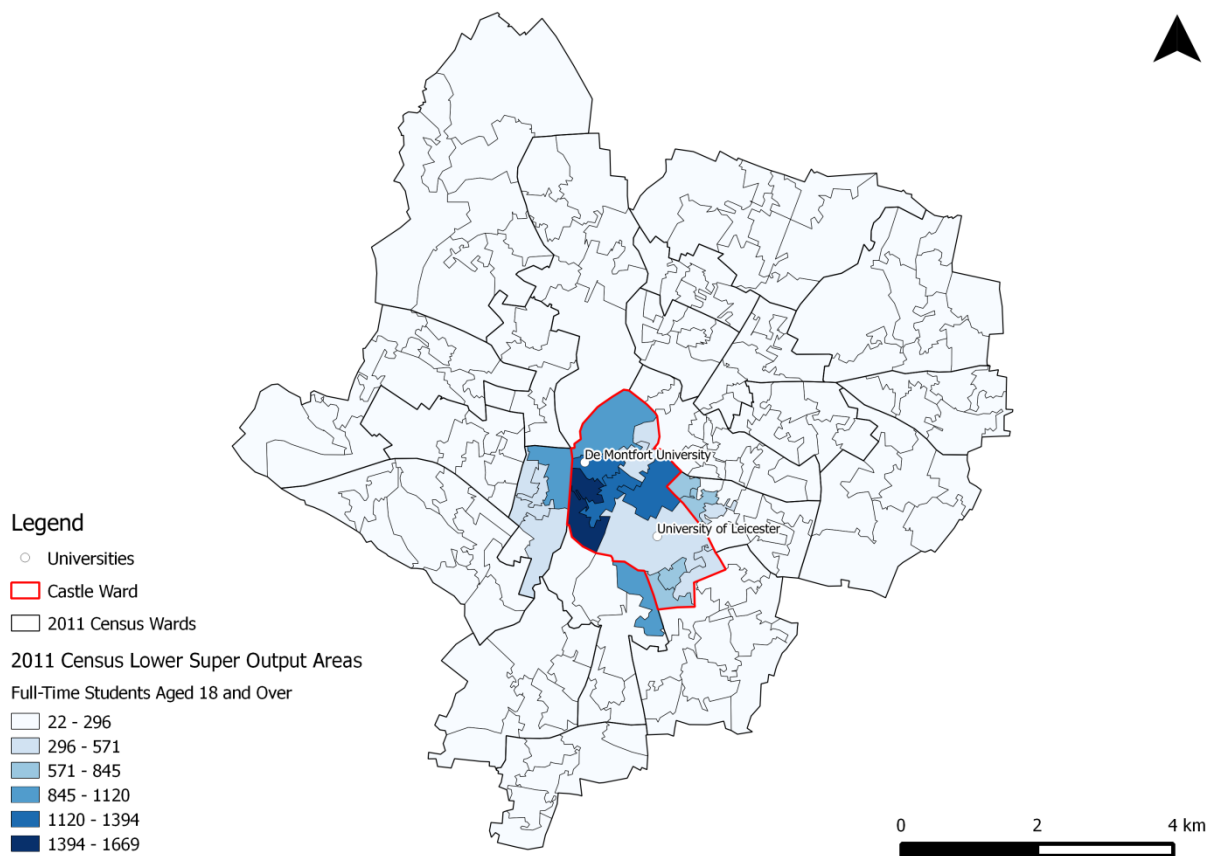


Figure 2: A map showing the number of students aged 18 and over in Leicester from Census 2011

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Within this context, Clarendon Park provides a suitable case study for several reasons.

Firstly, Clarendon Park is influenced economically and culturally by the universities due to its proximity. In line with Ley's (2003) argument, that traditionally students locate in urban spaces around the university campus (Hubbard, 2009), Clarendon Park has become

increasingly popular for students to reside in. With Milne (2008) suggesting that the area is beginning to experience the problems of studentification. Also, community anxiety about the physical, social and cultural impacts of the growing student population has increased (Sage et al. 2012a). In 2005, the Knighton and Clarendon Park Residents Group gained membership to a wider residential movement, the National HMO Lobby (National HMO Lobby, 2015). This movement is involved in debates surrounding ways in which student accommodation should be produced and managed, to help prevent worsening problems associated to studentification (Smith, 2008; 2012). Furthermore, in summer of 2014, changes to planning and housing legislations occurred in Leicester. Leicester City Council confirmed that planning permission to convert a family house to a HMO would be subject to planning permission in Clarendon Park (Leicester City Council, 2015). Studentification trends in Clarendon Park present the opportunity to gain perceptions of the processes of studentification that have already occurred but also to explore the unfolding impacts of the concept as they develop in the wake of the Article 4 legislation.

1.4. Aims

This dissertation revolves around one overall aim and three subsidiary objectives. The main aim of this research is to investigate the processes and impacts of studentification in Clarendon Park, Leicester from the perspectives of established residents and students.

The three objectives are:

- To discover the presence of studentification in Clarendon Park, through examining the changing residential patterns and service suitability
- To gain understanding of the social impacts studentification has had on community relations

- To examine the reasoning behind why students locate to Clarendon Park

1.5. Dissertation Structure

The paper will proceed in the following way. The following chapter will explore key literature pieces regarding studentification. Chapter 3 outlines the methodological framework, including description and justification of methods in this research. Following this, the next two chapters, 4 and 5, will present the data analysis. Chapter 4 will explore the development of studentification in Clarendon Park, while Chapter 5 will discuss community dynamics and solutions. Lastly, the conclusion will discuss the extent to which the research question and objectives have been met, as well as providing potential avenues for future study.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

Exploring the literature on issues regarding the relationship between student populations and urban change is imperative to this research on the processes and outcomes of studentification in Clarendon Park, Leicester. This chapter will be split into six further sections. Firstly, the chapter will begin to explore the broader geographical concepts of studentification through using the concepts and language of gentrification (Hubbard, 2008; Smith and Holt, 2007). The literature review will then aim to address the conceptual frameworks of studentification, through examining the unfolding processes (Smith, 2005). The impacts of studentification within a community will then be explored (Munro and Livingston, 2012; Hubbard, 2008). Leading from this, literature relating to political agendas in the wake of studentification impacts will be explored (Sage et al. 2012b; Hubbard, 2009). The implications of studentification and political policies indicate a homogenous student experience, thus the penultimate section will address literature regarding the representation and formation of the student identity (Holdsworth, 2009; Hubbard, 2008). Finally, the last section will summarise key points addressed within the literature.

2.2. Gentrification

Within studentification literature, the concept has been enmeshed within the complex framework of contemporary provincial gentrification (Hubbard, 2008; Smith and Holt, 2007; Smith, 2005). In order to fully comprehend the concept of studentification, it is crucial to gain a wider understanding of the conceptual framework of gentrification first (Smith and Holt, 2007; Smith, 2005).

Gentrification was heralded by Ruth Glass in 1964. Glass (1964) referred to the concept where pioneer gentrifiers improved disinvested inner-city areas for their own residential use, creating a displacement of the original working class residents (Lees et al. 2007; Hamnett, 1991; 2003). However, Beauregard (1986) and Rose (1984) argue that gentrification has evolved since its conceptualisation making 'classical gentrification' highly contested (Lees et al. 2007). Lees (2000: 16) supports this idea, illustrating gentrification trends today show little resembles to the processes experienced within the 1960s to early 1990s. Clark (2005) further asserts this, by suggesting that the rigid nature of Glass' definition cannot be applied to contemporary urban changes without being remoulded and re-evaluated (Smith and Holt, 2007; Butler, 2007; Phillips, 2005). As a result Smith (1986), suggests that recent urban changes shouldn't be confined to restrictive definitions, rather the processes can be better understood through their interconnections with other concepts, such as globalisation and neoliberalism (Lees et al. 2007). Thus, Smith and Holt (2007) suggest that new forms of urban restructuring can be considered under the notion of third wave gentrification. Lees et al. (2007) add that there are many derivatives of the term gentrification in its third wave; these include rural gentrification, super-gentrification and studentification.

As a result, the concept of studentification has been scrutinised within the complex framework of gentrification (Hubbard, 2008; Smith and Holt, 2007; Smith, 2005). Studentification has been framed as an incubator for gentrification (Smith, 2005; Lees et al. 2007), where students are coined apprentice gentrifiers (Smith and Holt, 2007), who strengthen and (re)produce their cultural capital through interactions in studentified spaces

(Pickren, 2012; Ley, 1996). The relationship between students and gentrification has only recently increased in literature, due to previous lack of focus on the relationship between marginal groups of gentrifiers and gentrification (Smith and Holt, 2007). The rising numbers of higher education students has helped frame this conceptualisation to gentrification, through the growing dominance students have upon a space's social, economic, physical and cultural composition (Garmendia et al. 2012; Smith and Holt, 2007). Similarly to gentrifiers, the social and cultural identity of the student population can catalyse processes of studentification, where an area's space can evolve to tailor towards the dominant population, leading to exclusion of previous residents (Smith and Holt, 2007; Smith, 2005; Pickren, 2012).

