

**STUDENTIFICATION IN CHINA:  
CHANGING GEOGRAPHIES OF HAIDIAN DISTRICT, BEIJING**

**Hao Gu**

**A doctoral thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
award of Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University**

**May 2015**

**Loughborough University**

**© by Hao Gu 2015**

## **Abstract**

Processes of studentification encompass socio-economic, cultural and physical changes which are tied to seasonal population movements of university students. To date, most empirical investigations of studentification have tended to take place in Anglophone contexts. This thesis extends the lens of study to China, and shows the salience of the concept for understanding urban transformations which have unfolded since the introduction of a new state policy in 1999 for the expansion of higher education. Using the case study of Haidian District (Beijing), and focussing on Peking University students, the thesis makes original contributions to academic knowledge. First, it argued that the concept of studentification can be transposed to the Chinese context, and that social, cultural, economic and physical signifiers of studentification are evident in Beijing. Second, four main geographies of studentification are revealed, which concur with Smith and Hubbard's (2014) discussion of the co-existence of diverse geographies of studentification in the UK. These include: on-campus, university-managed dormitories (Yanyuan and Shaoyuan by Peking University); off-campus, university-managed dormitories (Wanliu, Changchunyuán/Changchunxinyuan, and Global Village); off-campus, Housing in Multiple Occupation (Haidianlu), and; off-campus, Purpose-built student accommodation (Wudaokou). By contrast to the UK, it is shown that all geographies of studentification are 'gated'. Yet, differential residential and socio-cultural experiences are highlighted, in part, influenced by state regulations for Chinese students to reside within university-managed dormitories, or acquire permission to live off-campus; contrary to less-regulated accommodation patterns of International students. This division marks a conceptual difference between studentification in China and UK, with international students more aligned to stereotypical cultural/lifestyle traits of UK students (e.g. noise, partying), as opposed to Chinese counterparts residing in regulated (study-oriented) spaces on-campus. The thesis presents a redefined conceptualisation of studentification for pinning down the diverse geographies of student housing in Beijing, to meet the differential demands of Chinese and international students in an expanded system of higher education.

**Key words:** studentification, students, student housing, community, urban change, Beijing

## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>i</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>List of Plates</b> .....	<b>ix</b>
<b>List of Figures</b> .....	<b>xi</b>
<b>List of Table</b> .....	<b>xiii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	<b>xiv</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 Geographical phenomenon: studentification.....	1
1.2 The case study of Beijing: a beacon of studentification?.....	4
1.2.1 Peking University.....	7
1.2.2 Haidianlu community.....	8
1.2.3 Wudaokou neighbourhood .....	9
1.3 Research aim and objectives.....	10
1.4 Thesis structure.....	11
<b>Chapter 2: Studentification: ‘a concept for travel’</b> .....	<b>13</b>
2.1 Introduction.....	13
2.2 The concept of studentification within the UK context.....	13
2.2.1 The ‘first-wave’ of studentification.....	14
2.2.2 The ‘second-wave’ of studentification.....	16
2.3 Studentification: non-UK expressions? .....	18

2.4	Processes of studentification in China.....	21
	2.5.1 Xiadu village.....	22
	2.5.2 Nanting village.....	24
2.5	Summary.....	25
 <b>Chapter 3: Contextualising studentification in China</b> .....		28
3.1	Introduction.....	28
3.2	The transitional China .....	28
3.3	The implications of neoliberal shifts in China: land and housing reforms.	29
3.4	The urban enclave: urban village.....	32
	3.4.1 The reasons to produce urban village.....	34
	3.4.2 'Low-income community' .....	36
3.5	The urban fortress: gated communities.....	40
	3.5.1 Three types of gated communities in China.....	42
	3.5.2 Social segregation and governance.....	46
	3.5.3 New-built gentrification by gated community.....	48
3.6	Summary.....	49
 <b>Chapter 4: Methodology</b> .....		52
4.1	Introduction.....	53
4.2	Research design.....	53
	4.2.1 Selecting a case study.....	53
	4.2.2 Designing the research questions.....	55

4.3	Three research phases.....	56
4.3.1	Phase 1: official statistics .....	57
4.3.2	Phase 2: content analysis.....	58
4.3.3	Phase 3: focus groups and semi-structured interviews.....	59
4.3.4	Grounded theory.....	63
4.4	Research limits.....	65
4.4.1	Some limitations of the research process.....	66
4.4.2	Political issues.....	68
4.4.3	Ethical issues.....	69
4.5	Reflection on methodology.....	71
4.5.1	Discussion on positionality.....	71
4.5.2	Power relations.....	72
4.5.3	Reflectivity.....	73

**Chapter 5: The expansion of Higher education (HE) in China: a necessary condition for studentification? .....75**

5.1	Introduction.....	75
5.2	The origins of the HE system in China.....	75
5.3	The post-1999 expansion of HE .....	77
5.3.1	Motivations for government to expand the HE system.....	77
5.3.2	Operationalising the expansion of HE in China.....	79
5.4	The changes of higher education institutions after 1999 expansion of HE.....	81

5.4.1	Three reforms for the HEIs.....	81
5.4.2	Two types of university: national key university and non-national key university.....	84
5.5	Student populations in HE system after expansion of higher education since 1999.....	85
5.5.1	The enrolment rates of students.....	85
5.5.2	The differential factors in admission .....	87
5.5.3	The expansion of international student in China.....	90
5.6	The changes of student housing in higher education system.....	92
5.7	The expansion of higher education in Peking University.....	95
5.7.1	The expansion of enrolled students in Peking University.....	95
5.7.2	The social differentiations of students in Peking University.....	97
5.8	Summary.....	99
<b>Chapter 6: The diverse geographies of student housing within Beijing.....</b>		<b>102</b>
6.1	Introduction.....	102
6.2	The geographies of student housing at Peking University.....	103
6.2.1	The university as work-unit compound .....	104
6.2.2	Student housing history in Peking University .....	106
6.2.3	The types of university-managed dormitories and accommodation fees.....	110
6.2.4	Two student accommodations on-campus: Yanyuan and Shaoyuan.....	112

6.2.5	Three student accommodations off-campus: Wanliu, Changchunyuan/Chuangchunxinyuan and Zhongguanxinyuan.....	118
6.3	The dynamic student housing in compound community: Haidianlu.....	125
6.3.1	House in multiple occupation within Chinese context .....	127
6.3.2	Identifying three types of studentifiers: full-time Peking University students, Kaoyanzu, and ‘ant tribe’.....	128
6.4	The active international student housing in the ‘global neighbourhood’: Wudaokou.....	131
6.4.1	The transitions and development in Wudakou.....	131
6.4.2	The role of transportation and education networks in Wudaokou.....	132
6.4.3	The type of housing and the valuable properties in gated community.....	134
6.4.4	Identities of resident and studentifier in gated community.....	135
6.5	Summary.....	135

**Chapter 7: Connecting diverse social-life experiences of students and studentification within Beijing.....141**

7.1	Introduction.....	141
7.2	Social life experiences within UMDs on- and off-campus.....	142
7.2.1	Regulations for housing arrangement and gated management at PKU.....	142
7.2.2	Living experiences within UMDs.....	150
7.2.3	The collective lifestyle.....	157

7.2.4	Intended and unintended segregations in UMDs.....	159
7.2.5	The advantages for students living in UMDs.....	165
7.2.6	Motivations for students moving off-campus.....	169
7.2.7	The rise of student-oriented business: Food Street.....	175
7.3	The impacts of studentification on Haidianlu community.....	178
7.3.1	The impacts on economic.....	179
7.3.2	The impacts on social.....	181
7.3.3	The impacts on culture.....	183
7.3.4	The impacts on physical.....	184
7.4	The Impacts of studentification on the Wudaokou.....	185
7.4.1	The impacts on economic.....	185
7.4.2	The impacts on social.....	189
7.4.3	The impacts on culture.....	193
7.4.4	The impacts on physical.....	196
7.4.5	A hotspot of new-built gated community: Huaqingjiayuan.....	198
7.5	Summary.....	202
<b>Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion.....</b>		<b>209</b>
8.1	Introduction.....	209
8.2	The key findings of the thesis .....	209
8.3	Future avenues for research.....	229
8.4	A reflective statement.....	230
8.5	Final conclusion.....	231



<b>Bibliography</b> .....	233
<b>Appendix 1: Abbreviation</b> .....	249
<b>Appendix 2: Qualitative Interview Samples List</b> .....	250
<b>Appendix 3: Research Questions</b> .....	251

## List of Plates

Plate 1: three case study sites in the northwest of Haidian District (Beijing).....	5
Plate 3.1: Urban village in China.....	33
Plate 3.2: Gated community in China.....	41
Plate 6.1: Location of student Housing in Haidian District, Beijing, China .....	103
Plate 6.2: Traditional Chinese architecture in PKU.....	107
Plate 6.3: Yanyuan student apartment.....	107
Plate 6.4: Shaoyuan student apartment.....	108
Plate 6.5: Wanliu student apartment.....	108
Plate 6.6: Changchunyuanyuan student apartment.....	109
Plate 6.7: Changchunxinyuan student apartment.....	109
Plate 6.8: Zhongguanxinyuan (the Global Village).....	110
Plate 6.9: One types of student rooms in Shaoyuan.....	117
Plate 6.10: student room in Wanliu.....	120
Plate 6.11 Two types of student apartments.....	125
Plate 6.12: Haidianlu Community.....	127
Plate 6.13: Shopping mall and Subway at Wudaokou.....	133
Plate 7.1: university canteen.....	156
Plate 7.2: gender segregation by dorms.....	163
Plate 7.3: Food Street.....	176
Plate 7.4: Lush Bar.....	194
Plate 7.5: D22 Club.....	194

Plate 7.6: Huangqingjiayuan.....199

Plate 7.7: School district in gated community.....199

## List of Figures

Figure 5.1: Total number of HEIs from 1999 to 2012.....	81
Figure: 5.2 Total number of HE students in HEIs from 1999 to 2012.....	86
Figure 5.2.1: Total number of undergraduates in HEIs from 1999 to 2012.....	87
Figure 5.2.2: Total number of postgraduates in HEIs from 1999 to 2012.....	87
Figure 5.2.3: Total number of international students in HEIs from 2002 to 2012.....	91
Figure 5.2.4: International student numbers in 2005 and 2009.....	92
Figure 5.3: Total floor area of students' dormitories from 1999 to 2009.....	93
Figure 5.3.1: Newly-added floor area from 1999 to 2009.....	94
Figure 5.3.2: Floor area (sq. metres) per student from 1999 to 2009.....	94
Figure 5.4: Total number of enrolled HE students from 1999 to 2012 (Peking University).....	96
Figure 5.4.1: Total number of enrolled undergraduates from 1999 to 2012 (Peking University).....	96
Figure 5.4.2: Total number of enrolled postgraduates from 1999 to 2012 (Peking University).....	97
Figure 6.2: 3 types of UMD in Yanyuan.....	113
Figure 6.2.1: Public and personal facilities in each floor/room of type A.....	114
Figure 6.2.2: Public and personal facilities in each room of type B.....	114
Figure 6.2.3: Public and personal facilities in each floor/room of type C.....	115
Figure 6.3: 6 types of rooms in Shaoyuan.....	116
Figure 6.3.1: Facilities in rooms in Shaoyuan.....	117
Figure 6.4: Two types of UMD in Changchunyuan and one in Chuangchun xinyuan* .....	122

Figure 6.4.1: Public and personal facilities in each floor/room of type D.....123

Figure 6.4.2: Public and personal facilities in each floor/room of type E.....123

Figure 6.4.3: Public and personal facilities in each floor/room of type F.....124

## List of tables

Table 8.1: The effects of studentification within Beijing.....	220
Table 8.2: Communities of students- Challenges in Beijing.....	222
Table 8.3: Studentification in university-managed student accommodations on-campus: Yanyuan (social housing) and Shaoyuan (PBSA).....	225
Table 8.4: Studentification in university-managed accommodations off-campus: Chuangchunyuán/Chuangchunxinyuan (social housing); Wanliu (PBSA); and Global Village (PBSA).....	226
Table 8.5: Studentification in private student rental housing off-campus: Haidianlu (HMO).....	227
Table: 8.6: Studentification in private student rental housing off-campus: Wudaokou (gated PBSA).....	228

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to acknowledge my family who have supported me, without their support I could not have finished my thesis. Also, I would like to express my gratitude to the Department of Geography at Loughborough University. The department has provided a friendly and academic environment to improve my knowledge during my Masters and Ph.D. studies. I like here, all my most important time in the office.

Many thanks for Professor Darren Smith, you let me into the academic world, and you are the best supervisor to conduct my academic knowledge. Certainly, I would like to discuss the English football with you. In addition, Professor Morag Bell and my Master supervisor Dr John Harrison has given lots of support to improve my knowledge. Chinese scholars also provided good suggestions to improve my academic knowledge.

Of course, I would like to express my thanks for our geography research students. You give so much help for me, and sharing our life experiences within the student villages. My dear friends in China always support my decisions.

At last, I am proud of myself. I overcome many difficulties during past years; studying, working, teaching and travelling. The most important part is that Manchester United always raises me up. Either watching a live match in Old Trafford or on TV, this always inspires my mind and fight forever. Once red, always red.

## Chapter 1 - Introduction

### 1.1 Geographies of studentification

“... studentification in China is driven by the demand for alternative housing choice and cultural consumption, as well as a direct response to the expansion and commercialisation of higher education and other related services (He, 2014:8).”

As the quote above illustrates, geographies of studentification have an increasingly global footprint, transcending Anglophone roots and conceptual points of anchor. It can be argued, therefore, that studentification is a leading process of urban change that is evident within many national contexts, and is tied to the wider neoliberal-related growth of university student populations across the globe (Holloway *et al.*, 2010).

Indeed, the expansion of higher education systems in many national states has led to marked seasonal movements of young people, often migrating sub-nationally or internationally to another place and / or region to attend their university of study, and, in doing so, reconfiguring local neighbourhoods into studentified areas. For example, He (2014) shows how studentifiers, residing in relatively low-cost Housing in Multiple Occupation (HMO), have transformed urban villages within Guangzhou (China). Likewise, Ahmad and Ludin (2009) describe the inter-connections between strategic urban planning policies and the enlargement of higher education in Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia). In Auckland (New Zealand), the internationalization of higher education has led to the growth of a group of affluent international student consumers, with international students transforming local forms of the Central Business District, via their specific consumption of low-quality apartments and international student-oriented business services (Collins, 2010). In Spain, Garmendia *et al.* (2012) introduce the term of ‘vertical studentification’, to signify the increase of student accommodation within large high-rise apartments. Students are shown to conduct the majority of their social-life within such high-rise apartments, as opposed to the more distinctive expressions of ‘horizontal studentification’ associated with Housing in Multiple Occupation (HMO) in the UK context. Clearly, the increasing recognition and empirical investigations of studentification at a global scale begs important questions about the prowess of pre-existing conceptual definitions of studentification,



and the capacity of definitions to effectively capture the diverse expressions of studentification.

Importantly, as a conceptual term, studentification originates in the UK context and stems from a British geographer (Smith, 1999) examining urban changes sparked by the increase of university students within Leeds, North of England, in the late 1990s, and the subsequent changes to local neighbourhoods in close proximity to the university campuses. Other studies have exposed how these processes have unfolded within different university cities and towns in the UK, such as Nottingham, Glasgow, Sunderland and Cardiff (Munro and Livingstone, 2012). A commonality here are the ways in which students very often leave their parental home to study and live within university towns and cities moving into HMO-dominated studentified areas in close proximity to the campus, usually after spending their first year of student within, on-campus, halls of residence (Holton and Riley, 2014). In addition, most studies show that the geographical phenomena of studentification impacts in distinct ways within local studentified contexts, partially underpinned by the growth of student-consumers and 'exclusive student lifestyles' (Sage *et al.*, 2013), and exemplified by student-oriented local business services (Chatterton, 1999; 2010). As a result, established and settled local communities are often dispossessed of local public and private services, and increasingly feel marginalized and excluded (Hubbard, 2008; 2009).

Therefore, within the UK context, studentification tends to present more negative effects on local communities, which can often contradict the dominant political discourses of 'sustainable communities' (Smith, 2008). A key factor here are transformative processes whereby the in-migration of students moving into local communities leads to the displacement of some local residents, as family dwellings are converted into HMOs by landlords and investors. This is underpinned by the demands of 'traditional students' to co-reside with other students within shared HMOs, off-campus. This can lead to lifestyle-related changes in local neighbourhoods, which can often spark some social conflicts (e.g. noise nuisance and increased and disordered refuses) between students and established local residents (Chatterton, 1999; Smith, 2002). As a result, studentified areas are labelled terms such as 'student ghettos' or 'ghost town' (Smith, 2002). Importantly, landlord and small-scale private capital investors often accelerate the development of the

student housing market to maximise their profits, and in order to attract more and more students, who are willing to spend a relatively high proportion of their available economic capital on the rental of student housing. This general dominant narrative of studentification in the UK context poses the question: Are expressions of studentification in other national contexts, such as China, also dominated by high proportions of students residing in HMOs in local neighbourhoods in close proximity to university campuses?

Furthermore, the expansion of student housing markets in UK has also been associated with the proliferation of purpose-built student accommodation (PBSA). This form of student housing has rapidly transformed the student housing market within the UK since the mid-2000s. The high magnitude of private capital being invested in PBSA has fuelled the wide growth of student housing developments across the UK, often providing high-cost and high-quality (to compare with HMO) student rooms/flats for the student-consumers (Hubbard, 2008). More specifically, PBSA developed on brown-field sites and, to a much lesser extent, green-belt land, can be viewed as a leading-edge process of urban (re)development (Smith, 2007). Importantly, most new-build developments of PBSA are gated and gated managed (Hubbard, 2009). In brief, Smith (2002; 2008) concludes that there are two main waves of studentification in the UK, namely the first-wave of studentification associated with the increase of HMO, and the second-wave of studentification associated with the rise of PBSA. As above, these emerging geographies of studentification, raise intriguing questions about the pertinence of this so-called second wave of studentification (PBSA) in other national contexts, such as China, and the diversification of processes of studentification.

The discourse of studentification also has some 'connections' to the academic term of gentrification, within Smith (2005:86) suggesting that: 'studentification represents the gentrification factory?' As Smith and Holt (2007:156) argue:

"It is likely that residues of student lifestyles, such as an acceptance of 'less-traditional' norms of sexuality, gender, and ethnicity relations, many more fully filter, or trickle down, into the lifestyles of recent graduates and young professionals."