2.3. Studentification

Smith (2002) heralded studentification through his study of student residency and urban change in Leeds. Prior to Smith's (2002) study, research on universities and the community largely focused upon the local economic effects of universities (Hall, 1997), rather than addressing issues of urban change and social cohesion (Hubbard, 2008: 324). Within a conceptual framework, studentification unfolds through the recommodification of family homes to houses in multiple occupancy (HMO) for the student community (Smith, 2005: 73). Pickren (2012) suggests that this process has unfolded due to the intensive demand from the student population for term time accommodation, where students are resorting to living in private-rented accommodation close to the university campus (Hubbard, 2008). Smith (2005) explains that this is due to an absence in national policies for strategic development of student accommodation, limited licensing of HMOs, the accessibility to obtain buy-to-let

mortgage and a lack of university owned accommodation to regulate the demand (Hughes and Davis, 2002; Leyshon and French, 2009; Smith and Hubbard, 2014).

Hubbard (2008) argues that studentification is now a recognised phenomenon in many university towns across Britain, while Garmendia et al. (2012) shows signs of America, New Zealand and Spain adopting the concept. Within literature, Smith (2005: 74-75) has conceptualised studentification, in connection with gentrification and contemporary urban processes, as a process of four key characteristics:

“Firstly, economic factors where studentified areas experience the rise of property prices which can be linked to the structural changes of family homes to HMOs for students. Social processes, link to the displacement of established permanent residents with young, single and middle-class social grouping. Cultural components illustrate how the gathering of young people with shared lifestyle and consumption practices forces the alteration of certain retail and service patterns. Lastly, studentified areas experience potential upgrading or downgrading to the external environment as dwellings are converted to HMOs” (Smith, 2005; 74-75; Pickren, 2012).

Smith (2005: 74) stresses that like gentrification, this framework for studentification only includes the common ‘signifiers’ of the process, implying that studentification can unfold in various forms (Van Wessep, 1994). This is supported from a study conducted by Munro and Livingston (2012) who suggest that the processes of studentification vary significantly between areas and is dependent upon the local dynamics (Kenna, 2011). As a result, in line with the research to be taken in Clarendon Park, studentification processes will

be assessed alongside Smith's (2005) model but the researcher will be aware of the fluidity of the concept.

Smith (2005) notes that students do not participate in the restructuring of the residential dwelling to HMO. Rather, Chatterton (2010) suggests that the process of studentification has been heavily subject to the persuasion of small-scale institutional bodies in encouraging students to locate within a particular area upon perceived judgments of the student lifestyle (Smith, 2005; Hubbard, 2008). Hamnett (2000) supports this by suggesting that the process of studentification isn't solely defined through the production of property renovations, but is interrelated with preconceived demand-related facets (Smith, 2005). In light of this, Hubbard (2008; 2009) suggests that some aspects of studentification are based upon stereotypes of the student identity (Reay, 1998; Chatterton, 1999). Thus, Munro et al. (2009) suggests that the desire to obtain a particular student lifestyle should not be solely related to current studentification trends, rather Hubbard (2009) implies that other accommodation preferences should be taken into consideration. Munro et al. (2009) adds that it is the preferences of the student population to live within close proximity to their friends that has also caused a rise in studentified areas (Chatterton, 2000). Bridge (2001) and Smith and Holt (2007) build upon this and suggest that students gather together to occupy areas where they gain a strong sense of belonging, through the interactions of people similar to them. As a result, Rugg et al. (2000) argues that once an area has been coined a student area, the student community become reluctant to reside beyond the boundary.

In addition to this, it is worth noting that Munro et al. (2009) assumptions were made through observations and hadn't taken into consideration the personal experiences of the

students. Furthermore, Holton and Riley (2013) state that there is lacking evidence over reasons for the decisions of residency by a student within literature. As a result, within this study will aim to gain a wider representation of the preferences and reasons behind student's choosing accommodation locations by asking students themselves. This will help gain a wider understanding into the residential decision making of students and why studentification unfolds in an area over others.

2.4. Impacts of studentification

Hubbard (2009), notes that universities and their student population have major impacts on the local community. Munro and Livingston (2012: 1684) provide a coherent commentary over the impacts of studentification. In connection to their study based in five studentified neighbourhoods, they emphasise three recurring impacts that local residents expressed upon (Munro and Livingston, 2012). In particular, a key impact was caused by the hedonistic lifestyle of students (Chatterton, 1999; Pickren, 2012). Munro and Livingston (2012) express that the excessive noise from students was severely impacting the quality of life of residents (Sage et al. 2012b; Universities UK, 2006). This supports Chatterton and Hollands (2003) judgement that students are a separate community from established residents, whose lifestyles flout the dissimilarities of work and play (Hubbard, 2008: 332). In addition to this, Munro and Livingston (2012) argue that there are also tremendous impacts on the physical environment. Hubbard (2008) supports this through his study of studentification in Loughborough, by demonstrating that the neglect to housing maintenance and waste management was at the centre of residential disputes and tensions. Garmendia et al. (2012) also suggest that an increase in crime has another severe impact of studentification upon a host community (Barberet et al. 2004). Leading from this, Smith and Hubbard (2014) argue

that the term studentification is now used not only to describe the processes of residential and service structures to tailor for students, but also used to express neighbourhood decay (Munro et al. 2009; Munro and Livingston, 2012; Murtagh, 2011).

Higher education students have often been considered as being detached from the community they reside in and have serious implications on community relationships (Chatterton, 2000; Hubbard, 2008). Students have often been represented as being 'in' rather than 'of' a local community (Chatterton, 2000: 1663; Bender, 1998; Goddard et al. 1994). This supports Smith and Hubbard's (2014) argument that university students are increasingly entangled in socio-spatial segregation in the communities they locate to. While, Holdsworth (2009) argues that the student community collect together often forming an exclusive student community (Allinson, 2006; Kenyon, 1997; Smith, 2008). Hubbard (2008) argues that rising community tensions have raised questions over the formation of a mutually beneficial relationship developing in studentified communities (Winchester and White, 1988). As a result, the impacts of studentification have been linked to the loss of community cohesion, stability and diminishing neighbourly support units (Kenyon, 1997; Hubbard, 2008; Sage et al. 2012a; Sage et al. 2012b).

However, despite the literature acknowledging the negative impacts studentification can have within a community, it neglects to fully discuss the positive contributions students can make towards the local area (Hubbard, 2008). Holdsworth (2009) and Armstrong et al. (1997) explain that the benefits a university brings to its neighbouring community can be economically positive, but have often been dismissed by local community and media

conceptualisations of studentification impacts within an area. Thus, considering the positive contributions students bring to a community will form part of this study.

2.5. Studentification and Policies

The implications of studentification in host communities have recently spawned an increase in critical politics within Britain (Smith, 2008). Smith and Hubbard (2014) address that at local and national level there have been arising concerns over the relationship between studentification and an unbalanced community (Smith, 2005; 2008). It has been suggested that the emerging geographies of student housing appear to challenge the contemporary political objectives of achieving balanced and socially diverse communities (Smith and Hubbard, 2014). Rather, policies have been initiated to try to alleviate the negative effects associated with studentification (Smith, 2008; 2012). Such examples include local community movements, like the National HMO Lobby (Smith, 2008). The National HMO Lobby regularly disputes how the residential geographies of student accommodation should be regulated and managed (Smith, 2008: pp 2542). Garmendia et al. (2012) explain that the movements key objectives are to introduce mandatory HMO licensing through the 2004 Housing Act and for the encouragement of purpose built student accommodation for students (National HMO Lobby, 2008). However, Hubbard (2009) suggests that purpose built student accommodation can actually heighten the negative impacts of studentification, often increasing social displacement (Smith, 2005; Sage et al. 2013). Furthermore, Smith (2008) describes that the implications of capping student numbers within a defined space through HMO licensing policies, may cause neighbourhood decline and decay where landlords disinvest in an area and a lower socioeconomic group replace the student community (Munro and Livingston, 2012).

In addition to this, the Universities UK (2006) concludes that studentification issues should ideally be addressed at local level which are sensitive to the effected neighbourhoods and established communities. Sage et al. (2012a) argues that local engagement and integration policies are needed to improve the social relations in studentified communities (Smith, 2008). Van den Berg and Russo (2004) support this by suggesting that the presence of successful policies can help revitalise the neighbourhoods facing decline through the establishment of improved communication between the surrounding area and university (Hubbard, 2008). Even though these policies tend to be implemented based upon judgments of a homogenous student identity (Munro and Livingston, 2012; Hubbard, 2008), the Universities UK (2006) believe that these practices will be beneficial to local authorities and provide a framework to help future areas at risk of studentification respond to the challenges easier.

2.6. Media and community representations of student identity

Chatterton (1999) and Andersson et al. (2012) describe how the representations of the student identity in a community have been fuelled by national media discourses. Martin (2005: 99) argues that the construction of identity is 'discursive' and is often (re)produced in and through the use of language. Thus, Jackson (2010) and Roberts (1997) suggest that the language used within British media in expressing the collective lifestyle-based identity of students has played a key component in influencing the public's perception of studenthood and the cultural lifestyles students adhere to (Horton and Kraftl, 2014; Chatterton, 1999; Christie et al. 2002; Hubbard, 2008). Media representation has been predominately based upon the moral panics within Britain regarding binge drinking and anti-

social behaviour (Jayne et al. 2006; Rogers and Coaffee, 2005; Hubbard, 2008). Paltridge et al. (2010) express that drinking and socialising has replaced the traditional framework of the student experience and aids the construction of the student identity (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002). Hubbard (2008; 2011) implies that the negative representations instilled by the media have been engrained upon local studentified communities as standardised behaviour of all students (Chatterton, 1999). This supports Hubbard (2008) and Holdsworth's (2009) argument of the concept of 'othering' of the student population in studentified communities as these perceived behaviours do not conform to expected behaviours of established residents (Winchester and White, 1988).

Moreover, Chatterton (1999: 119) demonstrates that the construction of the student lifestyles forms part of a wider debate regarding socialisation and acculturation into a specific way of life. This links to Bourdieu's (1984) notion of habitus where Chatterton (1999) argues that the formation of the student identity and experience can be continuously remoulded and learnt through particular social and spatial interactions with peers (Cohen, 1994; Horton and Kraftl, 2014). Chatterton (1999) implies that from freshers', students develop the rules of studenthood through their social interactions with peers in the institutional space of the halls of residence (Smith and Holt, 2007). Smith and Holt (2007: 151) suggest that the prioritisation of social aspects within university-managed accommodation is crucial in achieving and reinforcing a distinctive student identity. Holdsworth (2006) adds that within these spaces, students can continuously evaluate their performance against peers. Furthermore, Holdsworth (2009) states that the acquired social and cultural values obtained in first year are reinforced in a student's second and third year. Smith and Holt (2007: 152), imply that within these years of studenthood there is a stronger

emphasis upon selective social interaction, which is assisted by the move to the private rented housing sector. This residential transition has been described by Smith and Holt (2007) as a key component of the student experience, where students often hold pre-drinks as the housing conditions are poor and to save money (Hubbard, 2008; Smith 2005; Østergaard and Andrade, 2014). As a result, Smith and Holt (2007) argue that the rules of studenthood underpin the unfolding implications of studentification and cause a negative representation of students within the wider community (Hubbard, 2008).

However, Chatterton and Hollands (2003: 128) explain that the student population is far more complex than standardised representations suggest. Holloway et al. (2010) suggest that students are becoming increasingly more diverse in their lifestyle deposition, meaning not all students are conforming to the preconceived assumptions (Hopkins, 2011). In Hopkins (2011) study, he expressed that some international students felt marginalised from the student community as their cultural beliefs didn't conform to the dominance of student drinking. Andersson et al. (2012) supports this further, by suggesting that differences in social lifestyle of the student population are not only a source of conflict between students and established residents within a neighbourhoods, but are also a foundation of tension and exclusion between the student population themselves (Bartram, 2007; Valentine et al. 2010). In addition to this, Holdsworth (2009) explains that the majority of studentification literature regarding the social implications upon a community as a result of student lifestyles has been from established residents points of view. Thus, literature has paid little attention as to whether the student community themselves face negative impacts of studentification (Holdsworth, 2009). Therefore in line with Hopkins (2011) study, the student's experiences towards the impacts of studentification will also be addressed.

2.7. Summary

Currently research of studentification has been based on the processes (Hubbard, 2008), the relationship it has with gentrification, economic consequences of HMOs (Smith, 2012) and the social impacts to the host community (Munro and Livingston, 2012). However, as argued by Holton and Riley (2013) there has been little focus on the student's experience towards studentification. Hubbard (2008) argues that the reasons for student residency remain unclear, and there has been a lack of literature focus on whether particular services accommodate for the contemporary student lifestyle (Holton and Riley, 2013). As a result, this study will aim to incorporate student's opinions as well as established residents in gaining a more vivid representation of the processes and outcomes of studentification in Clarendon Park, Leicester.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

3.1. Introduction

To investigate the presence and impacts of studentification in Clarendon, it was necessary to employ a methodological framework that was suitable to investigate the research aims.

Based within a qualitative paradigm, the methods employed within this dissertation were semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Freeman (2006) argues that qualitative approaches are increasingly more effective in gaining an understanding of the effects of contemporary urban change as they enable the researcher to communicate with individuals who are personally involved (Creswell, 2012). As result, qualitative methods are ideal in portraying the complexities of everyday life, which is often difficult to gain from other research paradigms (Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Longhurst, 2010). Thus, the key reason behind this research design was to gain a wider knowledge of the processes, impacts and community relations studentification has had in Clarendon Park, by researching the personal experiences and opinions from the people who have first-hand accounts of the change.

3.2. Participant Recruitment

As the study adopted a case study approach, my recruitment was defined within the area of Clarendon Park, Leicester. I decided to gain the perspectives from both established member from Clarendon Park, including local councillors, local residents and letting agents, as well as students for several reasons.

Firstly, focusing on the perspective of established members with Clarendon Park's community was to gain first-hand insight of how the area has changed temporally to reflect

the increasing demands of students, through past narratives from their resident lives (Jackson and Russell, 2010). As a method of recruitment, I joined an online Clarendon Park community forum on Facebook as a way to contact established members from the area. After posting on the site, I received numerous responses from residents willing to offer their assistance for my research. Furthermore, after an interview with the local councillor, the participant then provided a list of contact details for participants that they believed would add wider opinions to the research (Longhurst, 2010). Thus, a snowballing technique was employed for additional recruitment of established residents and letting agent directors (Valentine, 2005; Longhurst, 2010).

Hubbard (2008; 2009) suggests that the reasoning behind student's locating in a particular area, their housing requirements and expectations need to be addressed (Holton and Riley, 2013). As a result, students were also recruited to help increase the understanding of the unfolding factors of studentification in Clarendon Park. The choice to focus on individuals, who have first-hand experience of living in the private-rented accommodation in Clarendon Park, was to establish the popularity of the area to assess why the geographies of studentification have occurred in Clarendon Park over other locations in Leicester. Students were approached through various social and sporting societies, where recruitment sheets were circulated through email or in person.

3.3. Focus Groups

This study employed focus groups for various reasons. Cameron (2000: 89) suggests that focus groups enable the complexities of an individual's interaction and experience within space to unfold (Hopkins, 2007; Longhurst, 2010). The nature of focus groups enables the

power of researcher to be easily shifted to the participants, enabling a more conversational interaction (Kneale, 2001; Cameron, 2000). This can help gain a wider insight into what and how an individual views an issue (Kitzinger, 1995). Focus group themes were framed around community involvement and reasoning behind why students live in Clarendon Park, to help establish why the processes of studentification were occurring in the area and to understand how students were impacted by studentification.

Two focus groups were arranged with full-time students. In line with Bernard's (1995) statement, that a focus group typically has six to twelve members as well as the researcher, it was decided that six students would be part of each focus group (Bosco and Herman, 2010). Smaller focus groups were preferred, due to suggestions by Longhurst (1996), as themes under investigation maybe personal to some respondents (Hopkins, 2007). I intended to only have students in the focus group as Holbrook and Jackson (1996) suggest that participants should share a common social identity. Furthermore, many of the participants were acquainted prior to the research due to being part of similar sport societies, so were familiar and felt at ease with one another (Krueger and Casey, 2009; Hopkins, 2007). This allows for more comfortable group dynamics, which enables the participants to freely agree and disagree with particular conversations and issues raised in the group setting, which is considered a key advantage of this technique (Hopkins, 2007; Bosco and Herman, 2007). Focus groups enable discussions to deviate towards concepts and experiences that the researcher may not have considered previously (Bosco and Herman, 2007).

Breen (2006) notes the location of the focus group is an important consideration and the convenience of the participants needs to be addressed. Thus, the student union was decided by all participants to be an ideal location. The student union provided a neutral space familiar for all participants, making participants feel comfortable within the process (Clifford et al. 2010). The focus groups lasted for approximately 40 minutes.

3.4. Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were another method employed. Freeman (2006: 8) stresses the importance of interviews in understanding how the processes of urban change are affecting the residents of the neighbourhood in question. Furthermore, the interviews have recently been employed to the realms of studentification. Munro and Livingston (2012) highlight the effectiveness of interviews in gaining a narrative understanding of the participants' experiences of residential changes and providing insight into community dynamics, which are key components in this study. In total, 28 semi-structured interviews were completed. Listening to 12 established residents, a ward councillor, 19 students, a director of a local letting agency and two letting agents, helped create a wider understanding of the effects of studentification on the perceptions, attitudes and behaviours of the population who reside in Clarendon Park (Freeman, 2006). On average the interviews lasted an hour and were conducted in locations of the participant's choice, which varied from the university's library, the participant's residential home or place of work.

Fontana and Fey (2005), note how interviews have become a contemporary method of storytelling, where a participant can willingly share their life narrative in response to an interview's queries (Gubrium and Holstein, 1998; McDowell, 2010). Thus, interviews can be

used to investigate complex behaviours of an individual to a particular phenomenon (Longhurst, 2010). Similarly to focus groups, the informal nature of this method creates a comfortable environment for participants to discuss sensitive issues (Jordan and Gibson, 2004). I decided to employ interviews alongside focus groups, so themes inappropriate for a group setting could be explored further enabling participants to openly discuss topics without being dominated by other participants (Krueger and Casey, 2009).