It is important to note that the commoditized forms of PBSA provide other 'links' between studentifiers (in the PBSA) and new-build gentrification. In the wider context of PBSA and gated, new-build apartments, some commentators argue that these forms do not displace local residents, due to PBSA and new-built gated apartments often being developed on brown-field sites (e.g. Davidson and Lees, 2005; Hubbard, 2008). However, Sage *et al.* (2013) argue that there is often 'invisible social-segregation' of both PBSA and gated new-built apartments; the high-price of rental housing within those forms of housing being a major constraint for low-income groups. For example, international students and affluent students are willing to reside in high-quality flats within PBSA, which can often lead to the social and spatial segregation groups of students, along various axes of difference (Hubbard, 2009).

This point is extremely pertinent to the focus of this thesis. In the context of China's student housing supplying, university-managed dormitories (UMDs) are the key form of student housing provided by universities, which can be viewed as an important cornerstone of the social housing system in China. Importantly, all university students have to reside in UMDs in line with the regulations of the Ministry of Education (2004; 2005; 2007). In addition, the commercial welfare housing (associated with the housing reform in late 1990s) and the high-rise apartments within the new-built gated communities (by private sectors) can be viewed as the two main forms of housing that encourage an active rental housing market for different social groups in cities. At the same time, some groups of students are willing to rent housing off-campus, in order to overcome the shackles of state regulations, and acquire more private spaces. These multiple geographies of studentification in the Chinese context point to some interesting similarities and differences between China and UK, and emphasise the need for more empirical investigations of studentification in the Chinese context, to consider the salience of this UK-originated concept within the Chinese context; the main focus of this thesis.

## **1.2 The case study of Haidian District within Beijing: a beacon of studentification?**

This thesis uses Haidian District (Beijing) as the research location to investigate processes of studentification in China, and specifically uses three internal case study

units (Peking University, 'Haidianlu' community and Wudaokou neighbourhood) within Haidian District (see Plate 1).

Beijing, the capital of China, represents the political and culture centre of China, which profoundly affects by the wider process of urbanisation, especially the market-oriented suburbanisation since 1990s (Feng *et al.*, 2008). In the context of this thesis it is important to note that urbanisation of Beijing includes three main stages of urban expansion since the communist party of China (CPC) built-up the People's Republic of China: (1) Soviet Union urban planning model from 1950s-1970s; (2) Government-led urbanisation from 1980s-1990s; (3) Neoliberal urbanisation since 1990s (Gu and Shen, 2003; Deng and Huang, 2004; He and Wu, 2009).



Plate 1: three case study sites in the northwest of Haidian District (Beijing)

Following three stages of urban expansion, Haidian District as one of government administrative districts (counties) in Beijing has profoundly affected by urban transformation during last decades. First of all, the municipal government of Beijing created the Haidian District in 1952, under the Soviet Union urban planning model, in order to build a producer-city and develop rural areas. For example, a number of industrial-residential areas with work-unit compounds were designed and planned (Wu, 2002; Feng *et al.*, 2008). In addition, some universities moved into Haidian district from the inner city areas of Beijing, with central government developing 8 key universities and colleges within this administrative district in 1952, as well as a

number of educational work-units in Haidian District. In doing so, Haidian District can be viewed as the higher education zone by the Soviet Union urban planning model, before the 'open-door' policy in late 1970s.

In the second stage, the municipal government of Beijing was given the plan to build-up a high-tech zone within the Haidian District in 1980s, named Zhongguancun (Gu and Shen, 2003). This is surrounded by numerous universities and colleges which provide a number of high-skilled human resources, to support the development of the knowledge-based economy in Beijing (Beijing Haidian district government, 2014). In this sense, government-led urbanisation has promoted the development of Haidian District in marked and profound ways.

It is notable that the third stage of neoliberal urbanisation from 1990s plays a significant role in the rapid urban development of Beijing; the private capital and the force of globalisation has enhanced the further urbanisation of the Haidian District, as well as market-oriented urbanisation (Feng *et al.*, 2008). Meanwhile, the reforms of land (in the late 1980s) and housing (in the late 1990s) by government stimulated a number of in-migrant populations into the Haidian District, due to the investment by real estate organisations for the development of high-quality residential apartments associated with key amenities (e.g. shopping malls and schools) (He and Wu, 2009).

To date, Haidian District is known for an education and high-tech zone by government planning, with total area of 430.77 km<sup>2</sup> and residential populations of 3,678,000 (2014). In particular, there are 54 HEIs located within Haidian District, and HE populations have occupied over 50% of the total HE population in Beijing ((Beijing Haidian District government, 2014). Drawing upon the other studentification case studies in the UK (e.g. Headingley in Leeds; Selly Oak in Birmingham and Lenton in Nottingham), Haidian District can be adopted as a research location to investigate studentification phenomenon rather than research on the mega city of Beijing context, due to the highly HE residential populations (see further discussion on Chapter 4). In this sense, this thesis uses three case study units (within Haidian District) to explore the diverse studentification tied to the urban changes in Beijing.

### **1.2.1 Peking University**

Historically, Peking University (PKU) was relocated from an inner city (located within second ring road) part of Beijing to the more peripheral site of Yanyuan in Haidian district in 1952, as part of the Beijing municipal government planning strategy (Peking University, 2013), outlined above. More specifically, in 1952, the central government, in tandem with the Soviet United Education Model, sought to adjust academic departments across universities in China. PKU, as one of the key universities in China, was developed as a specialised sciences and arts university (Seybolt, 1974), replacing Yenching University (founded by Christian Colleges of United States in 1919). The new campus location was previously a royal park (which belonged to the Qing Dynasty as a last feudal dynasty in China). Most of the buildings on the site were designed by American architect, Henry Killam Murphy (1877-1954), who combined traditional Chinese architecture style and modern architecture, as a classic attraction in Haidian district of Beijing (Peking University, 2013). Importantly, under the Soviet Union urban planning model, PKU was one of important state-own work-units produced for skilled human resource for the society (see further discussion in Chapter 6). PKU had a profound effect on the first-stage of urban expansion in Beijing.

In addition, PKU is one of most important universities for top-level academic and research in the higher education (HE) system of China, fuelled by the effects of the expansion of HE policy since 1999, and a large number of governmental funded projects (see further discussion on Section 5.7). PKU has clearly enlarged the Chinese student population (especially postgraduate populations) and international student population to compete with other top universities in the global arena. Importantly, the expansion of HE system in PKU includes the enrolment of a high total number of students from privileged families, with this group of student-consumers associated with high-levels of socio-cultural capital (see Chapter 5).

It is notable that the expansion of student populations has challenged the housing provision within the work-unit system of PKU, with the university developing three new blocks of student apartments (Wanliu student apartment, Changchunyuan/Changchunxinyuan; and global village) to meet the demand from an increased student population. This can be viewed as a process of urban

redevelopment in Haidian District under the third stage of urbanisation. However, some affluent full-time PKU's students also rent housing near campus to meet their personal interests, while increased international students in PKU rent housing in quality-apartment in gated communities, near to the campus of PKU. As a result, Haidianlu community and Wudaokou neighbourhood represent one main area for the rental of student housing locations, respectively.

### **1.2.2 Haidianlu community**

Haidianlu community is located to the south of campus of PKU, and to the north of Zhongguancun (high-tech zone), as the intermediate belt between campus of PKU and Zhongguancun. More specifically, Haidianlu community is surrounded by walls and gates, as well as a residential compound community, particularly housing that was built in 1987, and which belonged to the Haidian district government employees, as well as one of important parts of social-welfare housing within the work-unit system in Beijing (Gu and Shen, 2003; Wang *et al.*, 2005). Notably, Wang (2001) points out that in 1992 housing reform practice was evident in Beijing, and, in particular, the sale of social-welfare housing was one of the most important plans in the Beijing housing reform. Work-unit employees were empowered with the right to purchase social-welfare housing. The ownership of collective housing shifted into the individuals' private homeownership. Therefore, individuals have a right to deal with their private housing, although the use property right is only given for 70 years (Wang *et al.*, 2005; He and Wu, 2009). In effect, the housing reforms within Beijing have been a major factor for enhancing the rental housing market within the Haidianlu community.

At the same time, some relatively affluent full-time students of PKU often seek to rent housing in Haidianlu community, due to gated management and lack of private spaces in university-managed dormitories. In addition, the expansion of the postgraduate student policy of the PKU attracts increasing numbers of students to apply for these positions in PKU. Some students, who are not PKU undergraduates, are often willing to rent rooms in the Haidianlu community, to prepare for the master entrance exams, namely the group of studentifiers of 'Kaoyanzu'. In addition, the location of Zhongguancun is close to Haidianlu community, attracts a number of graduates to seek employment in the high-tech zones. However, some graduates

are not able to gain high-income salaries and enter low-skilled work; and they forced to rent the form of collective rooms in Haidianlu community, namely the group of studentifiers of 'ant tribe' (Lian, 2008).

### **1.2.3 Wudaokou neighbourhood**

The name of 'Wudaokou' is derived from a railway (from Beijing to Baotou) that crosses the fifth intersection, so-called Wudaokou (in Chinese). Before the trends of suburbanisation (government-led) in Beijing, this location can be viewed as an 'enclave' in the urban fringe (Feng *et al.*, 2008). Due to the effects of neoliberal urbanisation since 1990, Wudaokou has been rapidly developed by different entities such as local government institutions, state-owned enterprises, foreign direct investment, high-tech companies, real estate developers, retailers and higher educational institutions (HEIs).

The development by real estates has led to the supply of a large number of high quality apartments within gated communities of Wudaokou. The high quality of apartments within gated communities, associated with excellent local facilities and amenities, attract affluent populations to purchase housing/rental housing to facilitate modern urban social-life experiences in Wudaokou. On the other hand, the rise of housing agencies has increased values of housing properties and housing market in Wudaokou.

In addition, Wudaokou is generally known as one of four 'Korea towns' located in Beijing, and other Korea towns are located in the Wangjing, Yansha and the Asia Game village (Kim, 2010). More specifically, since 1960s South Korea has rapidly developed its economy to create the 'Miracle on the Han River' in East Asian, and the rise of South Korean financial groups expands their investments to other regions and countries. Importantly, with the diplomatic normalization between South Korea and The People's Republic of China from 1992, a number of South Korea companies consider the post-reform of China as the investment opportunity; they are willing to open businesses and often prefer to employ Koreans staff in local areas (Yeo, 2012;). As a result, a wave of South Korea migrants has moved into China since 1992; particularly, a number of South Korean students were moving into Beijing's universities, either learning Chinese language for more than one year or studying in universities to gain Chinese degrees (Yeo, 2012). As Kim (2010) points out, South



Korean companies in China often employ South Korean students who have experience in China, due to their capacities speak Chinese and understand Chinese social norms and cultures. Importantly, with the expansion of South Korean companies in China, the increased Korean students are willing to studying and learning in Chinese universities, especially Beijing. Moreover, Wudaokou, surrounded by universities, is an important neighbourhood for affluent South Korean students seeking rent private apartments from Chinese landlords and/or local agents (Yeo, 2012). As a result, South Korean students can be viewed as the first international studentifiers in Wudaokou neighbourhood, who are associated with their commoditized socio-lifestyles, which have impacted into local contexts.

At the same time, increased international student populations from western country are associated with more expansive lifestyles that have also changed local contexts (e.g. club culture and music live venue) in some dramatic ways. It is important to note that this group is often willing to rent housing in high quality apartment blocks within the gated communities of Wudaokou, gaining the cross-cultural social-life experiences off-campus in China.

### **1.3 Research aim and objectives**

The main research aim of this thesis is:

To explore the salience of the concept of studentification to understand different geographies of student housing within Beijing.

The key objectives are:

- (1) To map and spatially analyse the different geographies of student housing in Beijing.
- (2) To identity different types of studentifier and expressions of studentification within Beijing, with a focus on the social-living experiences of students, both on- and off-campus.
- (3) To consider conceptual differences and similarities, and differential outcomes of studentification in China and UK.

## **1.4 Structure of thesis**

This thesis is divided into 8 chapters. Chapter 2 provides a literature review to pin down the concept of studentification, and its application in a global context. Chapter 3 discusses the pertinence of scholarship on the rapid process of urbanisation in China with a focus on housing and land reforms since 1980s, to contextualise processes of studentification in China. This discusses the emergence of the urban village and gated community. Processes of studentification are explored in urban villages of Guangzhou (China). Chapter 4 discusses the methodology for the thesis. The three main research phases (official statistics, content analysis and qualitative methods) are presented. It is important to stress that this thesis presents findings from a cross-cultural research endeavour, which thus considers some research limits based on local contexts, such as lack of access to official datasets.

Chapter 5 introduces the HE system in China, with a focus on the changes after the expansion of HE since 1999. It is shown that due to the effects of expansion of high education policy in 1999, the rise of national-key education universities has attracted more students from upper and middle social classes, which has led to the uneven development of the education system. In particular, one of the outstanding universities of PKU has enlarged its student populations by the expansion of internationalized education and postgraduate education, and there is a growth of affluent students that have enrolled at PKU.

Chapter 6 explores the diverse student housing geographies of Beijing. First, the development of university-managed dormitories on/off-campus at PKU is examined. Second, the Haidianlu community, where there is a dynamic student housing market, is shown to provide rental housing in the form of HMO for three main types of studentifier (e.g. full-time PKU students, Kaoyanzu, and 'ant tribe'). Finally, it is evidenced that international students are willing to live in high-quality apartments in the gated communities of the Wudaokou neighbourhood.

Drawing upon the empirical findings, Chapter 7 discusses the social-life experiences of students associated with different types of lifestyles (collective lifestyle and expressive lifestyle) within student housing and local contexts. This chapter discusses PKU students' social-life experiences within the different types of UMDs, which indicates intended segregations by the university regulations and student

housing arrangement. In addition, this chapter explains why some students prefer to rent housing off-campus, and it is revealed that students' social lifestyles enhance the student-oriented business (Food Street) near campus. Consideration on three types of studentifiers indicates that the processes of studentification within the Chinese context have changed local contexts within Haidianlu. Furthermore, international students can be viewed as international studentifiers associated with their expansive-lifestyles, and have significantly transformed Wudaokou. The chapter also explores the relations of studentification and gentrification within new-built gated communities of 'Huaqingjiayuan'.

Finally, Chapter 8 critically compares the processes of studentification between China and UK, with a focus on different forms of student housing and different types of studentifiers within two national contexts. A (re)defined conceptualisation of studentification is presented to grapple with the diverse geographies of student housing within Beijing.

## **Chapter 2 - Studentification: 'a concept for travel'?**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Although the term of studentification originated from the UK context, it is now widely recognized as a geographical phenomenon that is evident within a global context, such as North American (e.g. Canada and USA), Europe (e.g. Spain), Oceania (e.g. Australia and New Zealand) and Asia (Malaysia). Based on the geographic contingencies, as well as generalities, of these different national/local contexts, the transposition of the concept of studentification begs important questions about similarities and differences in different places. With this in mind, and with a focus on the geographical phenomenon of studentification within China, the main aim of this chapter is to explore relevant academic literatures about wider urban changes in the Chinese context, and broader scholarship on studentification.

The chapter is divided into 4 sections. Section 2.2 introduces the concept of studentification, examining the processes of change in the UK context, and, in particular, focusing on the 'two-waves' of studentification that have mostly impacted on local communities in the UK. Section 2.3 discusses the diverse characteristics of the processes of studentification in the rest of world. Section 2.4 considers studies of studentification, using the example of two urban villages of Guangzhou (China), which are associated with of the rise of HMO in these localities. The last section (Section 2.5) provides a summary to outline the main conceptual and theoretical framework of the thesis, to enable an empirical investigation of studentification in Beijing.

### **2.2 The concept of studentification within the UK context**

The term of studentification was coined by British human geographer Darren Smith from his pioneering study of changing student housing markets and local community changes in Leeds (UK) in 1999. As Smith (2005, 2009b) notes, the concentration of HMOs and PBSA are the two main forms of private-housing that are embroiled within the processes of studentification in the UK.

In addition, Smith (2005, 2009b) points out that different types of students, such as 'stay-at-home', 'internal-migrant students' and 'international students', are often involved within processes of studentification in the UK. Students are viewed as a

highly-mobile social group, and as more and more students migrate into a neighbourhood over time there are profound effects on local communities, due to the distinct seasonal movements, consumption values and expressive lifestyles of students (Chatterton, 1999; Hubbard, 2008; 2009; Munro and Livingston, 2012). The in-migration of students into established local communities is therefore intrinsically connected to the depopulation of established, settled local residents, as family dwellings are converted into private rental for students (Universities UK, 2006; Smith and Holt, 2007; Sage *et al.*, 2012). Moreover, the internationalization of higher education (HE) also attracts a larger number of international students studying in the UK, and this group is equally connected to the growth of local student housing markets, especially for the sharp increase of PBSA (Smith, 2009a). Indeed, the effects of studentification have significantly impacted on many socio-economic spaces within different towns and cities of UK, and have been a key factor in the regeneration of many parts of UK towns and cities. According to the *Studentification Guide* (Universities UK, 2006), students often share common cultures and lifestyles of studenthood, which results in the reconfiguration of local infrastructures and services that are oriented to students. Other hallmarks include and the proliferation of student housing agencies, which increasingly have an influential and dominant role in local housing markets; decreasing levels of owner-occupation; and the upgrading/downgrading of the local physical environment.

The next two parts of this chapter describe the main effects of the so-called ‘two-waves’ of studentification within local contexts.

### **2.2.1 The ‘first-wave’ of studentification**

There is a wide recognition that the key reason for the ‘first wave’ of studentification in the UK was the expansion of HE policy since 1995. Most ‘traditional students’ move away from their parental home to study at a relatively distant HEI, usually in a different region traditional students are often defined as those:

“who tend to be white, aged between 18 and 21, originate from privileged social and economic backgrounds, have wealthy parents, studies at fee-paying, private schools and travel away from home to university” (Chatterton 1999:118).

Notably, the socio-economic identity of 'class' delineates the traditional student (middle and upper classes) and non-traditional students (Chatterton, 2000). It is widely acknowledged that the traditional student, based on their privileged capitals, enhances the development of the local university towns/urban socio-economy, due to their young and fashion-conscious cultural consumption practices (Smith and Holt, 2007).

Another important factor here is that private sector actors/organisations generally invest low-levels of economic capital in HMOs, in order to meet students' rudimentary housing needs (Sage *et al.*, 2011). Thus, the private investments enhance the development of HMOs in university cities and towns.

Furthermore, the locations of HMOs can attract student housing consumptions that are in close proximity to the university campus, or their spaces of learning (i.e. lecture theatres and libraries). As Hubbard (2008:326) asserts:

"In England and Wales, where the vast majority of established HEIs are located in or near city centres, the result is a characteristic clustering of HMOs in inner-city areas physically and economically conducive to student lets."

Importantly, this first-wave of HMO-dominated studentification, often in close proximity to university campuses, tends to produce multiple negative effects on local communities, such as the rise of 'student ghettos' and 'ghost towns'. First, 'student ghettos' are caused by traditional student expressive lifestyles which mostly extend beyond their time-spatial academic building and accommodation. As Chatterton (1999) explains, traditional student lifestyle represents high levels of socio-economic capital, which affects local socio-economic retail, leisure and service infrastructures, namely the imposition of fashion and young student capitals. More specifically, students with their dynamic cultural capitals consume and thus reproduce different elements of university towns, such as transport, business services and leisure-amenities (Smith, 2009a). Arguably, it is notable that student behaviours are usually unregulated to some degree (particularly when compared to the Chinese context and Chinese domestic students), which then often play-out in some negative ways and have detrimental effects on local context (Munro and Livingston, 2012). For example, some students and student social groups can produce noise pollution with their night-oriented and 'fun' lifestyles, with some stereotypes of students being based on

a reputation for the relatively high consumption of alcohol and fast food, which may lead to the problems of refuse and litter. Meanwhile, some traditional students have and use their personal cars for traveling to their campus and cities/towns of study, which can create additional challenges for public space for car parking. Furthermore, Chatterton (1999; 2000) found that many private investors invest in student-oriented businesses in studentified areas to enhance levels of student consumption practices.

Second, population transience and seasonal population changes can produce the student 'ghost town' (Smith, 2005; 2009a). 'Single-family' groups often out-migrate from studentified areas, and most traditional students only stay in their rental housing during the academic terms. As a result, a relatively high number of empty 'student houses' predominate during the student vacations (Hubbard, 2008). In effect, local rentals and student-led business services are reduced in the vacation season (Chatterton, 1999; 2000).

### **2.2.2 The 'second-wave' of studentification**

Smith (2007; 2009b) argues that there is a 'second wave' of studentification unfolding in university towns and cities, often associated with the rise of PBSA. First, Hubbard (2008; 2009) indicates that the impacts of the over-supply of HMO within the student housing market tend to lead to the opposition to the growth of concentrations HMOs:

“in many of those communities where studentification is most pronounced— notably Headingley (Leeds), Selly Oak (Birmingham), and Lenton (Nottingham)—groups of local residents have mobilised against student accommodation, petitioning against the development of new HMOs” (Hubbard 2008: 328).

At the same time, the licensing of HMO has been increasingly regulated by central governmental, with an effort to control and limit the spread and new development of HMO. It is perhaps not surprising that some private sectors have therefore shifted their financial capital and investments from the HMO to PBSA (Smith, 2007; Hubbard, 2009). Moreover, the internationalization of higher education has further stimulated the higher education-industry and commodification processes in the UK. The growth of international student-migrants, often perceived by the private actors to be from

privileged families, play a key role in the growth of a more exclusive student housing market (Hubbard, 2008; 2009). Therefore, many private sector developers are increasing building and developing new forms of PBSA to meet the perceived growth of more discernible HE student consumers, with the new developments often being located in newly formed studentified neighbourhoods (Fincher and Shaw, 2009; Collins, 2010; Smith, 2009b).

In addition, Hubbard (2009:1907) describes that many new developments of PBSA can be viewed as gated student-communities:

“are designed to high specifications, most consisting of apartment blocks divided into groups of bedrooms with communal kitchens and lounges, some rooms may be double occupation, but all are en-suite. Swipe card access, on-site security staff, and CCTV are standard; many developments have communal areas, launderettes, vending machines, and bike sheds, some even boast secure car parking, cafes, gymnasias, or swimming pools. Rents typically include all utilities, personal possession insurance, and broadband Internet connection.”

Therefore, this ‘second wave’ of studentification has also transformed many local neighbourhoods in profound ways. First, Sage *et al.* (2013) argue that the geographic spread of PBSA may be viewed as a relatively better outcome for urban regeneration, since PBSA is often developed on brown-field sites. Hence, PBSA is often a fundamental part of the processes of urban regeneration for local contexts within the UK (e.g. Nottingham, Newcastle, Leeds).

Second, Smith (2009b:1) notes that:

“The development of large-scale, Purpose-Built Student Accommodation (PBSA) has been one of the fundamental ways that many local authorities, in partnership with private sector actors, universities and other stakeholders, have sought to mitigate the challenges of studentification.”

Often with ‘gated’ features, the high density living arrangements within of PBSA means that developers are able to incorporate many rooms and bed spaces, when compared to HMO (with an average of 5 bed spaces per HMO). In effect, the development PBSA can therefore be viewed as saving land space, with the added



benefit of sparking the renewal of brown-field sites. Additionally, given PBSA often includes high security systems and gated spaces, administrators of PBSA are able to manage the expressive lifestyles of students (i.e. noise and parties), and reduce the overspill of refuse and litter. In this way, the development of PBSA is a form of student housing that more fully enables the regulation of the anti-social student behaviours and may help to reduce population transience in studentified neighbourhoods, as well as addressing some of the other negative effects of the 'first-wave' of studentification – which are tied to HMO-dominated studentified neighbourhoods.

On the other hand, Hubbard (2009) argues that PBSA may signify an expression of new-build gentrification, which produces segregation and the rise of (young) middle-class gated communities. PBSA is often associated with high rental costs and gated spaces, which can privilege more affluent student who have the capacity to pay higher rental fees. In this sense, Smith and Hubbard (2014) argue that wider geographies of segregation are emerging in the 'second-wave' of the growth of studentified areas. In brief, students who originate from high-income families are often able to live in the more appealing student areas, while students from low-income families tend to be marginalized in less appealing student areas. As Hubbard (2009:1920) postulates:

“while purpose-built development may well reduce overconcentration of HMOs, and help solve some problems of studentification, the enclosure of students in de facto gated communities runs counter to the government’s objective of creating cities which offer high quality of life and opportunity for all, not just the few.”

Furthermore, students who reside within PBSA can be viewed as the 'self-segregated group', seeking to enjoy their exclusive social life experiences within gated student-communities, which may reduce the socio-cultural interactions and consumptions with local infrastructures, and established local residents.

### **2.3 Studentification: non-UK expressions?**

Within the UK context, it is clear that 'two waves' of studentification have played out, with both positive and negative effects on local contexts. With the general global

expansion of HE, and the proliferation of internationally mobile students are across the global world, it is perhaps not surprising that processes of studentification are now unfolding within other national/regional contexts.

In the North American context, Fox (2008) indicates that the rise of 'Town and Gown' movement has explicitly impacted on local housing systems and communities across university towns and cities in North America. In particular, the growth of the 'Town and Gown' movement has produced the student-community in Canada. The key reason here is that the government considers that the 'Town and Gown' movement is able to create a number of modern citizens, with their knowledge and abilities to enhance modern society (Fox, 2008). In this sense, Fox (2008) points out that studentification has ignited more positive effects for university cities and towns; this is because that local security groups and police forces have needed to improve the local securities to meet the government objective of 'safe-walking' within local neighbourhoods. Hence, although local residents still have concerns about the expressive student lifestyles (i.e. noises pollution and refuse), the enhanced local patrols in studentified areas have minimised social conflicts between students and local residents. It is shown that the effects of studentification have improved neighbourhood stability in the Canadian context.

Australia has also witnessed the emergence of 'studentification' due to the expansion of HE policy and the growth of transnational students (e.g. home internal-migrant students and international-inflowing students) (Fincher and Shaw, 2009). In Melbourne, studentification tends to underpin the rise of perceived negative effects for local host communities, due to the social segregation of students. As Fincher and Shaw (2009:1899) indicate:

“an unintentional segregation of international students from local students is occurring, propelled by the institutional practices of universities, and underlain by the priorities of the Australian government in designating so clearly the role of 'international student' as revenue earners for the country's universities. The monopolization of space around the universities in the study area by high-rise student housing into which international student are channelled is the first way in which those students are segregated from their local student peers or 'host community'.”

It is shown that government identifies international students as an important consumer for universities and local community. However, the role university produces social-spatial segregations within these local contexts; often tied to the student housing services of the university separating two groups of students. First, the student housing service encourages international students (especially from Asia) to live alongside their friends (usually international students from same countries/regions), and reside in high-rise student housing near to the university campus. By contrast, home students tend to be more willing to reside within local host communities, where there are lower numbers of international students (Fincher and Shaw, 2009). Moreover, exclusive, new-build, high-rise student housing, is often designed and developed by private sectors, to meet the perceived discernible demands of international student, in a similar vein to the growth of PBSA within the UK context (Hubbard, 2008; 2009). Affluent international students are thus concentrated within high-rise student housing, and tend to spend their social-life within the gated student-communities, which thus leads to the social-spatial segregation between international students and home students.

In addition, international students can be viewed as one of key urban agents of urban change within the CBD area in Auckland of New Zealand (Collins, 2010). Based on a case study of South Korean students, Collins shows that international students prefer to reside within the CBD area, in close proximity to the three universities, with their housing consumption and socio-economic practices resulting in the CBD being studentified.

Collins reveals that international students are often willing to reside within apartment blocks within CBD to gain urban social-life experiences in Auckland, due to their preference to be inner-city consumers. At the same time, property developers have built-up a relatively high number of small-size apartments in the CBD, to meet the demands of international student-consumers. As a result, international students' associated with their social-cultural capitals have profoundly impacted on local business and culture infrastructures in the CBD. In effect, a range of urban actors such as student-oriented business and educational English language schools are increasingly emerging within studentified areas, which have profoundly transformed local infrastructures. Moreover, Collins points that different cultural consumption practices have led to international students becoming a 'self-segregated group',

segregated from home students. International students have some socio-cultural barriers in relation to their English language and food-related preferences; thus they are not easily able to make local friends and integrate into the local society. In turn, international students thus have a preference to live with their friends who are from the same cultural backgrounds.

In Spain, empirical findings reveal that students sharing private flats in high-rise buildings can be conceptualised as ‘vertical studentification’, perhaps pointing to a different expression of studentification (Garmendia *et al.*, 2012). This type of high-rise housing, increasingly rented by student-consumers, has led to the displacement of a long-term resident population, in part, due to increased social conflicts (e.g. noise population and increased refuse) between the two general social groups. One of the key factors here is that there is a lack of social space within these housing structures. In addition, Garmendia *et al.* found that “buyers either rent to student or, when they are from the province, by for their own children to live in while studying at the university” (p. 2665). It is shown that affluent families are a key factor in the production of vertical studentification, and that these forms of studentification may also create a group of ‘young gentrifiers’ within society.

In Asia, the term of studentification has been employed in the urban planning for Kuala Lumpur of Malaysia. Sabri and Ludin (2009) point out that the expansion of HE system in Malaysia has led to an increasing number of highly-skilled human resources, in part, to meet the needs of a knowledge-based economic strategy for the Kuala Lumpur, which promotes the competitiveness of the city on the global stage. The growing distribution of HEIs underpins the unfolding of processes of studentification within Kuala Lumpur, thus urban planners more fully need to consider the influx of HE students for urban planning processes and outcomes (Sabri and Ludin, 2009).

#### **2.4 Processes of studentification in China**

Research on the urban contexts of China, as discussed in the next Chapter (3), shows that some students currently reside within urban villages. This group of students can be viewed as studentifiers, who are associated with distinct lifestyles that have transformed the local contexts in four main ways: economic, social, culture and physical. These four dimensions are aligned with the definitions of

studentification, and are exemplified by empirical studies of studentification in urban villages of China (He *et al.*, 2011). He's (2014) case study location of Guangzhou is located in south of China, and is the third largest city in China. Guangzhou is the perhaps the earliest 'wealthy space' stimulated by the effects of the 'open-door' policy (He, 2012; Qian and He, 2012; Qian *et al.*, 2013). More specifically, Guangzhou has attracted a relatively large number of foreign capital investments to build up a large number of labour intensive industries, which has enhanced the mass-migration flowing into Guangzhou (Lin *et al.*, 2010). In effect, the municipal government of Guangzhou has paid attention to different villages, in order to 'acquire' farmland(s) for the development of different types of industries and institutions (e.g. service industry or the expansion of HEIs), and has provided the residential lands for indigenous villagers living in these spaces (He *et al.*, 2010; He, 2014). Therefore, the residential areas that are collectively owned by local villagers have provided a large number of rental housing opportunities for migrants; particularly, a group of student-migrants who are now residing within the urban villages. HMO within these urban villages provides low-cost rental space for students within two villages.

Based on these empirical findings, Section 2.4.1 describes that the processes of studentification that have unfolded in one of urban villages of Xiadu village, near to Sun Yat-sen University. Section 2.4.2 discusses the new urban village of Nanting located within the planned Guangzhou Higher Education Mega Centre (GHEMC), which has also witnessed processes of studentification.

#### **2.4.1 Xiadu village**

Xiadu village is close to the main campus of Sun Yat-Sen University (one of top universities in China). It is perhaps not surprising that local villagers have built a number of high-density rental rooms in the form of HMO to provide for different types of students and migrants, who depend on the housing rental fees for their main income source (He, 2014). In this way, local villagers have (self)built high-density housing space with relatively low cost prices (as same as other urban villages), in order to attract student housing consumers (Liu *et al.*, 2010).

He (2014) points out that three types of studentifiers are prevalent and their 'student lifestyles' are influential in generating processes of studentification in the urban village of Xiadu. First, students that are preparing for their master entrance exams

are the main group of studentifiers, namely Kaoyanzu in Chinese language context. This type of studentifiers, who generally are not registered at Sun Yat-Sen University, aims to avoid the crowded spaces of Chinese university dorms and seek a more peaceful living space to prepare for their entrance graduate school exams. As He (2014:14) indicates: “they usually come two months before the exam, in order to get familiar with the university.” As a result, Kaoyanzu prefers to rent housing for short-term lets. Second, some students rent housing off-campus due to the regulations and control of university dorms, seeking more private space and less-regulated lifestyles; these are the second main type of studentifier. In particular, student couples, who are from Sun Yat-Sen University, seek private space and common living spaces for each other. This is in contrast to collective rooms in university-managed student apartments, which are segregated by gender and have to adhere to the management rules set out by the university regulations. Interestingly, He (2014) describes that a group of graduates, who have graduated from Sun Yat-Sen University within 3 years, only gain the low-incomes to rent low-price housing in Xiadu village, as another type of studentifier. This group still maintains their previous student lifestyles and prefer to continue to live near to the campus, being able to access the university facilities and have personal relationships with university friends and lecturers. At the same time, a Chinese social scholar has coined the term of ‘ant tribe’ to describe this group of low-income graduates (Lian, 2009). He (2014:14) also reveals that there is a smaller group of students rent housing in Xiadu Village to accompany their families and friends for a short term through their visiting time.

He (2014) also reveals that within the previous three years, housing rents have increased by over 15%, and that the rental income from the student housing market is over 200,000 RMB by each month. It is clear that student housing rents is an important source of income for many local villagers. In addition, local residents have developed student-oriented business services to enhance their income from the consumption practices of studentifiers. However, most student-oriented business services are shown to be normally run by migrants, who also rent housing within the village. Thus, local villagers only rent their housing for migrants to run business to gain the rent incomes. In effect, different types of studentifiers associated with their consumptions significantly produce a large number of economic profits for local residents (local villagers and migrants). The influx of studentifiers has certainly

changed the local population structures, with younger populations now making up the main percentage in local village. However, He (2014) argues that local villagers still reside in village, which is a marked difference to the displacement outcomes tied to the rise of HMO in the UK context (Smith, 2002; 2005; 2012). Similarly, studentifiers represent a highly-mobile group and they are characterised by seasonal movements in both China and the UK (Smith, 2009; He, 2014). Interestingly, the local administration of Xiadu village has improved security enforcement, in a similar way to the experiences noted earlier within studentified communities in Canada (Cox, 2008; He *et al.*, 2011). Moreover, studentifiers also represent an highly-educated social group who are associated with accumulated cultural capital, and this, in turn, creates some positive effects on social activities (e.g. fashion consumptions and entertainments), which have advantageous impacts on local villages (He, 2014). In the physical environment, He *et al.* (2011) indicate that studentifiers have ungraded local physical in Xiadu village, given students demand relatively high-quality housing environments to meet their interests (e.g. private space for studying and living), while the local landlord aims to improve physical environments to attract more and more student-consumers, and thus maximise their profits.

#### **2.4.2 Nanting village**

The Nanting village is located on the Xiaoguiwei Island, and was planned by the government for Guangzhou Higher Education Mega Centre (GHEMC). In 2004, GHEMC started to enrol HE' students, and, at the same time, Nanting village was built to provide a relatively large number of rented rooms for different social groups, especially students:

“According to the housing rental management office in Nanting until March 2013 there were 854 buildings with 8,417 rooms for rent, accommodating 3,258 renters in the village, of which the majority were students.” (He, 2014:16)

Clearly, the urban village of Nanting has been reconfigured into a student housing cluster to service student housing consumers.

To compare with the types of studentifiers in Xiadu Village, it is important to note that art students predominate in Nanting, from two universities (Guangzhou Academy of Fine Arts and Guangdong University of Technology). He (2014:16) describes that:

“art students from GAFA and GDUT are more individualistic and long for a more private and expressive lifestyle.” In effect, most art students seek rental housing off-campus, in line with many western students (Chatterton, 2010; Smith, 2005). At the same time, there are over 50 art training institutes within the village; art students also are working for art training institutes and, in doing so, they can obtain income to pay their housing rent. On the other hand, students who attend art training institutes are also willing to rent housing in Nanting village, due to the need to prepare for their entrance university art exams. It is important to note that there are some student couples who seek private space for their social living, and who are willing to rent rooms in Nanting.