Preparing semi-structured questions enabled flexibility towards the research (Barbour, 2000; Longhurst, 2010). McDowell (2010: 162) notes, that this “exchange is sufficiently collaborative as it allows participants to feel that their involvement is highly valued, while at the same time not being overly intrusive or too centred on the researcher’s values”. This allowed participants to openly expand on their own experiences regarding studentification but also ensured my research aims were addressed by including topics I wanted to address (Foddy, 1993; Longhurst, 2010). Furthermore, as Jennings (2005) argues, interview situations are not set in stone and one should be aware that experiences will vary, thus each must be adjusted accordingly to avoid intrusive questions (Longhurst, 1996: 147, Valentine, 2005; Silverman, 2011).

3.5. Data Analysis

All data was analysed in a similar manner. The conversations from interviews and focus groups were audio-recorded. Valentine (2005) suggests that recording participant’s responses helps to capture the various emotions that are often dismissed by the researcher. Recordings can therefore help illustrate hidden meanings and feelings of the participant, which can be examined in more detail at a later date (Longhurst, 2010; Robinson, 1998).

After playing back interviews, data was transcribed onto Microsoft word, with the transcription process following the same approach as Longhurst (2010). To aid the analysis stage, the transcripts were read over numerous times to gain a full understanding of the participant's responses (Vaismoradi et al. 2013). The data was then thematically analysed, as Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that this analysis provides a rich and detailed account of the data in hand. The data was cross-examined and reviewed into potential themes to help describe the processes and outcomes of the studentification (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

3.6. Positionality

Rose (1997: 307) suggests that aspects of an individual's identity such as professional background, social identity and knowledge can influence a researcher's positionality (Kuesek and Smiley, 2014). As noted by Valentine (2005: 113), it is critical for the researcher to understand how their identity may affect interactions with others. Thus, my positionality as an undergraduate student researcher, who has experience of living in the private rented market in Clarendon Park, influenced the power relations between participants and myself. Due to my familiarity of student living in the area, I ensured I would disregard any preconceived assumptions and be cautious to reveal any previous experiences of living in Clarendon Park that could impact upon results recorded (Hopkins, 2007). In addition to this, Moore (2012) demonstrates that within research, the researcher should be aware of their position as an outsider or insider and how their position may hinder or enhance data collection during this stage. As a result, it can be suggested that within this study my position was rather fluid in the sense that I had both insider and outsider perspectives (Chacko, 2004).

During interviews with residents, letting agents and the local councilor, it became evident of my position as an outsider within research as they had profound knowledge on the student housing situation on Clarendon Park (Moore, 2012). Fonow and Cook (1991) argue that by the researcher being observed, as an outsider within research can be beneficial. This is because the researcher is perceived as being neutral and therefore may be given material that would not be given to an outsider (Fonow and Cook, 1991; Mullings, 1999). On the other hand, during interviews and focus groups with students, I was positioned as an insider due to the sharing of a social identity (Valentine, 2002). Being a student, I was able to establish a common understanding with the student participants as they could sometimes consider me as a knowing subject (Longhurst, 1996). Despite this, Kuesek and Smiley (2014) argue that being an insider doesn't necessarily have a positive influence upon research. In some cases, this characteristic may disrupt the development of reliable data. As a result, when conducting interviews and focus groups with students, I was cautious to not state any positive or negative experiences I had within Clarendon Park, to ensure results were reliable (Moore, 2012).

3.7. Ethical considerations

As McDowell (2010: 161) asserts, various ethical questions are raised throughout the interview process from contacting participants, meeting participants and analysing interview information. Since the research was conducted within a specific case study area, I was conscious to keep the participants identities anonymous throughout the process (Longhurst, 2010). Thus, I employed the use of pseudonyms to protect all respondents (Jackson and Russell, 2010; see appendix 1 and 2). Participants were informed before each interview and focus group of their rights to withdraw from the research process at any time (Silverman,

2010). Participants were also given the rights to not be recorded during the interviews and focus groups, however they all agreed to being recorded (Longman, 2010). The consent forms were also given to all participants prior the research to fully inform them of the research process, including information about the data procedures, analysis of data, the research objectives (Gavin, 2008).

Chapter 4- The development of Clarendon Park as a studentified neighbourhood

4.1. Introduction

In light of the research objective, this chapter will analyse data in relation to the unfolding processes of studentification. Initially this chapter will discuss how Clarendon Park's housing occupancy has shifted and adapted to accommodate for increasing student numbers. Service patterns in Clarendon Park will then be examined. The final section of this analysis chapter will focus on the reasons why students decide to reside in Clarendon Park, to help understand why the processes of studentification have unfolded here.

4.2. Housing changes

Within literature a fundamental process of studentification is the recommodification of housing stock and in-movement of students to a defined area (Smith, 2002; 2005).

Discussions with established residents indicated the development of studentification in Clarendon Park demonstrating a visible pattern across the area temporally. It has been suggested that the first stages of studentification in Clarendon Park took place in the 1990s, where the area began to experience a steady rise in student residency. This movement unfolded rapidly in 2008, where more students were moving out of areas such as Oadby, Evington and Highfields to Clarendon Park:

“Over the last 30 years there has been a steady growth in the number of students living in Clarendon Park, but the rate of growth has been accelerated in the last 6 years, with more houses being converted from family homes to multiple-occupancy” – Debra (Resident)

“I have lived in Clarendon Park for 21 years and have obviously noticed shifts in the housing structure and tenancy. Students used to live around Evington and the Brazil Street area... Clarendon Park experienced a gradual increase of students up until 8 year ago where it has really speeded up and student residency change has become far more concentrated and apparent here” – Imogen (Resident)

It can be suggested that Debra and Imogen’s statements indicate a new form of housing demand being created in Clarendon Park by the in-movement of students (Murtagh, 2011). Within the early stages of the student movement to Clarendon Park, the pattern that Imogen noticed, reflected Hubbard’s (2008; 2009) point that students housing is concentrated to a particular area. Furthermore, the use of ‘accelerated’ by Debra, demonstrates the powerful nature that the student housing market has had within the area and how quickly this demand was met by landlords. The continual reference by residents to landlords being the sole reason for the changes in housing stock, suggests that local landlords were the ‘necessary agents and beneficiaries’ of the studentification process in Clarendon Park (Beauregard, 1986: 41).

Many residents observed signs of an out-movement of families as student numbers increased. Caroline (Resident), suggested that families were ‘escaping the troubles of student housing’, when the area became more favourable to students. This supports Goddard and Vallance (2013) argument, that when an area becomes a student-dominated area, it reduces the attractiveness of the neighbourhood to families (Smith, 2005). Residents explained that as the area was becoming more desirable to students, the housing recommodification adapted, with Gary explaining that landlords were slowly renting the ‘larger houses’ to students. Thus, instead of being solely concentrated in a particular area

the problems shifted “street by street” therefore following the studentification pattern expressed by Hubbard (2008: pp 331):

“At first, student houses appeared around the smaller terraced houses. Then it was like a domino effect. The demand increased and houses along other roads changed to student houses. Over the last 8 years it really has snowballed out of control. Student house, after student house, after student house....I am fearful that this will happen on my street... it will be a real shame if it continues” – (Kate, Resident)

By using words such as ‘fearful’ and ‘shame’, implies that Kate is worried about the prospects of increasing student numbers. Her repetition of ‘student house’ implies that she is significantly fed up of this process. This idea is further supported by Lily (Resident) who expresses her frustration that every housing development within Clarendon Park seems to be only ‘suited towards students’. In addition, Lily’s point links to a study by Hubbard (2008) within Loughborough, who illustrates how local residents are beginning to feel, pushed out of the area due to more private rented accommodation being readily available for students only.

4.3. Service adaptations

Service changes have been a key theme highlighted within discussion. In line with Smith (2005), it has been noted that areas facing studentification will experience changes in retail and service infrastructure as the area becomes more dominated by students. Many established residents noted this process unfolding in Clarendon Park within the last 15 years. Kate (Resident) described how the service pattern altered very slowly, in fact ‘barely noticeable to begin with’. It was suggested by Lily (Resident), that the change manifested within the last 5 years, where ‘more independent shops have been sold to branded retail

stores and estate agents'. Andrea (Resident) expressed that more bars and takeaway stores have been introduced to Clarendon Park, with the closing hours being past '3 in the morning'. Indeed, many residents points regarding service disruption link to the National HMO Lobby's (2008) notion that an area experiencing studentification will see an increase of fast food takeaways replace the traditional service structure to tailor towards the student consumption-based lifestyle (Chatterton, 2000). Imogen (Resident) also discussed how shops in Clarendon Park have started to introduce student discounts, with the Co-operative supermarket and local restaurants offering 15% student discount on every visit. This shows how some services in Clarendon Park are slowly tailoring even more so to the little disposable income of students (Chatterton, 2010), by further enticing and exploiting the students' cultural capital (Ley, 1996).

A common theme surrounding service changes from established residents was the implications it was having to the area's reputation. Andrea (Resident) discussed how she has noticed low budget shops, such as 'Bargain Booze' and 'Price Buster', slowly replacing the local cafes and greengrocers. She expressed her concern that the vibrancy of Queen's Road will slowly deteriorate like other high street shops in Britain. Imogen (Resident) expressed that she felt retail services were over-adapting to service students, with the process is still occurring. Imogen noted that the area was losing its appeal as a 'green-belted area' and slowly alternating to a 'low budget high-street'. Thus, a common consensus amongst residents was their concerns over the future of Clarendon Park's high-street with increasing student residency. From interviews, many residents described the current community campaign to prevent further changes to retail patterns. The local councillor stated a large majority of residents are involved in the 'Keep Clarendon Park Independent' campaign,

which is currently fighting to prevent the introduction of a Tesco's along the high-street and to ensure local businesses remain. Harry (Local Resident), expresses how he believes the campaign is needed. Harry explains that he believes all new retail developments are only tailored towards the student market, which is steering people away from the area as 'Clarendon Park is losing its unique appeal'. This links to Allinson's (2006) suggestion that studentified areas can begin to experience a monoculture, where services are solely suited towards the student lifestyle, causing residents to feel excluded within their neighbourhood. This notion of service exclusivity in Clarendon Park was also discussed:

"There is a bus service provided by the University of Leicester the 80/80a which has cropped up in recent years, although it only runs during term time" (Caroline, Resident)

"The 80/80a provides great links into town...It has only recently been introduced but is extremely popular with all students and residents who need to pop into town...Just a shame that it only runs in term time" (Andrea, Resident)

The implication that the bus service only runs during term time, provides an example of how some services in Clarendon Park are only there to benefit the student demand, heightening the idea of service exclusivity (Duke-Williams, 2009). One student, Nathan, explained how the 80/80a provides a reliable service and runs until the early hours to transport students to and from the city and student union. This provides an example of how service changes in Clarendon Park are being moulded around the lifestyle patterns of students and how the student identity is playing a key role in the unfolding process of service provisions, similarly to the way gentrifiers motivate particular characteristics of gentrification (Ley, 1986; Duke-Williams, 2009).

Despite, recognition by local residents suggesting service changes have adapted towards the student identity, many students disagree. Ted (Student), argued that many of the services still cater towards 'local middle-class residents', as the shops are 'too expensive and posh' for the 'everyday student'. Olivia (Student) adds that Clarendon Park has a 'diverse shopping scene', with some shops suiting students but the majority are 'unaffordable'. Olivia suggested that she would be more inclined to visit the independent shops if more started to introduce student discount, 'like the hairdressers on the corner'. From student discussions, it implies that despite evidence of new services moving to Clarendon Park to cater towards the cultural lifestyle of students, the area still holds a balance between service patterns. This can support ideas by Smith (2005) that the conceptual framework of studentification processes aren't set in stone and are different within a specific locational context (Wattis, 2013; Smith and Holt, 2007).

4.4. The popularity of Clarendon Park

Despite the various residential life courses students face throughout their years at university, there is still a lack of evidence on a student's residential decision making and the pressure students face when contemplating accommodation (Holton and Riley, 2013; Hubbard, 2009). From focus group and interview discussion with students there appears to be numerous factors that influence a student's preference to locate to a particular area.

Friendship was a recurring theme highlighted by many students. Respondents expressed how proximity to friends was one of their main concerns when deciding where to live in the following academic year. Sam (Student) stated how he wasn't concerned over the area he lived in as long as he was within close proximity to his friendship group. This shows how the

residential space for students is not only a place for living but also a space for socialisation, where students can selectively pick whom they live with (Smith and Holt, 2007). Ted (Student) expressed how his friendship group deliberately decided on a location to ensure they were 'living a short walk away from each other, so it was easy for everyone to meet up and chill'. By some students prioritising friendship as a decision factor on where to live, demonstrates how the social aspect of student living and living alongside friends is a fundamental part of the student habitus experience and provides a sense of 'ontological security' (Paltridge et al. 2010; Smith and Holt, 2007: 151). Rachel (Student) supported this idea further:

"I thought living in an area with people I knew will help you feel more included. So yes, I think it depends where your friendship group is mainly situated. Like my friends wanted to live in Clarendon, so yeah I think where you moved to is influenced so much on friendship groups"

Rachel's extract illustrates how the influence of friendship in the residential decision-making can extend from socialisation, to feelings on inclusion and comfort. This suggests that having friends close by makes students feel more connected and accepted within the residential community where they are often perceived as 'the other' by permanent residents (Hubbard, 2008). In addition to this Rachel's comment strongly relates to Butler's (1997) view that people tend to gravitate towards people like themselves to help them gain a sense of belonging through visiting friends or inviting friends to their house (Chatterton, 1999). Therefore, it can be seen living nearby to friends to maintain a sense of security and belonging forms the basis for the residential and locational preferences for students in Clarendon Park (Munro et al. 2009; Smith and Holt, 2007).

For other students, it was the opinions from older students that influenced their decision to live in Clarendon Park. Emily (Student) explained how she listened to the advice from students in the years above as she believed 'they would know what it is like', since they have already had at least a years experience within the private-rented sector in Leicester. Natalie (Student) stated how 'you often hear horror stories from older students about their experience... so you listen to them as you don't want it to happen to you'. This demonstrates how significant word of mouth has been in influencing residential patterns in Clarendon Park, therefore contrasting Chatterton's (2010) reference that students are influenced towards a particular neighbourhood by the advice given from letting agents and accommodation services. Hannah (Student) expressed how she didn't even 'think about asking the universities accommodation service about housing'. She explained how she 'just knew', Clarendon Park was the 'area to go...because of what older students have said about the area's reputation'. Thus, the reputation of Clarendon Park which has been coined by older students has helped influence the residential decision of younger students also:

"Clarendon Park has a feel of the second and third year's version of Oadby. All the older students say it ... When we were looking for a house we were running out of time and practically begged the landlord to give it to us. Looking back it was such a rushed and reckless decision but there was this pressure and fear that we weren't going to get a house in Clarendon and we would be missing out" Olivia (Student)

Where Olivia refers to Clarendon Park as a 'version of Oadby', suggests that Clarendon Park has been given the reputation of an established student neighbourhood by older students, as Oadby is the location for the halls of residence village. According to Rugg et al. (2000) once a neighbourhood has been coined a student area, students will be reluctant to rent

beyond this location. Olivia supports this further through the use of emotive language such as 'begged', 'pressure' and 'fear' to describe her experience of trying to secure a house in Clarendon Park. The language highlights her desperation to live in Clarendon Park, which relates to Hubbard's (2009) study, where he states that students often make hasty decisions about accommodation in fear of housing shortages in their desired area and so ignore other options on the market (Garmendia et al. 2012). This demonstrates how Clarendon Park's positive reputation from previous students causes some younger students to make reckless decisions to ensure they secure a house in this area.

Some students also discussed economic factors in influencing their residential decision.

Nathan (Student) suggests 'Clarendon Park is popular because it offers various rental prices, some are a joke but you can find a deal but these go quickly'. This demonstrates that Clarendon Park's lower cost houses are more desirable for students and are highly competitive when students are beginning their residential search. Adam (Student) implied that he and his housemates prioritised 'cheap rent', over the quality of accommodation to ensure that secured a cheaper house. This supports Sage et al. (2012b) suggestion that a new type of student housing market is forming, where students are favouring low-cost housing over the aesthetics of the housing, due to increasing worries of financial burdens (Smith and Holt, 2004). However, from a focus group other students demonstrated that even houses charging high rent didn't guarantee a high standard of living;

"I pay £78 a week for my house which is far greater than the average in Clarendon Park... It's a lot consider we had mould and mushrooms growing in the bathroom...a blocked drain in the back garden which had overflowing sewage and was deemed a health hazard...when I

first moved in the dishwasher was broken...But I suppose that is what you get for a student house” Zoe

“Our house is expensive compared to other houses... but that doesn’t guarantee a decent landlord or house... We can never get hold of him” Milly

“My lights do not work, my door doesn’t close properly and I have damp behind my bed... To be honest I didn’t think about all of this, I assumed a high-rent would secure nice living conditions... I just wanted to live in Clarendon” Jessica

The experiences expressed in this focus group link to Christie et al. (2002: 219) argument that student accommodation prices are not a true representation of the quality of the house. Where Zoe states ‘that is what you get for a student house’, suggests that living in a lower quality house is part of the student habitus experience and that is the expectation students have of student private-rented market (Smith and Holt, 2007). However this appears to not deter students, as Michael (Student), stated ‘I wouldn’t have it any other way, if someone offered me a posh apartment over a terraced house in Clarendon, I’d take Clarendon’. However, Paul (Student) explained how he decided to move back to his residential home after living in Clarendon Park for a year because he couldn’t guarantee low cost rent for his third year house and ‘didn’t want to live anywhere else’. Paul stated ‘I would just be accumulating avoidable debt’, illustrating that in the wake of rising tuition fees and living expenses, some students are willing to risk the student habitus experience to save money (Holdsworth, 2009; Hopkins, 2006).