He (2014) concludes that the effects of studentification in Nanting village are in line with the Xiadu village. However, He (2014) argues that university art students have some advantages which are tied to their social-economic capitals to change local economic and social networks, when compared to their counterparts in the Xiadu village (He, 2014). In this way, some students rent the whole building which are restructured into ‘student-hotels’ to provide for student couples. The student-hotels can provide relatively high-quality facilities to meet the needs of student couples’, as opposed to the old structures and buildings of local villagers. As a result, the culture and social capitals by studentifiers has enhanced the physical environment for Nanting village. As He (2014:23) argues:

“Remarkably, in the case of Nanting, studentifiers have gone beyond the passive role of renters to directly participate in the art training industry, the process of housing rental and neighbourhood upgrading, by making full use of their rich cultural capital and social networks among fellow students. In this regard, students are not only apprentice gentrifiers, but also apprentice entrepreneurs who started to develop and accumulate their entrepreneurial skills through engaging in the cultural industry and the housing rental business.”

## **2.5 Summary**

Based on the UK contexts, this chapter has discussed the two main waves of studentification, and has shown how these waves have significantly changed many university cities and towns in the UK. The ‘first-wave’ of studentification is associated



with of the increase of student HMO, and overall, this has given rise to some negative effects (e.g. population transience and student ghettos) within local studentified neighbourhoods (Smith, 2002; 2008; 2009). Although the 'second-wave' of studentification, associated with the growth of PBSA, is viewed as a solution to address some of the negative effects of the 'first-wave', this wave has been shown to lead to social segregation between students, and is often characterised by gated student-communities. In particular, privileged international students and home students tend to be viewed as the key student housing consumers in the 'second-wave'.

At the same time, there is evidence to suggest that the geographical phenomenon of studentification has travelled at a global scale. In North America, the rise of the 'Town and Gown' movement has produced a number of student communities in university cities and towns; whereby studentification is viewed as leading to some positive effects (e.g. low criminal rate and enforcement of security) and improving community stability (Cox, 2008). In Australia and New Zealand, the internationalization of HE importantly has been shown to promote processes of studentification, which are tied to local urban changes (Fincher and Shaw 2009; Collins, 2010). One of key factors here is the growth of international students, who are conceptualised as highly-mobile agents. They are associated with their national cultures, and are able to produce socio-spatial segregation and stratification for local communities, especially transforming cities' centres (Fincher and Saw, 2009; Collins, 2010). In Spain, the term of 'vertical studentification' has been introduced to capture students residing within high-rise of apartments, and who are associated with low-quality apartments. Therefore, the low-quality of apartment structures associated with the expressive social-lifestyle of students cause long-term residents moving out the high-rise buildings. In Asia, researchers have critically considered using the term studentification for the urban design and planning within Kuala Lumpur of Malaysia, in order to foster more sustainable communities within the city.

In the Chinese context, He (2014) points out that processes of studentification in urban villages has led to some positive effects within local contexts such as processes of redevelopment. Importantly, although some local villagers may have lost their farmland, the rise of rental business for student housing may provide a more stable income.

It is important these empirical findings within urban villages of Guangzhou have revealed different types of studentifiers (such as Kaoyanzu, students for private space, low-income graduates, universities' art students and students training in the art institutes), and that these groups are living in the urban villages in close proximity to university campuses (He, 2014). In addition, research findings in China indicate that processes of studentification have transformed the contexts of urban villages, which may provide a solution to upgrading the social-living conditions within urban villages. Moreover, some local villagers are both landlords and housing agents, and manage their properties to rent to studentifiers, which create an important informal housing market within the urban villages. Finally, He (2014) points out that the studentified urban village is important for rural-urban migrants who can manage student-oriented business to enhance their profits. Increased numbers of studentifiers are willing to live within the urban village to meet their demands, due to the student-oriented business run by rural-urban migrants and rental housing by local villagers.

## **Chapter 3 – Contextualising studentification in China**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter seeks to contextualise the distinct processes of studentification within China by briefly outlining some of the leading hallmarks of broader processes of urban change in China. Of course, there is a large, and ever-growing, urban studies scholarship on processes of change within China. It is not the place here to review the expanse of this scholarship in a systematic way for this thesis, given the main aim and objectives of the thesis. Rather, this chapter purposely focusses on the term of ‘transitional China’, influenced by the effects of neoliberal urbanisation and globalisation, and which has led, in part, to the production of two main geographic entities that are important for understanding processes of studentification in the Chinese context: the urban village, and gated communities.

The chapter is divided into 5 sections. Section 3.2 describes the term of ‘transitional China’ by political and economic reforms since late-1970s. Section 3.3 presents the land and housing reforms since 1980s. Section 3.4 introduces the term of ‘urban village’ in the Chinese context. Section 3.5 discusses three main types of gated communities tied to rapid urbanisation in China. Section 3.6 makes some concluding remarks.

### **3.2 The transitional China**

In order to deal with the economic and political issues by the Cultural Revolution between 1966 and 1976 in China, after the significant and historical 3<sup>rd</sup> plenary session of the 11 Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1978, China began to reform the economic and political institution, namely the ‘open-door’ policy (Friedmann, 2005; He and Wu, 2009). More specifically, the practice of the ‘open-door’ policy since 1978 has transformed China from being dominated by a planned economy to a market economy; with China’s market being tied into the global capital market. Although some scholars argue that the market economy in China has apparently the shadow of planned economy (Wang, 2001), Communist Party of China (CPC) had formally issued documents to define and confirm the role of market economy in 1992, in particular issuing a paper focussing on the role of stated-owned economy (e.g. stated-owned enterprises and work-units) to dominate

market. On the other hand, a paper was issued to encourage private capital to improve the development of the economy. As a result, the stated-owned economy and private economy can be viewed as two key pillars in China, or the so-called socialist market economy (The central People's Government of the People's Republic of China official web-site, 2013).

In addition, the identified socialist market economy by issued paper in 1992 promotes the private capitals (foreign direct investment and domestic private capital) to play their roles in market. At the same time, from 1980s the process of globalisation and the rise of neoliberalism have rapidly accumulated capitals following into China, this is because China as an undeveloped market can attract global capitals interests (Friedmann, 2005; Gu and Shen, 2003), the external environment provides a development opportunity for China.

Moreover, China has applied two political reforms: decentralization and rescaling, in order to enhance the role of the city in the economy development. In effect, this is able to attract global capital investments and promote the domestic private capital for the development urban economy (Friedmann, 2005; Feng *et al.*, 2008; He and Wu, 2009). At the same time, central government aimed to reform the land and housing system, to introduce the private capitals for the growth of urban economy (Ministry of Housing and Urban-rural Development of the People's Republic of China, 2015; Wu, 2007; Feng *et al.*, 2008). It is therefore that urban development in China indeed is enhanced by the capital accumulations and investments by the political reform, which can be seen as the rapid neoliberal urbanisation in China (Smith, 2002; He and Wu, 2009).

By rapid neoliberal urbanisation in China, two urban products are engendered by the process of urban development, namely the urban village and gated community. It is important that urban village and gated community can be viewed as the term of community to provide residential spaces for different types of social groups.

### **3.3 The implications of neoliberal shifts in China: Land and housing reforms**

From 1950s to 1970s, Soviet-Unit urban planning model has profoundly dominated and affected China's urban development (Wu, 1994; 2002). More specifically, the core of Soviet-Unit urban planning model aimed to build the 'producer urban' to

instead of the 'consumer urban' (Feng *et al.*, 2008). In particular, the term of work-unit plays a key role under the model of 'producer urban', where can be viewed as the gated work and residential areas. Before the 'open-door' reform, work-units represent a low-wage, low-consumption and high social-welfare provision space, where creates a number of 'small regions/communities' within the urban scale (see further discussion on Chapter 6).

From 1980s, by the effects of decentralization, local regions/urban governments introduced and encouraged private capitals investment into urban (re)development, due to the lack of effective and financial supports for the (re)development (He and Wu, 2009). At the same time, the trend of urban-centred development from 1990s has profoundly affected the global world, which stresses the roles of market and accumulated capital. Therefore, urban development can be considered as the engine by local governments to promote national and regional economy (Taylor, 1995; Smith, 2002). As a result, two factors of commodification and privatization have profoundly affected China's urban (Wu, 2007; He and Wu, 2009). In a word, the transitional urban in China has transferred from a low consumption and high social-welfare provision space to a high-consumption and low social-welfare provision space, as well as neoliberal urbanisation by market forces instead of Soviet-Union urban planning. In particular, land and housing reforms by governments play the key roles in the transitional China.

First of all, He and Wu (2009:287) point out that "before land reform was launched in the late 1980s, urban land was allocated to government organizations or work units free of charge". In this sense, urban land could be viewed as the free and welfare property for official institutions and work units (Wu, 2002), but the free land presents two issues, such as low efficiency and financial deficiency in land provision system (Wang, 2001). In order to address issues in land system, in the May of 1990 central government issued two important policy documents (Provisional regulations on urban state-owned land use right transfer, and Foreign investment in developing and managing tracts of land interim measures) to encourage and protect private sectors investment in urban areas (Ministry of Housing and Urban-rural Development of the People's Republic of China, 2015). In effect, private sector organisations (domestic and foreign) were able to obtain the land resources to develop industries. Moreover, in 1992 central government officially introduced the land-leasing project associated

with land use charge fees for each developer such as real estate investor and property developer who obtain the land-leasing right to (re)develop urban land (). As a result, local city government is able to enlarge the fiscal incomes as one of important revenues for public consumptions (Ding, 2007); and real estate investors and property developers associated with their economic-capitals indeed have changed local contexts such as development of shopping mall and private housing (Huang, 2004).

At the same time, the objectives of housing reform are housing commodification and privatization of public housing, in order to increase private homeownership in housing markets (Wang, 2001; Wang *et al.*, 2003; Lee, 2010; Wang and Murie, 2011). Before the housing reform, urban housing generally is provided by work-units in the public housing system (Wu, 2002). The key problem is that the free housing is lack of maintenance and redevelopment to provide modern urban life under the rapid urban economic development (He, 2007). Hence, in 1988 central government had issued first paper to reform the housing system which abolished the public housing allocation and introduced the private housing capital to invest in housing market, (Ministry of Housing and Urban-rural Development of the People's Republic of China, 2015).

Importantly, in the July of 1994, central government issued the policy document of 'State Council on deepening the reform of the urban housing system' to start institutional reform on housing across the state (Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the People's Republic of China, 2015). According to the document, housing reform is an important part for 'open-door' policy which aims to build up commercial housing and transform the work-unit housing into commercial housing. In this sense, central government aimed to breakdown the housing provision function by work-unit system and employ the private sectors to provide quality housing for residents. On the other hand, this policy document also indicates that local governments have responsibility to build-up social housing for low-income family group. Furthermore, the important policy document on a large-scale developing commercial housing was lunch by central government in July of 1998, which was entitled 'The further deepening reform of housing system on speed up housing construction' (Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the People's Republic of China, 2015). This policy document aimed to remove housing allocation

by work-unit system and launch the full implementation of the monetization of housing distribution, in order to encourage capital to invest in housing provision. . As research scholars review that “the policy aims to provide employees with cash subsidies as part of their wage package to enable them to buy or rent their homes through market” (He and Wu, 2009:289). In this sense, each employee- is able to purchase or rent housing in housing market, which enhance housing commercialization by the real estate investors and the property developers. Meanwhile, in 1999 central government applied privatization of public housing on work-units and government organizations (Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the People’s Republic of China, 2015), thus work-units and government organizations were able to sell their public housing for their employees, which convey the collective ownership by work-units and government organizations into the home ownership by singles and families (Wang, 2001). As a result, Wang and Murie (2011) indicate that home ownership in urban has grown over 80% in 2010, compared with less than 20% in the 1980.

By the several housing reforms from late-1980s, urban housing provision now can be understood into three pathways: (i) real estate investors and property developers had built a large number of commercialization housing for private purchasers and tenants, especially high-income groups seek to live in high-rise gated communities (He, 2009); (ii) the term of affordable housing by government support that allow property developers to limit the investment to build the governmental standard and sized commercialized housing for middle and low income groups, and commercial housing has transformed from work-unit provision housing (Wang and Murie, 2011; Wu, 2002); and (iii) the government supported rental housing can be viewed as the social housing for the poverty family groups who do not have the ownership of housing (Wang and Murie, 2011). Notably, He (2009; 2010; 2012) indicates that the new urban housing provision (informal housing) by small-capital investors has unfolded within the urban village context in China, which addresses the demands of low-income migrants.

### **3.4 The urban enclave: urban villages**



Plate 3.1: Urban village in China (source from <http://www.cnhubei.com/200612/ca1236842.htm>)

The term of urban village refers to western urban context that represents a developed and welfare community: advanced public transportation; well-being physical environment and self-sustainability spatial territory (Aldous, 1992; Magnaghi, 2005). It is therefore that urban village within western context can be viewed as a living-welled place for human beings, in order to provide a sustainable residence in urban scale.

Drawing upon western context, urban village in China presents different meaning. He *et al.* (2010) defines that the city government aims to expropriate the farmland in the village, and keeps the housing land for the villagers. By the rapid the process of urbanisation, those village settlements are within/ round the enlarged urban territory, emerging the so-called urban village. To compare with housing conditions in the western context, housing within Chinese urban villages are generally associated with high-density and low-quality. There are relatively high numbers of apartment blocks built without conforming to government regulations and planning legislation, especially self-built housing by villagers who rent housing to migrant (Liu *et al.*, 2010). In addition, Gu (2001) and Jeong (2011) indicate that urban villages have high



criminal rates and represent unhealthy environments without public space, as well as high-levels urban poverty. As a result, urban villages can be viewed as a 'headache' for local governance.

This section (3.4) is divided into 2 parts. Section 3.4.1 explains three of the main reasons for the creation of the urban village. Section 3.4.2 describes the urban village and low-income communities, and the co-existence of two main social groups: indigenous villagers and rural-urban migrants.

### **3.4.1 The reasons to produce urban village**

It is valuable here to explain some reasons for the product of urban villages. First, socialist institutional reforms towards a market economy and the beginning of land reform in the late of 1980s led to the establishment of a land leasing system, which opened opportunities for the development of new land markets and offered a large number of revenue sources for local government, which is able to obtain revenue without any 'out-of-pocket costs' (He and Wu, 2009; Po, 2011; Deng and Huang, 2004). It is not surprising that local governments often gain the large number of profits from expropriated land. In addition, in order to develop the local economy, city government often acquires a large number of rural lands to be transformed into urban land, which relies on the private land economy (Gu and Shen, 2003; He, 2010). As a result, Liu *et al.* (2010) points out that some villages in the urban fringe are often sacrificed by 'local enclosure movements'.

Second, according to Land Administration Law in China (The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China official website, 2013), institutional land system is a dual system where urban land ownership is state-owned and management is undertaken by the city government. On the other hand, rural land is owned by collective villagers, and they are able to organize the co-operative economical group or the elected villager committee to manage their collective village land, in particular rural land generally is divided into two parts: farmland (Gengdi in Chinese) and housing land (Zhajidi in Chinese) and rural plots (Ziliudi in Chinese). In the process of rural-urban land transition, local government acquires rural collective land, and pay the compensation for landless villagers. Thus, compensation becomes an important factor for city government and villagers.

As, Deng and Huang (2004:225) indicate that:

“land Administration Law stipulates that, in addition to compensation for attachments, crops and vegetables, compensation for farmland should be 3-6 times (later raised to 6-10 times) of previous three years’ average of annual agricultural production value.”

Nonetheless, the price of land agricultural price is often very low in China, and therefore the compensation fees are relatively low for landless villagers, where compared to rising urban land prices (Song *et al.*, 2008). Therefore, landless villagers can be viewed as a ‘victim group’ in this process of rural-urban land transformation. On the other hand, city government is able to obtain many benefits, such as land leasing premium and urban infrastructure fee, this is because that transferring land rents to different economical entities such as FDI companies and local industries. Another important reason here is that city government needs to pay a high compensation fee for the demolition of villager’s housing (Zheng, 2009; Wu, 2012). Given an example of the city of Beijing, compensation of cropland is about 150 RMB/m<sup>2</sup> and compensation of vegetable land is 450 RMB/m<sup>2</sup> for landless villagers, but the compensation for villager’s housing land in villages and towns is much higher than farmland, around 7800 RMB/m<sup>2</sup>. As a result, most city governments do not intend to dismantle housing land and pay the compensation. Most expropriated villages are kept as the housing land for villagers, and they are willing to obtain farmland compensation from local government (Huang and Clark, 2002; Hsing, 2006).

Third, Shen (2012) argues that Chinese government has relaxed control on migration since 1980s, because government changed policy in the household registration system (hukou), that allow people to leaving their household register place and improve a large-wave of migration within China. Jeong (2011) indicates that most migrants still officially keep their original household registration, as an import population in the context of urban. Beijing, Shanghai and Guangdong are the three most advanced economy provinces in China. Migrants, therefore, often seek to move into these places for working and living (Chan and Zhang, 1999; Shen, 2012). In this way, migration is a force in the process of wider urbanisation. However, most cities cannot provide enough rented housing for the high influx of migration, with

rural-urban migrants requiring more and more seek rented housing within informal housing market (He *et al.*, 2010; Liu *et al.*, 2010). At the same time, local villagers who stay in urban villages explore this opportunity by self-building housing on their housing land without government regulation and planning (He et al 2010 and Lin et al 2011). As a result, Liu *et al.* (2010) found that indigenous villagers are (re) developing their housing in the form of closely packed apartments (low-quality, high-density and cost-saving), and they are able to offer comparative rented housing prices for low-income group within the rented housing market, particularly for rural-urban migrants. Most low-income social groups (e.g. rural-urban migrants and student) are willing to rent such housing in the urban village and work in the urban (He, 2008; 2014).

On the other hand, with the process of privatization on housing markets, most city governments often focus on commercial housing. This is because they can gain a large number of 'land profits and fiscal land' from the land leasing system. Often they ignore housing issues for low-income groups, particularly the rural-urban migrant. Arguably, Wang and Murie (2011) indicate that some city governments are building post-reform affordable housing for low-income classes, however it only opens the door for people who have city and/ or local household, hukou system plays its effects on the limitation of migration groups. As a result, most rural-urban migrants seek to rent housing in self-built housing by indigenous villagers in urban villages (He *et al.*, 2012; Liu *et al.*, 2010, Lin *et al.*, 2012, Luo and Shen, 2008).

In the side of government, the advantage of cheap labour (most rural-urban migrants) is one of key factor that promotes the development of economy in China, city government often tolerates the emergence of urban villages to provide low-cost and 'illegal' housing for those cheap labours (Wu, 2012). As He et al (2010: 675) stress: "affordable housing for rural migrants supplied by urban villages has become one of the important elements of China's urban growth." Therefore, city governments often enjoy the positive effects of the urban village under its temporary tolerance policy within the process of urbanisation.