4.5. Summary

To summarise, it can be expressed that characteristics of studentification expressed by Smith (2005), have unfolded in Clarendon Park. Established residents have indicated rapid housing restructuring over the years to accommodate for increasing student numbers. Furthermore, the service structure of Clarendon Park has altered to cater towards the student lifestyle. However despite the change, it can be seen that the suitability of the services haven't fully adapted towards the student demand in Clarendon Park. The final section of this chapter, illustrates the reasons why students decide to reside in Clarendon Park over other areas. Lastly, it can be expressed within this chapter that residents have started to show signs of resentment over changes experienced in the area due to studentification, thus the next analysis chapter will examine the impacts of studentification and policy implementations to try to alleviate the challenges being faced by an in-movement of students.

Chapter 5- Community Impacts, Solutions and Change

5.1. Introduction

As noted in Chapter 4, the unfolding residential and service changes in Clarendon Park have slowly created residential resentment towards the effects of studentification. This analysis chapter will examine the impacts Clarendon Park has experienced as a result of increasing student residency. Initially this chapter will highlight participants' perceptions of the social impacts Clarendon Park has faced as a direct response to increased student residency. This section will also discuss how social impacts of studentification have affected community relationships. In wake of social impacts of studentification, the next section will explore community engagement schemes, to illustrate campaigns, which have been enforced in Clarendon Park to try to improve studentified challenges. Finally, the chapter will discuss the implementation of an Article 4 Direction as a policy to try to control student numbers in Clarendon Park. This section will express opinions from members of the community on how they believe it will affect the future of Clarendon Park's community dynamics.

5.2. Impacts of studentification

Unsurprisingly social and cultural impacts were a significant theme addressed within participant discussions. Within literature a large focus has been based upon the social impacts of student residency (Munro and Livingston, 2012), with many accounts detailing the negative implications of studentification in a community (Hubbard, 2008). Munro and Livingston (2012) suggest that the most cited impact of studentification in a community is the behaviour and hedonistic lifestyle of students (Chatterton, 1999). This impact was supported by some residents in Clarendon Park:

“Student life is one big party... Students don’t come to university to gain an academic degree, its more about partying and making a fool out of yourself... It’s becoming increasingly problematic” (Caroline, Resident)

“Noise is a lot worse... I have had wing mirrors bashed off, windscreen wipers twisted around like barely sugar” (Imogen, Resident)

From Caroline and Imogen’s responses it can be suggested that some residents believe that student lifestyle adopted in Clarendon doesn’t adhere to acceptable behaviour of established residents (Powell, 2014). This links to Hubbard’s (2008: 334) view that students are categorised as being a marginal group whose lifestyle practices do not conform to the majority (Winchester and White, 1988). Jemma (Resident) implies that the behaviours adopted by students have resulted in tensions arising and weak relationships forming, where residents assume students ‘do not respect the lifestyle of local residents and are ignorant’. Students also expressed experiencing fragile relationships with their neighbours:

“The lady across the road hates us... She yells at us to turn our music down and show some respect... It’s not all the time, only pre drinks... But everyone predrinks” (Sam, Student)

“There is a clash between students and locals... It’s a weak relationship, but I do say hello to my neighbours to be polite.. We still get the odd moans and groans” (Zoe, Student)

Although, Sam and Zoe express weak relationships with their neighbours the level of dispute is different. Sam’s extract indicates that students also believe that the negative relations between students and neighbours are due to contrasting lifestyles. The dialogue highlighted that the pre-drink culture within a student’s private residence has become a catalyst for some residential disputes (Østergaard and Andrade, 2014). Sam’s statement that ‘everyone

pre drinks', suggests that the drinking culture is becoming the norm for students and is increasingly contributing to the student experience (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003). Some established residents, like Debra fear that the popularity of pre-drinks will only worsen problems. Debra states that the 'cheapness of pre-drinks is what appeals... as more students face looming debt.. pre-drinks will become even more popular'. Thus, Debra fears that the social issues related to pre-drinks such as noise and anti-social behaviour will cause 'added disruption' in Clarendon Park in later years. Furthermore, where Sam noted that at times he felt intimidated by his neighbours, demonstrates that students also experience the challenges of studentification in their daily lives (Holdsworth, 2009; Smith, 2008)

However, other residents expressed that they weren't blaming all social impacts on every student in Clarendon Park. Ben (Resident), stated that he believes 'bad experiences of students and their parties should be based on individual cases', instead of assuming that 'all students follow this trend'. This suggests that Ben doesn't categorise all students like media representations do, rather he acknowledges the diversity among the student population (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003). Fiona (Resident), implied that it is a 'generational thing' and that the residents in Clarendon Park who attended university tend to 'tolerate the behaviour more'. While Harry (Resident) expressed a positive relationship with his student neighbours, he added 'maybe it's because I'm younger... so I expect noise and don't mind it...I've never had a problem with students... yet". Harry's point supports Fiona's that fragile relationships may be arising in Clarendon Park due to the age gap between residents and neither sympathising with each other unless they share a similar experience. The alternative responses highlighted also suggest that the negative effects of studentification are not felt

evenly across Clarendon Park, and demonstrate how perceptions plays a significant role in discussion regarding studentification and its impacts (Universities UK, 2006).

Despite this, the positive impacts students have brought to Clarendon Park were evident within discussions with established residents, although it was often brief. Gary and Ben (Residents), acknowledged the economic benefits students bring to the local community. Ethan (Resident) suggested that students have 'added vibrancy and life to Clarendon Park'. This links to the University UK (2006) notion that students can help bring a cosmopolitan feel to an area. Furthermore, Lily (resident) suggested that the 'biggest contribution' students have had within Clarendon Park is their involvement in local community campaigns. Lily explained how she believed students are a 'valuable' contribution towards the community, with many students being heavily involved in the 'Say No to Tesco's' campaign. The University UK (2006) handbook on studentification argues that student volunteering can add an important contribution to many aspects of social life. Adam (student), expressed how being part of the Tesco's campaign and volunteering with the university's 'Environment Team' has helped him feel more included within the community of Clarendon Park. He explained that he believed volunteering and campaigning for mutual interests has helped him earn respect amongst the established community in Clarendon Park, showing residents that 'some students do care about the future of Clarendon Park'. Adam's response suggests that student volunteering can help improve community relations and the sense of cohesion as campaigns are bring residents together in regards to a mutual cause (Stanley and Smeltzer, 2003). The positive contributions noted here demonstrate that studentification doesn't technically bring significant negative impacts upon a community (University UK, 2006; Hubbard, 2008).

5.3. Community solutions

Many local authorities are beginning to slowly introduce campaigns into communities to help manage the social and cultural impacts of studentification (Sage et al. 2012b; Hubbard 2008). It has been noted by the Universities UK (2006) that a key motivation for local authorities to deploy such strategies is to promote community cohesion. From participant discussions, community schemes are slowly being implemented in Clarendon Park to help control and alleviate the negative impacts of student residency. It has been noted by the Universities UK (2006) that a key motivation for local authorities to deploy such strategies is to promote community cohesion.

Many participants discussed how the launch of 'I Love Clarendon Park' saw the introduction of new community engagement schemes in the area. Due to the struggle in controlling the amount of student houses, attention has slowly dispersed to tackling the symptoms of high student residency problems (Munro and Livingston, 2012). Gary (Resident) describes that 'three years ago members of Clarendon Park's community launched a scheme in partnership with the student welfare team at the University of Leicester', which aimed to alleviate the recurrent issues associated with student living. A campaign representative, Mark, expressed the primary objective of this scheme:

"We understand the difficult stage students face when moving to the private-rented market. Students are learning how to be independent for the first time away from parental control... So this scheme aims to aid the transition process by advising students on Clarendon Park's residential structure to make them aware that late night noise is a problem for residents who have to work... We help them on housing maintenance and security, as these are continuous complaints by established residents. By reducing these issues and making

students aware, we hope this help integrate students into the community and reduce levels of tension”.

The schemes policies, link to Hubbard’s (2008) point that many community tensions and poor relations derive from students inexperience in housing management and maintenance. Local residents, Imogen and Andrea, expressed experiencing levels of improvement since the campaign was implemented. Andrea suggests that the scheme has reduced ‘avoidable confrontations’ with her student neighbours and has improved relations as she feels she isn’t ‘nagging at students as much’. Imogen expressed that the ‘appearance of the area is improving...especially with less bins on the street’. However, it is important to add, that Mark explained that the scheme is only implemented in particular parts of Clarendon Park, due to ‘time constraint’. Mark added that houses along the ‘outskirts of Clarendon Park, Queen’s Road and Welford Road are dismissed’. This may help to explain the varying levels of tensions and tolerance of the student community by established residents in Clarendon Park.