#### **3.4.2 'Low-income community'**

In order to understand the context of urban village as the term of community, Wu (2012) indicates that urban village refers to a low-income community under the

restructuring of urban space in many Chinese cities, which plays its effects on local urban scale. The emergence and development of urban villages not only provide low-price rented housing for low-income groups including migrants and temporary urban residents, but also produces some small-scale business such as grocery shop and restaurants for different groups, as the low-income community (Liu *et al.*, 2010; Zhu, 2004; Zhang, 2011; Wu, 2012).

Wen and Wang (2009) reveal that groups of rural-urban migrant family members with their relatives are often willing to live together, rather than being separated within different places. Thus, they seem likely to establish their 'new-village' as a migrant enclave, which has resulted in the restructuring of urban space. Some forerunners of migrants are willing to introduce some information about job opportunities and living situation for their relatives and friends who are from same register location in hukou system (household registration system), and are interested in working in cities. It seems that close relationship (laoxiangguanxi Chinese) have driven migrants living together (Liu *et al.*, 2010). On the other hand, local villagers are building much more rented housing for migrants, in order to gain the pivotal economical source: rental income. They are gradually becoming a privileged group in urban village, due to having a property right on the collective housing land and the vague property rights on their self-built housing (Lee, 2000). In effect, some better-off indigenous villagers are willing to leave their official register villages while a number of migrants intend to live in the urban villages, as a population change movement occurring in the context of urban village (Deng and Huang, 2004).

For some empirical case studies in Beijing, many scholars found that some informal settlements were emerging in suburban of Beijing in the early 1990s. In-migration is a key factor here to improve the rise migrant-settlements in Beijing (Gu and Shen, 2003). Importantly, Jeong (2011) noted that those informal settlements as migrant enclaves are normally located in urbanized-villages. Especially, most migrants were from same provinces and live together in the same villages where are called their provincial names by many scholars, such as Zhejiang village (Zhengjiangcun Chinese) from Dahongmen to Nanyuan area in the Fengtai district and Henan village (Henancun) in Haidian district (Jeong, 2011). It is not surprising that those informal settlements can be seen one form of urban village in Beijing, and improve empirical researches in the context of urban village. More specifically, Jeong (2011: 508)

points that 'through these settlements, they have been able to create their own village villages-or enclaves-with independent schools, medical services, and even their own type of security force.' As a consequence, those villages provide some functions of community in the process of urbanisation in Beijing.

However, Xu (2008) and Wu (2012) argue that low-income communities, as well as urban villages, do not meet the notion of 'community' in the western context. This is because transitional China cannot provide explicit social rights and relations within low-income communities, such as property rights and contact between renter and landlord. Thus, a common social interest for different groups is how social contracts build up between each group. It is here that many issues need to be considered by different researchers and institutions. As a result, social groups and their interests within urban villages are discussed as below.

In general, there are three main social groups: indigenous villagers and rural-urban migrants; and urban hukou holders; to live within urban village (He *et al.*, 2010; Liu *et al.*, 2010; Zhang, 2011). First, indigenous villagers can be viewed as the landless villagers only keep their housing land, and they have less education and skills compared to these urban residents (Zhang, 2011; Po, 2011). Farmland owned by indigenous villagers has acquired by government enclosure movement. In effect, they are able to obtain amount of compensation from government to maintain their further life in the process of urbanisation. However, Deng and Huang (2004) indicate that compensation standard is lower for landless villagers, compare with growth of urban land price. It seems like that compensation principle does not play its effect on market-oriented China. Ye (2011) indicates that the transitional China is tied to the lack of effects on social welfare system which is unable to provide much more subsidised capital for villagers. When indigenous villagers consume over their compensation, they do not have any sources to maintain their social-life in future. Moreover, landless villagers could not thrive in the transitional China, due to their lack of education and skills (Ye, 2011). They cannot often find 'good' jobs in the urban for their life. Importantly, many scholars found that although there is a lack of social entitlements of indigenous villagers, they own a unique right of use housing land right in urban village (He *et al.*, 2012). Indeed, they are able to build up 'illegal housing' due to the city governments' ambiguity policy, in order to gain rental incomes, as such "high-density houses and add floors and structures and even

illegally, resulting in slum-like living environments” (Zheng *et al.*, 2009:426). With the large-scale in-migration toward urban villages, indigenous villagers represent the privilege class in urban village, particularly in some south coastal cities where indigenous villagers organize a form of share-holding company to manage rent business (He *et al.*, 2010; Po, 2011).

It is here that the identities of rural-urban migrant in urban villages “are young men, who have low levels of educational attainment and low income; they work in the tertiary sector, hold rural hukou, and are from adjacent or poor provinces” (Zheng *et al.*, 2009:429). In addition, He *et al.* (2010) assert that rural-urban migrants pose a weak side in the urban village, namely they could be seen as a part of member of urban village. There is a lack of negotiation with indigenous villagers to present their social interest in the community of urban village, and social conflicts can emerge between different groups. However, He *et al.* (2010: 678) emphasized that:

“in villages where migrants from the same place of origin live together and are closely bonded by social networks or kinship, it is noticeable that they can achieve more bargaining power over conditions and rent.”

Therefore, this statement support that some provincial migrants prefer to live together, as ‘Zhengjiangcun’ and ‘Henancun’ are emerging in suburban of Beijing. In short, different groups are living together in urban village as a community in the context of urban under the rapid urbanisation in China (Wu, 2002). They could represent different social interests in urban village and social stratification gradually enlarges between each group, which rely on their rights and entitlements. As a result, this becomes a challenge for local urban governance.

Different groups’ interests and uneven distribution of rights in urban villages have challenged and reshaped grassroots governance for local governments. Po (2011: 511) indicates that:

“by law, the wave of privatisation in China’s various economic sectors has not changed the collective ownership of rural land. The institutional cautions against farmland privatisation are certain related to concerns about the stability of China’s rural society.”

As such, villagers share their right on the collective property and take an advantaged position to present their voices in urban village, comparing to other two groups. In addition, although urban hukou holders do not have the power to join in the political structure of villages, they can gain benefits from their work-units and protect their interests by urban welfare system. Their elected right do not belongs to urban villages, which could not create new political power and protect their interests. In addition, their homeownerships only have use right for 70 years, but not for the property rights. Thus, when city government expropriates urban village, they have to move out and could not gain much more compensation than indigenous villagers. Moreover, rural-urban migrant seems likely to a weak group in urban villages. They are only living in urban village and do not plan to stay in urban in the future (Zheng *et al.*, 2009). They do not have political right to organize urban village and only have low-income. Therefore, local government has challenged by the dealing with some conflicts between each group.

For political leader-level, Po (2011) indicates that two leader groups are able to control the property right in village political regime of China, namely the Communist Party Branch and the elected villager committees. However, the power between each group do not clearly be defined by law, thus some tensions could emerge within two groups when they deal with the collective assets. Especially, when city government intend to expropriate rural land, massive conflicts between city government, village cadres and villagers indeed are becoming a tough issue in China now, as many reports in media (He *et al.*, 2010, Liu *et al.*, 2010, Zhang, 2011). As a result, urban village could not examine as a sustainable community in the development of urban, due to the differentiation of different groups' interests. Therefore, urban village becomes a growth poverty settlement within the scale of urban under the rapid processes of urbanisation in China.

### **3.5 The urban fortress: gated communities**

Although gated and walled communities can be largely found in history (such as the Forbidden City in Beijing), Blakely and Snyder (1999) found that there are a large number of gated communities which are embedded in the process of (re)urbanisation and modernization in the United States. In addition, a question of

what is the definition of gated community, According to the Dictionary of Human Geography:

“gated community are residential enclaves demarcated physically by walls, fences and secured gateways, which are often patrolled by private security guards. They are also frequently governed by community associations that regulate residents’ activities and design decisions. The proliferation of gated enclaves, private governance and security is generally understood to lead to the delegitimation of public services and is a physical manifestation of growing resistance to ‘democratization, social equalization and the expansion of citizenship right” (The Dictionary of Human Geography 5<sup>th</sup> Ed 2009: 267-268).

It is clear that the private-organized gated community not only presents highly security in order to protect its residents, but also produces significant social powers that has had impacted on different levels of social areas.



Plate 3.2: Gated community in China (author's photograph)

In addition to the impacts of neo-liberalism, Webster (2001; 2002) and Pow (2007) indicate that gated community now are becoming a global phenomenon occurring in different places, especially in many rapid urbanisation countries such as the mainland of China. The reform policy was introduced in late 1970s, China was able to enjoy and gain amount of interests from the third waves of globalisation (He and



Wu, 2009). On one hand, the key role of private capital importantly promotes the rise of privileged class in China, social stratification is more obvious rather than traditional socialist China. On the other hand, in 1980s, the reform of land and housing system promoted and stimulated housing market in urban (Wang and Murie, 2011). It is therefore that the development of real estate provides different housing for the increased middle and upper classes who intend to choose gated community as a popular residence for social-living.

Indeed, the reform of housing and land system promotes the emergence of commodity housing which produces by private housing developers who aim to build up a privileged enclave for high-income groups. Those commodities with high-quality price housing now are increasing in China, as the form of gated community by the process of privatization. The rise of private-gated community thus represents western context such as private organization and social exclusion.

In this section is divided into three parts. Part 3.5.1 describes three types of gated communities in China, such as lifestyle community, prestige community, and security zone community. Part 3.5.2 discusses the social segregation and governance in the gated community. Part 3.5.3 indicates that gated community is always associated with new-build gentrification.

### **3.5.1 Three types of gated communities in China**

Based on the western context, there are also three types of private-gated communities in China, such as lifestyle community; prestige community and security zone community (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). This section discusses whether three types of gated communities can unfold in the urban contexts of China.

First, lifestyle community provides different leisure activities and amenities associated with gated features to protect residents, in particular golf community can be viewed as a good example of lifestyle community. Despite Blakely and Snyder mentioning that there are still different types of lifestyle communities, all the gated communities aim to provide leisure-consuming community and organize a safety environment for all residents. Especially the walls and fences are built by the private developers, not by the residents. In addition, Giroir (2009) indicates that the growth of leisure economy plays a key role in urbanisation, leisure activities (private

organized leisure-consuming community) therefore are treated a significant factor in urban planning and restructuring the growth of urban scale, especially in developing countries such as China. For example, there were 250 luxury villa estates occurring in Beijing in the last two decades and over 145 luxury gated community on the suburban of Shanghai. As Giroir (2009: 236) critically argues that:

“large-sized spaces with particularly low residential density and low forms of housing in a country which is, on the contrary, characterized by very high population densities, an extreme rarity of available land (notably in eastern China and around large cities) and a general verticality in urban space.”

In line with the discussion in Section 3.4, it is here urban village as community undertakes a large number of residents associated with high-density population and low-quality housing in the process of urbanisation. It is therefore that the uneven urban planning by local government could promote social polarisation between two different residential place and ruin the sustainable development. What is more, it is notable that though the development of leisure-consuming community in China represents the growth of private capital, by the important support of local government (Giroir, 2009). Local governments are able to gain a major source of revenues when they rent the land to private developers (as discussed in Section 3.2). In addition, the government urban planning core as known as ‘green city’ by the effects of 2008 Olympic Game in Beijing and 2010 World EXPO in Shanghai, local municipalities build and plan some golf-communities in suburban, in order to meet the political orders. Furthermore, Lo and Wang (2013) indicate that the foreign gated communities can be understood as ‘the international lifestyle community’. Foreign gated communities also are founded by local government, to provide high-quality housing environment for domestic and foreign buyers. Based on the case study of Dragon villas located in northeast Beijing, researcher found two important effects within international lifestyle community: (1) social activities have declined within community; (2) social exclusion has increased between Chinese foreigner residents. One of key reasons is that the increased Chinese residents have changed the social and physical form of community. Therefore, those lifestyle gated communities in China not only provides high-quality and facilities residential space for high-income social groups, but also obtain the supports by the local government. Second, prestige community in United States context can be seen as a gated enclave only

provides for privileged classes groups such as celebrities and successful professionals (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Although there are lacks of recreational amenities comparing to lifestyle community, prestige communities as a residential subdivisions clearly present physical and social security enhance high exclusion rather than other forms of communities, for instance the hill of Hollywood for famous film stars (Goix, 2005). In addition, Blakely and Snyder (1997) indicate that it is necessary to understand the value of social status is top factor to create prestige community, rather than other types of gated communities to address the fear of crime. In China, the form of prestige community can be viewed as the popular type of gated community in urban. With the rapid private capital and the development of real estate, each privileged class seeks a private space to meet their interests (Wu, 2004). For example, Feng *et al.* (2008) indicate that there was a residential suburbanisation in Beijing since 1990s, especially sale of 80 gated community residential projects in 2002. Another factor by city government of Beijing is that the inner city is under the socialist planning and high-density population and low-quality housing and some bankrupt work-units were unable to undertake and provide housing for the increased population (Shin, 2007). Therefore, most privileged and mobilized classes with their private property (such as private cars) are willing to move in the prestige communities. In this sense, the Beijing municipal government aimed to change the population structure on the mapping of Beijing, which is a wave from inner city to suburban. In addition, the fear of crime is key factor to create prestige communities (Lees and Davidson, 2005). As Blakely and Snyder (1997) indicate that the high-income groups indeed fear their community where are living near low-income groups and higher crime neighbourhoods, in order to maintain their property value and social rights. In China's context, Wu (2005: 251) claims that:

“in contrast to the ‘fear’ factor in the prototype of the fortress-gated community in the US, gating in China’s post-reform transition is due more to commoditized service provision... this sense of ‘fear’ should be understood through the ‘deconstruction’ and ‘reconstruction’ of communities in urban China.”

The key reason is that Chinese prestige communities commonly are built via real estate developers, which built up on brown-field and green field, as well as the new-built gated community in (sub)urban areas. Importantly, gated and securities are

provided by real estate developer, rather than homeowners' associations (Pow, 2009). Especially, to compare with US context, Wu (2010: 387) argues that "the Chinese consumers are not well-established social groups with clear preferences for particular types of living, although they have a strong desire for a better living environment." It is clear that Chinese privileged groups seek relatively high-quality living conditions, rather than those connected to high levels of fear of crime. Therefore, the wave of new-built gated communities in China can be viewed as the prestige community.

At last, the discourse of fear is the important motivation that creates the type of security zone community, where always are associated with walls and fences by residents for their neighbourhoods (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). It is notably that the gated features in security zone community are built by residents, but not by private developers.

To consider China's context, there is a form of security zone community occurring in suburban of Beijing, this gated community could be understood as a poor village for rural-urban migrants. By Gao (2010) reported that according to the official data, the rate of crime reduced by 73% from April to July in 2010. This gated village is able to address the discourse of fear, and also Beijing government aims to expand the programme to reduce the crime and social conflicts between different groups. However, Wu *et al.* (2013) argue that the western context of security zone community cannot match in China' context, this is because the enhanced security is by government in order to manage urban village (especially the social group of rural-urban migrants), rather than the security force by local residents. In addition, this programme had been applied by government force under the political order of 'peaceful Beijing' since the 2008 Beijing Olympic Game. In a word, China's security zone community is different to US context, which can be viewed as the gated urban village by government control (see section 3.4).

It is concluded that lifestyle of community and prestige community are two typologies of gated communities unfolding within Chinese context, except the security zone community. Furthermore, the key difference is that the different governance bodies between western and Chinese contexts, see as below.

### 3.5.2 Social segregation and governance

The issues of social segregation in gated communities also profoundly has affected within the local contexts. In western context, although gated communities could be understood as a growth of physical fortress, many scholars indicate that the social issues of gated communities are segregation and exclusion that have been impacted on the regeneration of cities. In fact, the issues always mention by different groups that is the debates between the public space and private space, which significantly challenge the governance in urban (Atkinson, 2006).

Most gated communities conduct private governance by 'self-organization' and build up life- amenities only for themselves, thus some urban policy-makers and scholars criticize that gated security and private governance threatens public interests within the social difference (different ethnicity and classes) of city (Atkinson and Flint, 2004). Therefore, social segregation is better for the affluent group and negative for poverty, which plays out the urban scale. In addition, Atkinson (2006: 820) indicates that:

“Segregation can be conceptualised as the product of deep-seated social forces that impel groups towards like-with-like association. In an unequal society, this results in socio-spatial segregation as groups cluster together based on their income but also on key aspects of social identity, stage in the life-course and household type.”

It seems likely that social homogeneity in gated communities is higher than other mix communities. Moreover, the changes in transport and information technologies provide opportunities for the privileged group to avoid low-income group, namely 'dynamic segregation' (Atkinson and Flint, 2004). Thus, homogeneity of high-income groups using their privileged capital (such as car and VIP card) and right are mobility into a gated spatial enclave to secure their value of properties and social status and contact with their workplace through advanced transport and private car. As a result, Atkinson (2006) critically examines that the daily patterns of movement is a time-space trajectory of segregation in gated communities. While privileged classes are able to meet their interests, low-income groups tend to be marginalized.

Some scholars importantly argue that gated communities indeed promote the social exclusion that opposes the goal of social mix in urban governance and reshape

social sustainability of urban development through the global context (Atkinson, 2012; Smith, 2011). Pow (2007) researches that some prestige communities in Shanghai clearly excludes the privileged groups and rural-urban migrants, even privileged groups had taken the private developers to court to protect their rights and allow the private developers to clean out the migrant-managed shop in their gated communities. This is because privileged groups consider that rural-urban migrants are 'inferior quality', who may able to destroy the physical environment and bringing down the value of property for their lived gated communities. In addition, according to Pow' empirical findings in Chinese gated communities (2007), privileged group indeed fear the rural-urban migrant criminality. They are willing to strengthen their security and territorial control to limit the migrant access.

On the other hand, Miao (2003) indicates that Shanghai government intend to label a moral order for gated communities in order to promote a movement of 'civilisation'. In effect,

“the moral discourses on civilised modernity in Shanghai constitute the core of the moral spatial order that underpins and shapes territoriality and exclusionary practices in gated communities while valorising those who reside in these civilised modern enclaves as being morally and socially superior” (Pow 2007:1548).

However, Shanghai government ignores the marginalized group such as rural-urban migrants in the social mix of urban. Although Shanghai government aims to improve the social cohesive objective, the negative effects of civilisation indeed promote the social exclusion in urban. It is notable that some failure policies directly create the significant social issues (social exclusion and polarisation) in urban China now.

In here also discusses governance in the gated community in China. Before the reform period, Wu (2004:244) asserts that governance structure in urban is characterised by state "hierarchical' control through the work-unit system, and complemented by local government ranging from municipality, district government, street office, to residents committees." In line with the discussion above, residents committees could be seen as a 'self-organized' agency to play out in the compound even in different types of communities, but the residents really is organized by government (Wu, 2004; Miao, 2003). Thus, governance of gated communities in

China actually is government-led, but not private governance by local residents in Western context. Although there are is a trend which some committees are increasingly replaced by professionals in some private gated communities, the role of homeowners associations are still weak in governance system. This is because that private purchaser only have use right on their private property of housing, the vague of law could not protect their rights for a long time while government tends to strictly control on the 'self-organization' in China, in order to maintain legal governance for Communist Party of China.

In addition, either private organization or resident committee normally is associated by elite groups such as successful businessmen and politicians (Pow, 2009; Wu, 2010). They promote the social exclusion and challenge the citizenship right in urban, while marginalized groups will lose their rights in the process of urban change. Government should reconsider their powers in the urban governance. With the increased global affluent and population mobility, gated communities may able to threaten the social sustainability in the urban development within the global context (Samer and Uduki, 2010).

### **3.5.3. New-built gentrification by gated community**

Furthermore, new-build gentrification is associated with the concept of the gated community. Atkinson (2006) argues that the discourse of gentrification represents a 'voluntary' tendency to build common identities (privileged class) community in order to restructure urban scale, even this trend support by government urban policy in England. More specifically, gentrifiers represent a highly homogeneous group based on their economic, social and culture identities that tend to exchange indigenous residents and build up their own enclaves in urban (Hamnett, 2003). As such they are willing to build a gated community to protect their different types of values, as one of example of new-build gentrification. It seems likely that the discourse of gentrification promotes the gated communities which represent highly social exclusion to drive marginalized groups out their residence. However, Slater (2005) argues that different local contexts could perform different meaning of gentrification, such as "Canadian city images of liveability, freedom, tolerance, cross-class interaction, diversity, mixing and conviviality are almost always articulated and legitimised in contrast to gentrification in the United States (2005:45)." Therefore,

gentrification in Canadian cities can be examined into an important part of social mix project by urban policy-makers, which encourage poor into middle-class communities. Urban policy-maker, urban planner, housing agency and gentrifier together shed light of social diversity for poor groups (Breitung, 2012). It is not surprising that China's urban undergoing the global context of gentrification, Shanghai as a global city in China indeed produces a new-build gentrification in city centre. A number of gentrifiers are willing to live in gated communities (brown-field from compounds) in central Shanghai through state-sponsored forces, and play out negative effects on low-income groups (He, 2010; Wang, *et al.*, 2014).

### **3.6 Summary**

Consideration on Chinese contexts, market economy has gradually replaced the central planned economy by the effects of 'open-door' policy. Globalisation and neoliberalism have profoundly affected the development of China while central government also is employed policies to rescaling state and decentralization; local cities have enlarged their areas to develop local economy, as well as the process of neoliberal urbanisation (He and Wu, 2009). Notably, from 1980s central government aims to reform land and housing system to meet different capital interests, in order to enhance local economy (Wang, 2001; 2011; He and Wu, 2009). Two reforms have changed urban housing system and land system, in effect, two urban products of urban village and gated community are occurring in urban scale.

First of all, Chinese city governments rely on 'land economy' that transfers rural land into urban land and rents for other economical entities to gain the income, in order to development local economy. In effect, a number of peri-urban villages become into urban areas, but most villages keep their housing land for villagers living, thus, the emerging geographical phenomenon of urban villages are occurring in most cities. In addition, a number of in-migrants are willing to live in urban village, due to the comparative rental price. In particular, rural-urban migrant is a low-income group which plays a key role in the urban villages. Indigenous villagers, urban hukou holders and rural-urban migrants are three main social groups living in urban villages. However, in the impacts of political and economic institutional such as the debates between older socialist institution and market economy, their classes are stratification. Indigenous villages have the collective land property right become top



class while rural-urban migrants have a weak position in urban village. Urban hukou holders have 'use-rights' on their homeownership and benefit from urban welfare system, which keeps the middle position between villagers and rural migrants. It is therefore that governance for urban village is a challenge for local government, and city government needs to critically consider the interests and conflicts between urban and villages under the rapid processes of neo-liberal urbanisation in China now.

Importantly, housing reform in China had changed the roles of work-units and government organizations in the social construction. This is because that work-unit and government organizations are important to their employees to organize and maintain their social life within communities of units in socialist China, which provides basic facilities such as workplace, housing, supermarket and restaurant for them. As the effects on 'open-door' policy, a number of state-owned enterprises are disintegration while government organizations no longer provides new-built social housing for their employees, the wave of liberal housing market gradually is instead of socialist housing provision. It is therefore that some researchers claims that 'there is a general trend of declining social interaction from workplace-based to modern or commodity housing estates.' (Wu, 2012:551). As a result, the urban product of gated community is popular to reside the urban residents.

Indeed, the proliferation of gated community indeed is geographies of enclave in contemporary urban across the global world (Smith, 2002). The growth of private capital improves the privileged classes are free to choose where they are living. The development of gated communities in China is from a traditional socio-economic structure (work-unit compounds) into a diversity system (private-gated community). , Lifestyle and prestige communities in China are similar to US context, due to the rise of private capital and the process of urbanisation. However, the most important reason is that local municipal governments indeed promote the development of real estate for the commercial housing, in order to gain the resource of revenue to develop the urban economy. The discourse of fear could be examined as the second factor for the development of gated communities, but is important to the development of security zone community in China. This is because that the fear of crime is conducted from political orders in order to keep stability for society. However, many scholars argue that the security zone community can be understood as the urban village in Chinese context, this is because most local residents are from rural-urban

migrants and low-income groups, which are employed in the gated management to secure stability. Indeed, this thesis describes that the term of 'gating' under the Chinese context is spreading for most residential spaces (e.g. student housing).

At last, it is not surprising that China still face the social issues from gated community, the rise of segregation and exclusion by gated communities significantly have had impacted into governance by different institutional bodies.

## Chapter 4 - Methodology

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that was adopted for the thesis. It is important to stress that in line with wider understandings of the difficulties and constraints of conducting social science research in China (e.g. Zeng and Resnik, 2010), there were numerous constraints of accessing official data, gaining access to a range of institutional actors, and a general concern about the openness of participants in the research process. These constraints need to be fully acknowledged when considering the following methodology, which was organised to, in part, to maximise the collection and analysis of empirical data in light of the constraining environment for a UK-based researcher (albeit from China) investigating processes of change in China. A request for the formal permission of PKU and local communes to undertake the research in an official way was not authorised by the institutions. This removed the opportunity to undertake a questionnaire survey with students on the campus, and this was not possible due to the security services on the campus. The chapter, therefore, shows that three main research phases were used to gather both primary data and secondary data within a restrictive environment. First, the collection and analysis of 'sporadic' official statistics are discussed, which were largely drawn from a combination of government official websites and documents to expose student population changes tied to the expansion of HE. Second, it is shown that 'random' content analysis of media sources (such as local newspaper and news website) was conducted. Third, qualitative approaches, including semi-structured interviews (42 interviewees with students, local residents, housing agents, academics and student-oriental businessman) and focus groups (3 focus groups with students), were employed to collect primary data to reveal different types of students and studentifiers' social-life experiences in UMDs on and off-campus by PKU, and multiple forms of HMO within transitional communities of Haidianlu, and gated communities in the internationalized neighbourhood of Wudaokou. The chapter also considers issues of positionality and ethical concerns, as well as the reliability and validity of data (Bryman, 2012; Silverman, 2010; Clifford, 2009).

This chapter is divided into 4 sections: Section 4.2 outlines the research design for the framework of thesis, particularly focussing on the design of the case studies and the design of the research questions. Section 4.3 discusses the advantages for three research phases (official statistics, content analysis, and qualitative methods). Section 4.4 considers some of the limitations of research, as well as political and ethical issues. Section 4.5 reflects on the effects of positionality and power relations, and how these issues influenced the research process.

## **4.2 Research design**

Clifford *et al.* (2012) emphasise that the terms ‘research design’ and ‘research method’ can often have same meaning, yet it is important to make a clear distinction between the two terms. As Bryman (2012:46) also argues: “a research design provides a framework for the collection and analysis of data..... a research method is simply a technique for collecting data.” This distinction is used to form the main structure of this chapter.

Section 4.2 is divided into two parts. Section 4.2.1 discusses the case study design. Section 4.2.2 considers the key design of the research questions.

### **4.2.1 Selecting a case study**

Silverman (2010: 138) defines a case study as:

“The basic is that one case (or perhaps a small number of cases) will be studied in detail, using whatever methods seem appropriate. While there may be a variety of specific purposes and research questions, the general objective is to develop as full an understanding of that case as possible.”

A case study provides the foundation for an analysis of different types of single units, such as community, family, person and so forth (Krueger and Casey, 2009). As such, a case study allows a researcher to focus on one of the single units, in order to conduct detailed and intensive research. However, Bryman (2012: 69) asserts that the case study: “also needs to be appreciated that, when specific research illustrations are examined, they can exhibit features of more than one research design.” Therefore, a case study can be combined by different features or units to be

studied in more detail, as well as cross-sectional design with case study (Bryman, 2012).

Within this in mind, this thesis adopted Haidian District as the single-case study location, using three key case study units (Peking University, Haidianlu and Wudaokou) to cross-sectional design. The selection of the case studies hinged upon analyses of the secondary data and literature reviews that exposed different local contexts and processes of change, which also consolidated findings identified from a pilot study conducted in June 2012. The key findings from the pilot study affirmed the view that the three case study units were appropriate to meet the main aim and objectives (Bonnin, 2010). The pilot study was conducted during a two week visit to Beijing, and focused upon an investigation of UMDs at PKU and the Wudaokou neighbourhood.

PKU is known as one of top universities in China with the total number of enrolled HE students 36,809 (2012). The researcher considers that PKU not only has a large number of students from privileged families (see details in Section 5.7.2), but also has a relatives to knock the 'door' by gatekeeper (see discussion on Section 4.5). The researcher identified locations of UMDs and captured some preliminary viewpoints and experiences on UMDs and campus, via unstructured interviews with Chinese students and international students. Interviews with academics also provided useful information to reveal the key changes within PKU and Wudaokou. The pilot study also provided an important mechanism for identifying the active student housing in Haidianlu community. In effect, the 'formal fieldwork' commenced conduct during December 2013, built upon the preliminary findings and experiences obtained during the pilot study. During this period, the dynamics of the local student housing were also being reported by some local newspapers, describing the increased number of Kaoyanzu, who were residing in Haidianlu. It was found that the case study site of Haidianlu was becoming a 'hotspot' location for student rental housing, off-campus.

In this sense, using those three case study sites can be examined the studentification rather than employing other universities or communities within Haidian District. In addition, although there are a lot of HEIs surrounded Wudaokou, researcher still employed the students from PKU to investigate studentification.

There are two reasons to explain that: (1) the size of campus of Tsinghua University (one of top university in China and located in Wudaokou) is large rather than PKU, and providing enough student housing on-campus (Tsinghua University website, 2014); (2) this research project as a self-funded project constrained time and costs to investigate all universities and students within Haidian District.

#### **4.2.2: Designing the research questions**

Bryman (2012:9) claims that: “a research question is a question that provides an explicit statement of ‘what it is’ the researcher seeks to capture via the research process.” To address the key research aims and objectives in this thesis, the research themes can be divided into three main parts: (i) students’ social-living experiences in university-managed dormitories, on- and off-campus at Peking University; (ii) processes of studentification in the transitional community of Haidianlu, and; (iii) diverse processes of studentification in the internationalized neighbourhood of Wudokou.

At the same time, researchers need to consider some of the inherent risks within the design of research questions (Clifford, 2009; Clifford *et al.*, 2010). In particular, qualitative research questions can be viewed as open-ended questions that can allow respondents to provide numerous, and sometimes conflicting, replies. Some remarks can appear to be an ‘invalid part’ of the research question (Crang, 2002). As such, researchers may therefore have to spend more time on coding responses, although some of the remarks may be pertinent as the analysis of the coding unfolds.

Within this mind, in this thesis the researcher employed three points of note to reduce the risks within the pre-designed questions. First, Bryman (2012) indicates that researchers minimise the risks in social science research projects, by drawing on their experiences and knowledge of the usual risks (e.g. ethics and politics). For example, in this thesis the researcher has experiences of the student lifestyles in UMD on-campus, having previously spent 4 years in a Chinese university as an undergraduate student. By drawing on his undergraduate experiences it is useful to more fully understand wider student social-life experiences. Second, the writing-up and reflection of a range of literature reviews enhanced the researcher’s knowledge of similar research projects (Katz, 1994). Finally, the experiences of the supervisory team, such as conducting research of studentification in different national contexts,

were shared to help the researcher to design research questions to maximise the effectiveness of the research questions (Silverman, 2010; Bryman, 2012). Furthermore, one of the supervisors undertook a fieldwork visit in China, and the researcher revised the research questions in light of advice from the supervisory team, having witnessed the processes of studentification in China in a concrete way.

In order to collect an appropriate level of primary data, a range of qualitative research questions were designed for semi-structured interviews and focus groups (see details of designed research questions in Appendix 3). These research questions, focussing on the three case study sites (Peking University, Haidianlu and Wudaokou), included questions on the following areas: student/studentifier, housing agent, local resident, student-led business servicer and academics. First, research questions aimed to collect qualitative data about the students' social-life experiences from university-managed dormitories, both on- and off-campus. Second, a range of research questions were designed for students residing within off-campus locations, in order to collect data about studentifiers' social-life experiences within Haidianlu community and Wudaokou neighbourhood. Finally, a range of research questions were designed for local residents, housing agents and relevant academics, in order to gain a deeper level of qualitative data to understand local contexts and perceptions of change.

### **4.3 Three research phases**

This thesis applied three main research phases to collect both primary and secondary data to address the aims and objectives in an explicit way. First, official statistics were gathered to provide a record to describe detailed areas of activities, which is widely used in social research (Bonnin, 2010). Second, content analysis, which refers to “an approach to the analysis of documents and texts that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner” (Bryman, 2012:290), was adopted. In this thesis, the researcher focussed on the content of local media outputs, which are specifically related to the case study sites. Third, semi-structured interviews and focus groups were utilised as the two main qualitative research methods to obtain primary qualitative data to capture perceptions of change within local contexts (Baumbusch, 2010).

Section 4.3 is divided into 4 parts: Section 4.3.1 introduces the analysis of official statistics, and considers some of the advantages and disadvantages of this phase. It is noted that official statistics were principally collected from government and university official websites, and university official statistics documents. Section 4.3.2 describes secondary data from official and local newspapers and on-line website reports, as well as the local media outputs. Section 4.3.3 focuses on the qualitative research approaches, including semi-structured interviews and focus groups to collect a relatively large number of primary data from participants. Section 4.3.4 discusses the merits of grounded theory to analyse the qualitative data that was gathered.

#### **4.3.1 Phase 1: Official statistics**

Bryman (2012) argues that using official statistics can be viewed as a form of unobtrusive method, as well as the archived sources, collected by government and other institutions. However, it is important to acknowledge that researchers using secondary datasets, are themselves clearly not involved in the (primary) process of collecting official statistics (Bonnin, 2010; Greenbaum 2000). Importantly, there are many advantages in the use and analysis of official statistics analysis. First, this allows time and cost-savings, given the official statistics have already been collected (Bonnine, 2010). Second, using official statistics potentially reduces the risks and limits when the official institutions/ researchers are conducting their data collection activities (Chih, 2003). It is also argued by some commentators that official statistics tend to be more reliable and valid (Hopkin, 2007). Finally, official statistics are an unobtrusive method, representing non-reactive effects for researcher.

In this thesis, official statistics were predominantly collected from an official document of PKU, and a range of other official websites, such as: (a) the Ministry of Education; (b) Beijing's Haidian District government, and; (c) Peking University. First, official statistics collected from the Ministry of Education official website provided a large number of quantitative data to show the changes of HE system between 1999 and 2012. In effect, the researcher used the collected official data to compile a range of figures (see figures in Chapter 5), in order to address in of the key research objectives. In addition, due to the location of one of the three case study sites within the Haidian administrative district, data from official website of Haidian District



Government was captured. Based on analyses of these official statistics, the researchers were able to make an interpretation of the key changes that have taken place within the local contexts, in particular, the population changes in Haidianlu community and Wudaokou neighbourhood. Furthermore, PKU provides a large number of official statistics on the official website, particularly the data about the layout and facilities of university-managed dormitories, on- and off-campus. At the same time, the researcher obtained the official documents via personal relationship to be able to compile some of the figures about the student population changes in PKU from 1999 to 2012 (see figures in Chapter 5).

#### **4.3.2 Phase 2: Content analysis**

Content analysis focuses on the sampling of a wide range of media sources. As Bryman (2012:552) asserts that: “mass-media outputs being explored using a quantitative form of data analysis like content analysis, such sources can also be examined so that their qualitative nature is preserved.”

Of course, mass-media data can represent both quantitative and qualitative data. Indeed, the mass-media data can involve a large number of words, yet it is argued that researchers often need to focus on analyses of ‘key words’ to conduct useful data analysis (Crang, 2002; Silverman, 2010). This means that researchers have to reflect on their experiences to identify the key words that explicitly address their research aims and objectives. Researchers need to focus on the analysis of key words based on the mass-media, in order to code the data to build-up each category from the three case study sites.

One advantage of content analysis is the potential to “track the changes in frequency over time” (Bryman, 2012:304). Researchers are thus able to examine different changes in the period of research time, in order to see the whole changes over the research period. In addition, content analysis can arguably be viewed as an unobtrusive method; researcher, therefore, has non-reactive effects on the content analysis, especially on the newspaper articles/ TV programmes (Bryman, 2012). Moreover, on the side of student researchers, they do not need to undergo the ethical scrutiny associated within the research participants (Silverman, 2010); therefore students only need to analyse the variety of different texts and words from contents. At last, content analysis is keen to analyse the information from elite

groups who perhaps manage/charge your research areas (Cloke, 2004). Social science researchers (especially student) perhaps cannot interview the elite groups via face-to-face communications; the analysis of public mass-media outputs by elite groups allows the collection of the important qualitative data.