Other respondents also identified the recent ‘Tea Bag and Postcard’ campaign as a positive scheme. Many believe it will help improve community cohesion, as Ethan (Resident) expands upon:

“I have started to notice a difference, especially during this year’s freshers fortnight... Basically the idea of the scheme is to talk to your neighbours... We had a tea bag attached to a postcard be posted through our door with the campaigns aims on it...It asks you to pop round to your neighbours and have a cuppa with them so you can get to know each other and talk about any problems you may have.... So I went to my student neighbours and we had a lovely chat... What’s different from before is that if we see each other on the street

now we often say hello, that never used to happen before... everyone used to ignore each other”

Ethan implies that the ‘Tea Bag and Postcard’ campaign has encouraged students and residents to introduce themselves to each other by sharing a tea bag. He suggests that this has already made a difference to his relations with his neighbours. Kate (Resident) supports this by suggesting that there is a ‘less awkward atmosphere between us... when I experienced excessive noise the other night, the fact we introduced ourselves made the problem easier to approach and resolve’. The improved communication between residents, links to the Universities UK (2006) argument that integration schemes can help promote neighbourliness amongst student and residential populations.

However despite these efforts many residents would like to see more community engagement activities being introduced to help create closer relationships between the university and the community (Sage et al. 2012b). Caroline (Resident) implies that she wants the University of Leicester to become even more ‘proactive’ to help resolve the ‘underlying issues their students are having on Clarendon Park’. Harry (Resident), notes that he would like to see the ‘university take more responsibility for their student behaviour’, suggesting that ‘long term projects are needed to help improve already improving ties’.

5.4. Clarendon Park’s future

The aim of this section is to gain an insight into respondent’s opinions over the recent enforcement of Article 4 Direction legislation. Upon conducting the research it became clear that many participants were worried for the future community dynamics of Clarendon Park if the area became less desirable for students.

As expressed by the local councilor, on the 20th August, Leicester City Council enforced an Article 4 policy to Clarendon Park. The motivation behind this policy is to help alleviate the negative impacts of rising student residency by managing the production of student housing development (Smith and Hubbard, 2014). By implementing an Article 4 in Clarendon Park, means that any new housing development involving the conversion of any Class 3 residential dwelling into a Class 4 HMO, will require planning permission (Leicester City Council, 2015; Munro and Livingston, 2012).

From discussions with local residents, it was evident that many hoped the Article 4 Direction would enhance a more balanced community. Debra (Resident) expressed how she would 'love' to see more families move back into the area to help restore 'Clarendon Park's community'. While, the local councilor suggested that the legislation was to be used as a 'control policy', whereby putting a restriction of new housing developments would help 'rebalance the community', by encouraging more families and first time buyers to the area.

When discussing the Article 4 Direction to students within focus groups, many had little knowledge regarding the policy. Milly (Student, FG2) explained how she was unaware that the policy 'existed'. Laura (Student, FG2) agreed stating that she 'had never heard of an article 4'. This implies that some students are absent from local planning and housing policies in Clarendon Park., supporting an argument by Munro and Livingston (2012: 1686) who suggest that in housing policies established residents are acknowledged as the community while student voices of resistance are unheard throughout the policy process. Ellie (Student, FG2) expressed how she believes 'students should be aware of this, as it could impact where we live'. This demonstrates, that despite students being a dominant presence in a community, as individual's they are transient, thus absent from policy processes

(Hubbard, 2008; Munro and Livingston, 2012: 1686). However, even though a large majority of students were unaware of the policy until the focus group and interview process, when described the aims of the act many students favoured the policy:

“It’s a good idea... The whole problem with landlords may slowly disappear as they will probably move somewhere else...I think it will be more competitive for students to find a house here... But for the community as a whole I think relations will improve” (Freddie, Student, FG1)

“Community relations will improve... Students might seem less of a threat if fewer developments are aimed at us” (Molly, Student, FG1)

“I reckon, it might deter dodgy landlords... It may also improve housing quality as why waste your money on a dodgy house if you’ve got to pay to get permission for it” (Sophie, Student, FG1)

From the above extract, it implies that students believe the legislation will help improve the social and physical characteristics of Clarendon Park. Sophie’s assumption that the policy will ‘deter dodgy landlords’, suggests that the student population may also benefit from this act through added protection to housing quality. Freddie’s perspective that he believes the landlords will move elsewhere, ties to Smith’s (2008: 2552) argument that the implementation of licensing can lead to a withdrawal in amateur landlords from the student housing market because of additional expenses and risks posed by planning regulations. Local letting agents also support this:

“I think some landlords will try to get around the legislation... But I think most will locate elsewhere, perhaps on the boundaries of the Article 4 Direction and entice students there...

Houses in Clarendon's market will slowly lose landlord interest and may make it harder for people to sell" (Mitch, Director of Local Letting Agency)

Mitch's point could suggest that residents trying to move out of Clarendon Park may become trapped, as they are unable to sell or rent their homes. Established residents expand upon this point, with many worrying that the housing market in Clarendon Park will become open to new forms of investment and residency:

"I don't want what happened in Evington and Highfields to happen here. Both areas became undesirable for students and only a small number of students still reside there. I'm fearful this will happen here... By fearful I mean who these houses will be let or sold on to... In Evington the area declined as students moved out and a poorer social group moved in bringing new problems to the area" (Caroline, Resident)

"There is a halfway house close by and I'm worried that if more houses are available to rent or are left vacant, a lower socio-economic group will move in and shift student problems to worse social problems" (Gary, Resident)

From Caroline and Gary's responses, a major concern expressed is that the potential out-movement of students, maybe replaced with a lower socioeconomic group. Smith (2008: 2552) notes that evidence has indicated that the vacant houses left from the depopulation of students from some studentified areas are beginning to be occupied by "European migrants moving into the private rented housing sector". In an extreme case, if lower-income families move into Clarendon Park, new social challenges may unfold (Smith, 2008; Sage et al. 2012). However, the article 4 legislation has only recently been implemented, with the local councillor stating 'it is difficult to fully justify how Clarendon Park will

respond... the effects will slow and take years to unfold". This supports Munro and Livingston's (2012) statement that the success of policies in studentified areas varies depending upon local context. Thus, the effects of the Article 4 Direction will have on Clarendon Park's community dynamics will require close examination in upcoming years.

5.5. Summary

To summarise, it can be suggested that the social impacts of studentification in Clarendon Park vary depending upon residential perspectives. This chapter has highlighted the positive contributions students have had within Clarendon Park and how this has helped integrate some students into the community. It can be seen that Clarendon Park's community is successfully attempting to alleviate the challenges student residency brings to the area, which is helping improve student and resident relationships. Lastly, due to the increasing issues of the proliferation of HMOs in Clarendon Park the area has introduced a housing policy to attempt to control the development of further student accommodation. As noted in this section the effects of this policy are unknown and the community's perceptions of the success vary.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

6.1. Introduction

This final chapter of the dissertation aims to outline the key research arguments that have emerged from the study. The first part of this chapter, will discuss the three research objectives originally expressed in chapter 1 and how conducting the research has enabled the aims to be achieved. Following this, this chapter will explore avenues for further research into studentification trends.

6.2. Research Findings

The purpose of the first objective was to discover the presence of studentification through changing residential patterns and service suitability. The findings of the research demonstrate that Clarendon Park has experienced the dynamic restructuring of housing to tailor towards the in-movement of students. Findings support Smith's (2002; 2005: 74) common signifiers of the process of studentification. In contrast to other studentification studies (Hubbard, 2009; Smith, 2009), Clarendon Park's housing structure appears to have been dominated by local landlords and HMOs, in comparison to the increased population of purpose built student accommodation (PBSA) in other university locations.

Furthermore, unlike the rapidity of housing structure changes, service alterations in Clarendon Park appeared to be a gradual process. Findings support Smith's (2005) argument that the presence of studentification catalyses the transformation of services, with Clarendon Park demonstrating changing service patterns to tailor the preconceived student lifestyle (Pickren, 2012). Similarly to other case studies (Hubbard, 2008), Clarendon Park residents resent the service changes and are campaigning to prevent further changes.

However, despite Clarendon Park expressing service changes, it has been argued that many of the services in the area are not suited towards the student population. Many students expressed that some services in Clarendon Park are out of the price range for the average student. This demonstrates that in wake of the increasing debt burdens, assumptions over service suitability need to be reevaluated in relation to the contemporary student identity (Chatterton, 2010; Smith and Holt, 2007).

The second objective was to gain a wider understanding over the social impacts studentification has had on community relations. From findings it can be suggested that a fragile relationship prevails in Clarendon Park between residents and students. It was a common theme amongst both residents and students that the reasoning behind this was due to contrasting lifestyles, of which strongly supports Munro and Livingston's (2012) study. However despite evidence of small-scale disputes, it appears that Clarendon Park hasn't succumb to severe hostility and tension seen within other studentified areas (Hubbard, 2008; Smith and Holt, 2014). This may be due to notions of tolerance expressed within findings, with some residents not categorising a homogenous student experience (Hubbard, 2008). Findings imply experiences depend upon the social characteristics of the resident in a studentified area. For example residents that tolerate student behaviours previously attended university or are of a similar age to university students so can relate to the lifestyle differences. The alternative responses by residents regarding student impacts suggests that the negative effects of studentification are firstly not felt evenly across university towns, but also not experienced equally within a neighbourhood (Universities UK, 2006). This reinforces the idea that studentification is a vastly complex concept (Smith, 2005), but also how perceptions play a significant role in discussions regarding the impacts of studentification

(Universities UK, 2006). Furthermore, in light of current community campaigns it demonstrated that relationships in Clarendon Park were slowly improving. This suggests that successful engagement strategies can help aid community cohesion and improve relations (Universities UK, 2006).