In this thesis, contents analysis was conducted from the official websites to understand change within local contexts. More specifically, in order to understand the historical context of PKU, some reports provide information on official website, including student housing development and campus change during last decades. Interestingly, PKU provides its own TV programme to describe some student experiences and viewpoints on campus, the outputs from intra-social media by PKU importantly reflect the 'real' experiences as secondary data for research project. In addition, PKU student on-line forum (so called 'Weiming BBS') is available, which is one of the most influential student on-line forums in China. It is notable that words from on-line forum directly report student social-life experiences in PKU, as the important research data to conduct research findings. Second, Haidianlu community is reported on national/local newspaper websites such as Xinhua News website (state news agency website). Beijing Evening websites provide the key texts/words to show the changes in the transitional community; therefore coding the key works such as the changes of housing prices and rental housing information provide secondary data for research themes. Third, massive outputs of media data are applied in the Wudaokou neighbourhood; one of key reasons is that Wudaokou neighbourhood is not an administrative zone in Haidian District, thereby the official statistics and official data cannot be accessed from official channels. On the other hand, there are lots of famous on-line Internet websites companies such as 163 and Sohu to cluster in Wudaokou, lots of news and reports are able to easily find on their website. Due to the geographical location of Internet website companies, some reports can directly reflect local information in their news and reports. Although content analysis is not the main research approach in this thesis, some secondary data as qualitative data from mass media outputs and on-line forum indeed enhance research findings for researcher to understand the whole contexts in the three case study sites.

#### **4.3.3 Phase 3: Focus groups and semi-structured interviews**

This thesis adopted two main qualitative approaches: focus groups and semi-structured interviews, which were extremely important for the collection of primary data.

Focus groups can be viewed as an interviewing technique, which includes more than one interviewee to discuss a specific topic in depth (Baumbusch, 2010; Winchester, 1999). The focus group method allows many participants to express and discuss their experiences. In essence, the researcher has the potential to collect relatively more data, when compared to unstructured and semi-structured interviews. In addition, focus groups allow the researcher to flexibly outline the topics for participants, to emphasise why they need to be interviewed (Winchester, 1999). In effect, researchers can obtain reliable qualitative data. On the other hand, the researcher needs to select an identified group of people (usual more than 4 persons) to organize the group discussion (Bryman, 2012).

Using focus group has some advantages over other interviewing methods. First, focus groups allow the researcher to direct group discussions to capture qualitative data. Second, focus groups provide relatively larger amounts of information, as opposed to individual interview (Silverman, 2010); namely, focus group has the potential to more effectively use time resources, and to limit the costs for researcher (Baumbusch, 2010). Therefore, the researcher can record a large number of qualitative data to build up different research categories.

In this thesis, focus groups were used for two main research groups: Chinese students and international students group from PKU. A total of three focus group discussions were conducted during the research process: one focus group from international student during the pilot study, and two focus groups with Chinese students (see Appendix 2). First, the focus group with international students involved three international students (one from Japan living in UMD of Shaoyuan on-campus; two Spanish students renting housing near Wudaokou). Although the Japanese student was living in UMD, he also provided his social-life experiences in UMD on-campus, which could be viewed as important data for research to understand the UMD of Shaoyuan. Two Spanish students also provided information about their lifestyle off-campus, and why international students tend to rent housing off-campus. In the context of Chinese students, one focus group included postgraduate students

who are living within different types of UMDs on-campus, and one student who had experience within UMD on-campus and is renting housing off-campus. Although one student provided different data (rental housing), the previous experiences in UMDs for all participants still provided useful information for researcher. One of participants provided much more information about their social-life experiences in UMDs (6 years), and is familiar the history and development of student housing in PKU. On the other hand, 6 postgraduates (female students) who were living in UMD of Yanyuan had given their social-life experiences in Yanyuan, especially the viewpoints from female feeling. In summary, the three focus groups saved time and costs for the researcher, and using focus group method obtained a large number of qualitative data to shed light on the key research themes/questions of the thesis.

Semi-structured interviews were also used to collect primary data. Both Bryman (2012) and Clifford (2009) indicate that semi-structured interviews allow researchers to plan and prepare interview guides/schedules, which entail a list of questions to address the research topics/themes. It is notable that semi-structured interviews can be viewed as a 'flexible conversation' between researcher and respondent. In addition, researchers need to identify and contact interviewees to collect qualitative data (Krueger and Casey, 2009). More specifically, identifying specific interviewee(s) are an important factor in designing a range of research questions, specific to each interviewee; as well as constructing generic questions for the interview schedule. For example, different interviewees cannot apply the same questions due to different background and experiences. Therefore, the researcher needs to design different types of research questions for interviewees in order to obtain different qualitative data.

It is valuable here to discuss four advantages of using semi-structured interviews for social science research. First, semi-structured interviews provide more flexibility for researchers to ask questions on the spot, and to incorporate a more exploratory tone, when compared to structured interviews (Clifford, 2009; Winchester, 1999). In this thesis, most semi-structured interviews were undertaken that took 2 hours to complete, and these provided a depth of detail about students' social-life experiences on- and off-campus within different forms of student housing. Second, Byrman (2012:496) claims that one of key advantages of semi-structured interview is that:

“qualitative interviewing would seem to be better suited to such a situation, since the interview can be directed at that focus and its associated research questions.”

It is clear that researchers are able to explore issues and follow-up on themes of interest during the interview, such as the motivations for students renting housing off-campus and the tenets of their socio-cultural lifestyles in the residential communities, in order to investigate the processes of studentification in local contexts. Third, semi-structured interview are not temporally fixed, and allow interviews to discuss topics in an unregulated time framework (Silverman, 2012; Baumbusch, 2010). One of the main logistical demands of a focus group is the need to bring together different participants at the same time and place, which can be problematic to arrange. On the other hand, a semi-structured interview includes making arrangements with one participant, and it may be relatively easier to arrange a quiet environment for recording the interview. Based on the participants' schedule, the researcher in this thesis organized semi-structured interviews within campus spaces and within quiet places.

During the fieldwork, a total of 42 interviewees were conducted (see Appendix 2). First, students were selected based on the different layouts of UMDs by PKU, and there was a focus here on gaining insights into their social-life experiences. In particular, interviewees were asked about their plans to rent housing off-campus, or questions about their friends' rental housing off-campus. In addition, interviews were undertaken with Chinese students renting housing off-campus in Haidianlu. Based on these semi-structured interviews, it was possible to identify three groups of studentifiers within the Haidianlu, such as full-time students in PKU, Kaoyanzu (students that are preparing their master entrance exams) and HE graduates with low-income as 'ant tribe'. At the same time, semi-structured interviews with local residents and local housing agents were conducted, which was important to explore the changes to the local community and to explore the unfolding of the effects of studentification in Haidianlu. On the other hand, international students in rental housing within gated communities in Wudaokou neighbourhood can be considered as international studentifiers. Additionally, semi-structured interviews are undertaken with local housing agents in Wudaokou, and with student-led businessmen who were active on 'Food Street', in close proximity to the campus. Finally, semi-structured

interviews were conducted with academics to capture academics' knowledge and experiences within relative research areas, to enhance the understanding of case study sites.

#### **4.3.4 Grounded theory**

Grounded theory is a traditional approach within the social sciences for the analysis of qualitative data (Bryman, 2012; Silverman, 2010). Grounded theory was introduced in a book entitled 'The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research' by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss. Glaser and Strauss (1967) emphasize that the core strategy of grounded theory is a comparative study in general method, with researchers needing to verify that collected empirical data is relatively accurate, via comparative analysis in research. As a result, the development of grounded theory has become a popular framework for researchers to collect and analyse qualitative data in qualitative research, which analyses the words rather than the quantitative data.

The definition of grounded theory is cited from a book [Social Research Methods (4th edition)]:

“Grounded theory has been defined as theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analysed through the research process. In this method, data collection, analysis, and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one another” (Bryman 2012:387).

It is therefore essential that each collected data has some repeated relations which seem to be in a tandem structure. In addition, Hopkins *et al.* (2007) point out that some scholars are in agreement that grounded theory refers to an inductive approach in social science method, they are able to use rational and objective data and findings to conduct logic results, conceptions and theories. Although the term of grounded theory in academic realm has developed through the years, there are distinctly many debates for what the theory means and at a definition level.

First, the key part is that researcher needs to conduct samples. In grounded theory, the process of sampling is known as theoretical sampling that:

“(theoretical sampling) is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyse his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. The process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory, where substantive or formal” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:45).

Therefore, theoretical sampling is an ongoing process in grounded theory, which can be seen as a repeated and verifying process to conduct your research outcomes.

According to research themes based on the three case study sites (Peking University, Haidianlu and Wudaokou), the researcher is given the sampling of participants into 9 parts. In part 1, the researcher intends to give the sample 1.1 for Chinese students who are living the form of UMDs on and off-campus; sample 1.2 that is the studentifiers in Haidianlu community; in addition, sample 1.3 as the international students who are living in UMDs by PKU; sample 1.4 is the international students as studentifiers to reside in Wudaokou neighbourhood. Sample 1.6 is the data from housing agent; sample 1.7 is the qualitative data from local residents; sample 1.8 is the interview data from student-led business servicers; sample 1.9 is the knowledge and experiences from the discussion as qualitative data by academics. It is therefore that research project will clearly follow those samples to collect and analyse the qualitative data.

In addition, the concept of theoretical saturation is important to applying the principles of grounded theory, which aims to collect data into coded concepts until the research concepts have been saturated (Hopkins *et al.*, 2007; Clifford, 2009). Moreover, theoretical saturation seems likely to separate into two parts: (a) the coding data (given name for your data and create categories); (b) the collecting data (developing your concepts until no longer new data for your concepts). Afterwards, the researcher is able to explore relationships between each category in order to generate hypotheses in the research process.

Moreover, it is important here to illustrate two key tools in the utilisation of grounded theory: namely, coding and constant comparison. To begin with, coding is a pivotal stage in grounded theory, which gives labels to parts of the collected transcripts and filed notes, in order to set up potential research concepts (Silverman, 2010; Clifford *et al.*, 2010). More specifically, within research questions, the researcher applies

different operations such as observation, interview and fieldwork to collect data which are broken down into different types of concepts to fit the research objectives. In addition, Bryman (2012:568) points out that: “coding in qualitative data analysis tends to be a constant state of potential revision and fluidity”. The data are treated as potential indicators of concepts, and the indicators are constantly compared to see which concepts they best fit with.’ It is therefore that researchers possibly have to develop their analysis ability to review and compare different data (Clifford *et al.*, 2010). Moreover, constant comparison is a most important tool in grounded theory. Bryman (2012) indicates that the process of constant comparison refers to a close relationship between data and concepts. It is fundamental that the researcher undertakes constant comparison with the aim of building a high level of abstraction rather than concept, which is a category. Therefore, the constant comparison is the tool after the coding data. As Glaser and Strauss (1967: 105) describe:

“the analyst starts by coding each incident in his data into as many categories of analysis as possible, as categories emerge or as data emerge that fit an existing category.”

It seems likely that coding data is able to build one and more categories for research.

As a result, this thesis has applied the tools of grounded theory to analyse qualitative data, in order to build up research concepts and categories for research project. In addition, the researcher has critically compared each of the concepts and categories to develop them into theoretical saturation, with the aim of delivering ‘high-quality’, qualitative data.

#### **4.4 Research limits**

In the Chinese context, it is notable that the research for this thesis can be viewed as a research process within three research case study sites, due to researcher being unable to obtain any formal research permits from local officials and government. Therefore, the research project without official support can be viewed as the one of key limits to obtain some reliable and valid official data. Importantly, the researcher employed the qualitative approaches to gain qualitative data, and, in so doing, some ethnical and political issues have occurred during the collection of the data.



In this section, the discussion is divided into three parts: Section 4.4.1 discusses some research limits that have had impacted the collected data via three research phases. Section 4.4.2 outlines the political issues conducted in the research process. Section 4.4.3 considers the ethical issues within the research process, and researcher has filled the ethical checklist provided by university.

#### **4.4.1 Some limitations of the research process**

Bryman (2012) indicates that it is always possible that producers of official statistics could be 'fiddling' the data to show the relative area of activity, which may undermine the reliability and validity of official statistics. For example, it was not possible to analyse official statistics of pin down changes in the total student housing floor area spaces between 1999 to 2012 (see Figure 5.3 in Chapter 5), due to the lack of some annual datasets.

Consideration on the data based on content analysis, the limits in here discuss on two aspects: credibility and representativeness (Chacko, 2004). The credibility critically considers that the contents such as news articles and reports should not be distorted by the writers and/or reviewers (Rose, 1997). In a case, some news articles perhaps have done within few hours/ one day, the short time for news articles could not reveal the phenomenon/describe the 'whole stories'. In addition, researcher should consider that contents could be generalized to describe relative research areas, as well as the representativeness for content analysis. If the content only represents a specific activity in the specific areas, the collected secondary data could be reliability and validity. In this thesis, a number of different types of contents (particularly mass-media outputs) are examined to reveal and understand local context, some data tend to be 'subjective' as the personal experiences and viewpoints; therefore the researcher needs to compare data with other collected data.

The qualitative research methods have some limits when the researcher is using the methods such as focus groups and semi-structured interview. First, using focus group could be some degree to lost control over process for researcher, some participants may dominant over group meeting. For example, some participants may are interested in your one specific question over others, he/she will give much more qualitative data while other participants who also have some important data could not express their experiences and viewpoints (Silverman, 2010). For example, one

focus group in this thesis involves the female and male to discuss the question about security in the form of UMD. Female students are given more her personal viewpoints over the male students in the group discussion. Second, the replies sometimes are cross each participant, namely more than one voices discussion on the one specific topic, which is difficult to analyse the replies for researcher (Rose, 1997). Finally, researcher somewhat is difficult to organize group of participants, due to some factors such as environment and time probably have affected for the group meeting. In a case, the international student focus group aimed to include 4 students, but one of students is absent due to she could not catch up the time.

In the side of semi-structured interview, some limits also have affected on the process of interview. The replies extremely depend on interviewees' experiences and knowledge, researcher possibly could not gain the data what they needs (Bryman, 2012). This statement argues that researcher could not gain the available data via semi-structured interview, although research is able to identify the interviewee. Moreover, Rose (1997) indicates that interviewees probably reject to reply some questions, which are relation to some ethical and political issues (see discussion in Section 3.4.2 and 3.4.3); thus researcher could not obtain enough qualitative data. For example, one semi-structured interview for academics he rejected to record his voices and viewpoints; therefore researcher was using writing words to note his data which perhaps lack of some words due to the research cannot write down every word by academic interviewee. In addition, interview locations indeed decide the record works such as noisy environment and interruption by others, which have affected on transcription of qualitative data (Chacko, 2004). In a case, international students prefer to interview with them in the cafe bar on-campus, where is an enclosed space as a hotspot place for international student social.

In the side of primary data collected by qualitative approaches, many social science researchers argue that qualitative method represents an important identity of 'subjective', namely social research does not exist independent of human behaviours (Clifford, *et al.*, 2010). More specifically, Chacko (2004) emphasizes that when social science researchers conduct their projects, research has been affected by many social factors such as culture differences; political-economy structure; power relations between researcher and respondents, identities of researcher; positionality of researcher and respondents and so forth. As a result, researchers have to

(re)consider those factors to examine their qualitative data in order to develop their concepts and categories. In the analysis part, a key issue in analysis data of grounded theory is that a vague point interprets what the differences between concepts and categories are (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In other word, in grounded theory, although constant comparison seems a tool for researchers to create categories, there are no detailed stages for researchers that supplement develop concepts into a high level of abstraction of categories. It is therefore that researchers need to rely on their knowledge and experiences (what researchers have already known and studied about the society) to develop and their categories until saturation and explore each category relationships. In effect, the development of category is able to affect research results and formal theory. Related to above point, researcher's knowledge and experiences significantly have had impacts on their research processes and findings, in particular, designing research questions importantly decide research path and results (Silverman, 2010). For qualitative approach, researchers indeed face to the people as respondents through qualitative interview; therefore before design research questions, researchers possibly have to consider many social factors, one of which is able to possibly impact on your interviewees and results. Therefore, researchers' social and culture position significantly affect the processes of interview and researchers' transcript (see further discussion on Section 3.5).

#### **4.4.2 Political issues**

Some countries and communities allow social science researchers to obtain research permits, especially socialism countries. If researcher (especially the foreigner researcher) cannot obtain their research permit from local official institutions, the researcher may be unable to conduct their research project. One of key reason is that:

“in that political security imperatives, including concerns with maintaining national cohesiveness, a desire to control how the state is portrayed and monitoring the activities of outsiders, mean that the state attempts to exert direct control over researchers' activities through a variety of means” (Bonnin, 2010:179).

It seems likely that the role of government within the 'socialist ideology' intends to control and limit the research activities (especially the foreigner researcher), due to the consideration on the term of political security. In this specific research project, although the researcher was born in China with the Chinese nationality and there are no any institutional funds (e.g. some funds are non-friendly to China in the Western countries), it was not possible for the researcher to obtain any official permits from local community governments (Haidianlu and Wudaokou)/official institutions (PKU). The researcher prepared two language official letters (English and Chinese) from Loughborough University to verify the identity of the researcher as the full-time research student from the Geography Department of Loughborough University, who was supervised by two Professors working in Loughborough University.

In addition, the key official gatekeepers are keen to conduct fieldwork in research areas (Chacko, 2004), especially in China. The role of key official gatekeeper have directly or indirectly charged some important data/information which are important to the research themes for researcher while their knowledge on the research subjects may provide some key data for researcher. Consideration on the role of work-unit of PKU associate with gated feature, the details of official statistics such as the changes of enrolled students in PKU could not directly obtain via official gatekeepers. Indeed, researcher had been to the PKU administration department to show the official letters certified by Loughborough University, but the key official gatekeeper had rejected to provide official statistics. Notably, although PKU has response to open information based on the open informational law (Peking University official website, 2013), researcher and supervisor had downloaded the documents to require the student numbers in PKU via official on-line system. However, there are no any official replies for researcher, it is assumed that the key official gatekeeper who charges the information open has blocked that requires. As a result, researcher needs to find 'Chinese way' to reduce the political issues and access the political process to build up a kind of 'relationship' with key official gatekeeper to obtain the official statistics in PKU (see further discussion on Section 4.5).