Critically this research has also extended upon the academic research surrounding the social impacts of studentification (Hubbard, 2008; Munro and Livingston, 2012). This is because the findings also identified the positive contributions students bring to Clarendon Park. The findings show that some students are valued in Clarendon Park for their contributions to the community. This demonstrates that studentification trends can have positive social impacts to a community.

The final objective was to examine the reasoning behind why students locate to Clarendon Park. From the findings it can be argued that there were four key reasons, which influence students to a particular residential area. These were economic, friendships, word of mouth and the area's reputation. The most prominent influence was proximity to friendship groups. This shows that current processes of studentification in Clarendon Park are influenced by student's yearning to be closer to their friends. Findings suggested that this was strongly due to concepts of belonging and the student experience (Paltridge et al. 2010; Smith and Holt, 2007). The residential decision making by students in this study also demonstrated how students aren't as heavily influenced to locate to an area from the advice and pressure by letting agents, landlords and university accommodation services (Chatterton, 2010). The findings reveal that students are yearning for the overall student experience, which moves behind academia (Paltridge et al. 2010), with student accommodation providing the ideal framework for this experience as a space of socialisation and (re)formation of the student

identity (Holdsworth, 2009; Smith and Holt, 2007). Thus, the research shows the importance of the student population themselves in controlling the way the student accommodation market in Clarendon Park evolves.

In summary it can be seen in the case of Clarendon Park that studentification has unfolded through the processes of residential depopulation, housing changes and new services, similar to previous studentification studies (Smith, 2002; Hubbard, 2009). However it can be argued that even though the processes of studentification are easily visible, the impacts are largely based on personal perceptions and are unevenly experienced. Thus Clarendon Park illustrates the complex and contested nature of studentification (Smith, 2005).

6.3. Recommendations for future research

The scope of this study presents several other areas of potential interest that could be expanded upon. Studentification is a dynamic process (Smith, 2005). This study has demonstrated how the process evolves differently over time, thus the future of further student-related impacts in Clarendon Park are unknown. In light of the recent Article 4 legalisation, findings demonstrated that it is uncertain as to how Clarendon Park will react. Hubbard (2009) and Smith (2008) suggest if the area becomes less desirable to students, then a new rental group may locate to a previous studentified area. Thus, future research could stem into the impacts of this policy and processes of destudentification unfolding in Clarendon Park (Smith and Hubbard, 2014).

Moreover, despite the beneficial values of including the student's perspective of studentification in this study, this research only considered the challenges of studentification between established residents and students. Instead an avenue for future research could consider the challenges of studentification between the student populations themselves.

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Appendices

List of Appendices enclosed:

- 1. Focus Group Participants**
- 2. Interview Participants**
- 3. Recruitment and Information Sheet – for residents**
- 4. Recruitment and Information Sheet – for students**
- 5. Informed and Anonymity Consent Forms**

Appendix 1.

Focus group participants

Focus group 1

Name	Introductory Description
Freddie	3 rd year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years
Molly	3 rd year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years
Sophie	3 rd year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years
Thomas	3 rd year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years
Chris	3 rd year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years
Connor	3 rd year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years

Focus group 2

Name	Introductory Description
Laura	3 rd year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for once academic year. She previously lived in Evington
Amy	3 rd year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for one academic year. She previously lived in Evington
Milly	3 rd year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for one academic year. She previously lived in Evington
Ellie	3 rd year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years
Zoe	3 rd year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years
Jessica	3 rd year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years

Appendix 2.

Interview participants

Name	Introductory Description
Andrea	She is an established resident whom has lived in Clarendon Park for 50 years
Ben	He is a local residents in Clarendon Park who has lived there for 3 years
Caroline	She is an established resident whom has lived in Clarendon Park for 27 years
Debra	She is an established resident whom has lived in Clarendon Park for 30 years
Ethan	He is an established resident whom has lived in Clarendon Park for 10 years
Fiona	She is an established resident whom has lived in Clarendon Park for 7 years
Gary	He is an established resident whom has lived in Clarendon Park for 20 years. Has experience of living in Clarendon Park as a student
Harry	Harry has lived in Clarendon Park all of his life. He is now 23 years old
Imogen	She is an established resident whom has lived in Clarendon Park for 21 years
Jemma	She is an established resident whom has lived in Clarendon Park for 15 years
Kate	Kate has lived in Clarendon Park all her life. She is now 65 years old
Mark	Community- campaign representative. He has lived in Clarendon Park for about 20 years and also has experience living in the area as university student.
Local councillor	Councillor of the Castle Ward area
Mitch	Director of a local estate agents. Been working in Clarendon Park for over 15 years
Cameron	A student-letting agent
Carol	A student letting agent
Nathan	A 3 rd year student, who has two years of experience living in Clarendon Park
Olivia	A 3 rd year student, who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years
Paul	Paul has lived in Leicester all his life. He didn't live in halls of residents in first year but decided to live with friends on his course in Clarendon Park's rented market for his second year. After a year of living in Clarendon Park be decided to live at home in his final year of study
Rachel	A second year student who has less than a years experience living in Clarendon Park
Sam	A third year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years
Ted	A third year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years
Hannah	A third year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years
Adam	A third year student who has less than a years experience living in Clarendon Park. He lived in Evington in his second year of study
Michael	A fourth year student. After living in Clarendon Park for his second year of study, Michael wanted to live in the area again in his last year at university after spending a year aboard
Natalie	A third year student, who previously lived in Evington
Emily	A third year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years
Sarah	A third year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years
Karen	A second year student, who has less than a years experience living in Clarendon Park
Sophia	A fourth year student. After living in Evington for her second year of study, Sophia wanted to live in Clarendon Park after her year aboard
Ruby	A second year student, who has less than a years experience living in Clarendon Park
Mason	A second year student, who has less than a years experience living in Clarendon Park
Daniel	A third year student, who previously lived in Highfields
Andrew	A third year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years
Lucie	A third year student who has lived in Clarendon Park for two academic years

Appendix 3.

Recruitment and Information Sheet (For residents)

Undergraduate Dissertation Research Study

To investigate the processes and impacts of studentification in Clarendon Park, Leicester from the perspectives of established residents and students.

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

My name is Emma-Mai Eshelby, I am an undergraduate student studying Geography BA at the University of Leicester, and I am seeking to recruit volunteers to participate in my research for my dissertation project.

The purpose of the study:

The study aims to investigate how residents and students who live in Clarendon Park have experienced the unfolding processes and challenges of studentification.

Studentification has been defined by Smith (2002; 2005) as the process where increasing numbers of students within a defined area. The process has been linked to numerous social, economic, cultural and physical impacts upon a host community (Hubbard, 2008).

Aims:

- To discover the presence of studentification in Clarendon Park, through examining the changing residential patterns and service suitability
- To gain understanding of the social impacts studentification has had on community relations
- To examine the reasoning behind why students at the University of Leicester locate to Clarendon Park

What will be involved?

I will be conducting interviews between September-November 2014. Interviews will be informal and last approximately 40 minutes. Interviews can be held in a place of your choice and can be decided at a later date. Interviews will be recorded and later transcribed, if participant is happy for this to happen. The recordings will be destroyed after transcription and only the research will have access to transcripts.

The data I collect will be stored securely and only be used within this research. Any names of participants will be anonymised. All participants have the right to withdraw from the research. You also have the right to not answer any questions and can leave the discussion at any point

Appendix 4.

Recruitment and Information Sheet (For students)

Undergraduate Dissertation Research Study

To investigate the processes and impacts of studentification in Clarendon Park, Leicester from the perspectives of established residents and students.

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

My name is Emma-Mai Eshelby, I am an undergraduate student studying Geography BA at the University of Leicester, and I am seeking to recruit volunteers to participate in my research for my dissertation project.

The purpose of the study:

The study aims to investigate how residents and students who live in Clarendon Park have experienced the unfolding processes and challenges of studentification.

Studentification has been defined by Smith (2002; 2005) as the process where increasing numbers of students within a defined area. The process has been linked to numerous social, economic, cultural and physical impacts upon a host community (Hubbard, 2008).

Aims:

- To discover the presence of studentification in Clarendon Park, through examining the changing residential patterns and service suitability
- To gain understanding of the social impacts studentification has had on community relations
- To examine the reasoning behind why students at the University of Leicester locate to Clarendon Park

I would like to only speak to students who have experience of living in Clarendon Park. This will help me understand why Clarendon Park was a desirable place for you to locate too and to help understand your experiences of living in the private-rented market.

What will be involved?

I will be conducting focus groups and interviews between September-November 2014. Interviews will be informal and last approximately 40 minutes, while focus groups may take an hour. The location can be of your choice. Interviews and focus groups will be recorded and later transcribed, if you are happy for this to happen. The recordings will be destroyed after transcription and only the research will have access to transcripts.

The data I collect will be stored securely and only be used within this research. Any names of participants will be anonymised. All participants have the right to withdraw from the research. You also have the right to not answer any questions and can leave the discussion at any point.