#### **4.4.3 Ethical issues**

Ethical issues are often underpinned by the relations between the researcher and the research participant(s) within the process of research. As a result, it is important

that the researcher considers ethical throughout the planning, collection and analyses of the data (Hubbard, 2008; 2009). It is the responsibility of the researcher to make participants aware of particular ethical issues (Hoggart *et al.*, 2002). On the other hand, participants should attend in a voluntary research processes (e.g. interviews and questionnaires), and it is important that researchers do not force research participants to be involved in the research project, as well as take place some harms for them (Silverman, 2010). For example, participants should be informed of what questions/topic areas they will be asked during the interview. Secondly, the researcher needs to protect the data, and needs to protect the private information (e.g. personal information and interview replies) of the interviewees; namely “the confidentiality of information supplied by research subjects and the anonymity of respondents must be respected” (Silverman, 2010:155). In this thesis, interviewees were thus informed that their personal information (e.g. name and age) and replies (e.g. personal views and interests) will be protected, and that the records from interviewee will only be known by the researcher (Shurmer-Smith, 2001). In a case, due to the form of room in UMDs for Chinese students shared space, they have stronger relationship. But, if one of the roommates has some complains about his/her roommates, the researcher needs to protect his/her personal information and the interview replies. Thirdly, the personality of researcher can also have a major influence and affect the processes of human research (Rose, 1997). Therefore, the researcher needs to focus on each research theme under the research aims and objectives, and to use clear and transparent research approaches to collect and analyse the data. At last, it is important to recognise some possible of harmful effects to the researcher, due to some uncertainty factors such working within relatively risky environments during cross-cultural projects in the fieldwork setting. It is clear that the ethical issues also need to be considered by researcher-self.

In order to reduce ethical issues, most social scientists introduce an ethical checklist and a risk assessment form for researcher to conduct fieldwork (Hoggart *et al.*, 2002; Kinton, 2013). In the ethical checklist and risk assessment form, there are given details of information for the researcher to consider their project. It is notable that the Loughborough University Ethics Advisory Committee approves the researcher to conduct the cross-cultural project, which provides the form of ethnic checklist for researcher to sign their name under the ethical principles. By the effects of ethnic

checklist, the researcher has a clear content about the ethnic issues for conducting fieldwork in Beijing, China.

#### **4.5 Reflection on methodology**

Section 4.5 considers the need for reflexivity in research, such as positionality, power relations between researcher and participants. It is argued that consideration on positionality and power relations is essential to provide a more critical way for deeper thinking for the research project.

This section is divided into three parts: Section 4.5.1 discusses the effects of positionality on the researcher and participants; Section 4.5.2 considers the impacts of power relations between researcher and participants in the process of research; Section 4.5.3 consider the consequences of a range of factors (e.g. researcher and participants; language; methods process and supervisor time) upon the empirical findings.

##### **4.5.1 Discussion on Positionality**

The individual characteristics of a researchers' positions (e.g. gender, age, class, education, occupation, religion, politics, nationality and so on) will have an impact on the design of questions, the ways in which questions are asked and the locations which are used for investigations, for example (Rose, 1997). In particular, the researcher in this thesis employed qualitative approaches to collect and analyse the qualitative data, which, in part, relied on the researcher's pre-existing knowledge and experience, in order to build up the empirical findings. Consideration of the researcher's positionality upon the research process is thus important. First, there are no religion effects which led the researcher to design and conduct research in a particular way. Chacko (2004:54) indicates that 'native social scientists who choose to work in their own cultures and communities have experiences that include elements of insider and outsider.' Therefore, when researcher conducts cross-cultural projects, they need to employ their insider and outsider elements to improve their project (Mullings, 1999; Shurmer-Smith, 2001). It is shown that this thesis represents a cross-cultural endeavour, as the research spans the Chinese context and uses western academic viewpoints and concepts. More specifically, the researcher was born in China, who has the same/similar language and culture

background as many of the participants/interviewees, particularly the undergraduate social-life in the Chinese university, as well as insider elements, which is able to partially understand the Chinese background and context. On the other hand, the conception of studentification is coined under the UK context, and the thesis is based within the UK education system and the researcher is registered to within the UK education system to conduct his PhD project.

On the other hand, both Bonnie (2010) and Chacko (2004) argue that the positionality of participants and respondents' will also have an effect on researcher's project. The different positions of participants and respondents will possibly relay different information for the researcher, and thus researcher will receive/acquire different types of qualitative data. For example, in this research project, academics have much more knowledge rather than student interviewees to understand local context. At the same time, students and studentifiers will directly have experienced of how and why their social-life experiences 'change' local contexts.

#### **4.5.2 Power relations**

Power relations between researcher and participants are evident in fieldwork (Chacko, 2004), with one of the key reasons being that researcher and participants have different situated knowledge and backgrounds. In this research project, the researcher found that a lot of interviewees had no understanding of the research project, and, in particular, processes of studentification in Beijing. The researcher therefore needed to give much more time to explain the concept of studentification to research participants. However, Rose (1997) argues that researchers need to be careful that they do not overly lead the interview, yet also take some pressures off the participants. Therefore, the researcher not only needs to explain the research term and research aims to participants, but also must not dominate the interview to not allow the interviewees' qualitative data to emerge.

In addition, the personal relationship between the researcher and participant is important to allow researcher to build up a positive 'relationship' (Guanxi) with participants (Bonnie, 2010). For example, one of researcher relatives, an associate Professor in Chinese as secondary Language School of PKU, has used her personal relationship to access the official statistics about the changes of enrolled student numbers in PKU. Therefore, although the official gatekeeper is able to provide the

data via official channel, the researcher still has to use personal relationship to gain the data. Based on the relative relationship in PKU, the researcher has interviewed with students to gain the qualitative data. To consider the students' activities beyond gated campus, one of researcher relatives, who runs and manages one of the student-led business in the Food Street, provided more reliability qualitative data referring to student-consumers and the local infrastructural changes in the student-oriented business near campus of PKU. Finally, the researcher also had built up 'relationship' with participants to gain the reliability qualitative data, therefore, it is toward to: "developing relationships of trust with them and acquiring quality data that reflect truths are prime considerations for field researchers" (Chacko, 2004:56).

#### **4.5.3 Reflexivity**

Critical thinking is one of the most important processes through researcher's project, in order to collect reliable data and complete project. Based on different social factors, most social scientists are given the process of critical thinking in the methodology named reflexivity (Clifford *et al.*, 2010). Reflexivity demands the researcher to adopt critical consideration on biography, social class, religion, political view and relationship between researcher and participants (Bryman, 2012), although the researcher's personal interests as subjective factor have impacted into the analysis of data. In this thesis, although the researcher is of Chinese nationality, he can understand the Chinese culture and background, the different locations in China represents different local contexts. For example, the researcher was not grown up in Beijing, which means that he needs to collect more information to understand local contexts of Beijing. In addition, interviewee students are from PKU as one of the best university in China, who perhaps are given more 'advance knowledge'. It seems that lots of Chinese interviewees are from geography department of PKU who have geographical background to provide reliable and valid qualitative data.

It is important to consider one of most important factors in my interviews within the cross-cultural project of studentification in China, namely language in research. According to a statement by Bryman (2012:522):

"understanding language categories has been an important component of research involving participant observation, because knowing how words are used and the meanings of specific terms in the local vernacular (often called



‘argot’) is frequently viewed as crucial to an appreciation of how the social world being studied is viewed by its members.”

Researchers not only have to use language to design research questions, but also they need to understand meanings and semantics within the interview transcripts. For this thesis, the researcher is able to understand local language in the research locations, but translation between Chinese and English language is an important factor in the research. More specifically, although the researcher studies in the education system in the UK over 5 years, English (especially academic English) is not a native language. For example, the researcher has to design English questions and translate into Chinese, while the researcher must translate Chinese records and transcripts into English, in order to build-up research concepts and categories. It is important to note that translation in language is major challenge in this research project, thus the researcher needs to avoid misunderstanding in language translations.

Reflectivity also critically considers the effectiveness of the processes of research. First, the research process in this thesis is generally a ‘top-to-down’ research process, due to the consideration on the institutions of the socialist China. Therefore, key data that is controlled by government and official institutions, the researcher in the first phase has to find data from the ‘top’ (official data), and the researcher then employs content analysis and qualitative approaches to collect the data from ‘down’. Second, it was not possible to use a questionnaire survey, as PKU is termed a work-unit, and employs a gated management system for the campus and each dorm (see discussion on Chapter 6). As the researcher is not an enrolled student in PKU; some students were not willing to finish the questionnaire by the ‘outside student’, while the security cannot allow the ‘outside student’ to send questionnaire on-campus.

## **Chapter 5 – The expansion of Higher Education (HE) in China: a necessary condition for studentification?**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The main purpose of this chapter is to consider how processes of studentification have been facilitated by the wider on-going expansion of HE in China, and to contextualise processes of studentification within the distinctive HE system in China.

The chapter is divided into six sections. Section 5.2 briefly outlines some of the key origins of the development of HE in China. Section 5.3 discusses some of the reasons for the Chinese central government seeking to expand HE policy in 1999. Section 5.4 focuses on the increased number of HEIs, with the reforms on the HEIs and types of HEIs. Section 5.5 presents the dramatic growth of student numbers, with consideration on enrolment and the gap in admissions by different factors and the increased international students in China. Section 5.6 uses secondary data to explore the changes of the student housing market after post-1999 HE expansion. Section 5.7 specifically discusses the effects of the expansion of HE on PKU, which include the expansion of enrolled students numbers (undergraduate, postgraduate and international students) from 1999-2012, and the social differentiations of students in PKU. Section 5.8 summarises the expansion of the HE system in China, in order to consider the salience of 'studentification' within the Chinese context.

### **5.2 The origins of the HE system in China**

In 1898, the first 'modern university' was established by the Qing Dynasty in China (the last feudal dynasty), and was named the Imperial University of Peking (namely the predecessor of Peking University). This development can be viewed as the starting point for the beginning of HE in China (Peking University official website, 2013). Further university developments, stimulated by the new cultural movement (1910-1920s), led to the establishment of a relatively higher number of 'western system' universities (e.g. comprehensive style and modern science) in China. Notably, when the Communist Party of China (CPC) founded the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the central government of PRC established the socialist Soviet model for the HE system, in order to serve the socialist economic system, and

this was highly centralized under the central government control. As Yang (2002:35) contends:

“From 1952, China’s higher education system simulated the Soviet model, emulating the latter’s administration, teaching methods, textbooks, and even classroom design. The experience of other countries, especially those of the west, was rejected.”

As a result, central government aimed to change the comprehensive university system based on the western model, and transitioned into the specialised university within the Soviet model, namely under the 1952 HE reforms. More specifically, each Ministry department (e.g. Ministry of Machine Building, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Forestry, Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power) found that they managed specialised universities (so-called central ministry managed institutions), to train specialised, highly-skilled human labourers within their specific industry areas under the planned economy (Zha, 2011).

Notably, in 1956, the 8th National Congress of CPC emphasized that the role of HE would enhance the development of the industrial economy; thus central government launched the so-called, first-wave of the expansion of HE in PRC, to create different types of specialists (e.g. steel and manufacturing) to serve the political and economic development of China (Yang, 2002). In effect, there was a major increase in the number of HEIs (644) with the registration of 700,000 students in 1965, compared to 200 HEIs with 130,000 students in 1949 (Seybolt, 1974). The first-wave expansion of HE led to HEIs, and the total number of enrolled students increased by 3.2 times and 5.4 times, respectively. However, due to the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), universities halted the recruitment of students from the pool of the general public, and, instead, only enrolled a small number of students who were selected from industry and agriculture backgrounds (Seybolt, 1974). Therefore, during this decade, the HE system in China stagnated.

The post-1978 ‘open-door’ political and economic reforms, led to the opening of the national conference for science. The key objective of the conference was to develop education to serve the development of the economy, and, in particular, ‘re-open the door’ for universities to enrol students from the wider general public. As Wang (2010:206) describes: “between 1978 and 1985, enrolment grew from 625,319 in

1977, to 1,703,115 in 1985.” Wang (2010) and Seybolt (1974) both indicate that there were 1080 HEIs in 1985, compared to 644 HEIs in 1965 (before the Cultural Revolution). As a result of these reforms to the HE system, the second-wave of the expansion of HE in PRC can be represented.

The remainder of this chapter now focuses on the marked expansion of HE from 1999, which can be viewed as the third-wave of the expansion of HE in PRC. To date, it can be argued that the post-1999 effects of the expansion of HE have had significant impacts on the HE system, and the wider socio-economic structure of China. It will be asserted below that these changes have created a larger pool of students attending more and more HEIs in China, and this has provided the ‘raw material’ (i.e. studentifiers) to ignite and exacerbate processes of studentification in the Chinese context.

### **5.3 The post-1999 expansion of HE**

Investigations of studentification within different national contexts (see Chapter 2) show that a major common factor underpinning the emergence of studentification is the neoliberal expansion of HE (Smith and Hubbard, 2014). Hubbard (2008), for instance, indicates that marked policies for the expansion of HE and the increasing participation of young people in HE since 1990s has been one of the key trigger for studentification in the UK. Within this mind, the post-1999 expansion of the HE system in China can also be viewed as a valuable starting point to consider the emergence of processes of studentification within China. To explore this theme, Section 5.3 is divided into two main parts. Section 5.3.1 discusses three of the main motivations of the Chinese central government to expand the HE system. Section 5.3.2 describes how the government operationalised their policy on HE.

#### **5.3.1 Motivations for government to expand the HE system**

China has the largest HE sector in the world, and, most notably, the largest national student population (Ministry of Education, 2013). As Zha (2011) confirms:

“China’s tertiary student population almost reached 30 million by the end of 2008, accounting for 24.2% of the 18-24 age cohort, and making China’s higher education system the world’s largest in absolute numbers.”

Comparing gross enrolment rate data between the 1950s and the late 1970s, Yao *et al.* (2010) show that the gross enrolment rate of China was 5%, and that this was overwhelmingly controlled by central government. As a result, some scholars claim that China has moved from a model of 'elite education' to 'mass education', based on the theory of Trow which suggest a rate of 15% for the mass education (Trow, 1973; Wang and Liu, 2010; Yao *et al.*, 2010; Wang, 2010; Wang, 2011; Zha, 2011).

The key factor here is that since 1999 the third-wave of the expansion of HE has unfolded, which is inherently tied to the Chinese central government seeking to train more and more highly skilled human resources, to galvanise the socio-economic development of China within the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Wang and Liu, 2010). Zha (2011) explains that human labourers, who have completed their higher education degree, are able to enhance the development of the socio-economy, which often can be viewed as one of the key measurements of human capital.

At the same time, China has faced two key pressing issues that have had major implications for national socio-economic development and prosperity: i) the reform of state-owned enterprises (SOE) in the mid-1990s resulted in relatively high levels of unemployment in China, and; ii) the 1997 financial crisis led to economic recession in China. Therefore, in 1998, an economist of Min Tang, who was working for Asian Development Bank, published an influential report titled 'Some thoughts on revitalizing the Chinese economy: Double enrolment in Higher Education'. This postulated that China would need to enlarge the enrolment rates of students at a doubling speed through the next 3-4 years, and that universities would have to charge increased, full tuition fees to new enrolled students in HEIs (Yao *et al.*, 2010).

As a result of the uptake of these proposals, many Chinese families now spend their life savings on the education of their children at HEIs (with the related service industry) (Liu and Wang, 2011). In addition, the growth of more and more individuals from the younger-ages ranges attending HEIs, has resulted in relatively lower rates of unemployment (Wang, 2011). These perceived beneficial outcomes to the Chinese nation clearly underpin the priorities of the Chinese central government to sustain the third-wave of the expansion of HE in China.

### **5.3.2 Operationalising the expansion of HE in China**

HE policy has been strategically shaped by the Ministry of Education since December 1998, via the Education Revitalization Action Plan in 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Ministry of Education, 2013). This Action Plan stresses that the HE system should be enlarged to include a total of 1.15 million students, and that the total number of enrolled student numbers attending HEIs should increase on an annual basis. Second, it is postulated that the Chinese HE gross enrolment rate should reach 15% by the year of 2010. Third, it is asserted that Chinese universities and colleges need to integrate their resources and develop HE, to improve academic quality and enlarge their student enrolment totals. Finally, it is emphasised that local government must introduce and encourage private capital to invest in HE, to lead to the development of more private universities, and thus foster the overall increased enrolment rates of HE students.

However, central government arguably realized that the centralized planning system lacks support for the objective of mass HE system, particularly the funding for the central ministry managed universities. Wu and Yang (2011) explain that central government controlled the budgetary system to provide funding for ministry managed universities before the reform of HE system, which have the planned enrolled student numbers and no right for their own development.

Within this mind, central government aimed to decentralize the power of centralized HE system. For example, some 'ministry managed universities' (except the 'controlled universities' by Ministry of Education) no longer had permits to manage their specific universities, and those universities were transferred to local provincial governments' management. On the other hand, local government considers that university is the key knowledge-based economic engine to promote the local socio-economic development, therefore they can gain the support from local financial resources (Wang, 2010).

At the same time, with declining financial support from central government, universities have sought to apply different ways to gain financial resources, to support and enable improvements in the university qualities (Wang and Liu, 2010). First, universities have started to charge tuition fees to all students, instead of government funded regimes, under the ideological concept of market-driven

economy. One of key reasons here is that: “the Confucian tradition attaches a high value to education has led to the willingness of most families to invest privately in higher education for their children” (Zha, 2011:764).

The reform of funding for tuition fees started in late 1980s. Before this point in time, central government was only the ‘body’ to provide funds for university students, who were thus not charged tuition fees and living costs (Wang and Liu, 2010). Importantly, in 1989, Wang (2011) stresses that some tuition fees were charged to small groups of self-sponsored and enterprise-sponsored students by HEIs. Indeed, from 1997, all HEIs began to charge students tuition fees to all enrolled students, and that the level of tuition fees has dramatically increased. As Wang (2011:280) indicates: “tuition fees have increased by 25 times from 200 yuan (USD 30) in 1989 to over 5000 yuan (USD 700) in 2007.” It is clear that increased tuition fees can be seen as an important income for HEIs to support their operation of universities. Moreover, Zha (2011) illustrates that in 1999, tuition fees made up approximately 17% in the total revenue composition of HEIs, and the fiscal support from government was 63%. Following the reform of tuition fees this has increased to 32%, and the fiscal support has reduced to 43% in 2005. By the reform of tuition fees, universities not only have the motivation to grow their enrolment totals to capture more and more student-consumers, but also universities have strategies to enhance the quality and reputation of their university to attract more student-consumers (Yao *et al.*, 2010).

Wang (2011) also illustrate that there are three main aspects for universities to gain the funds, such as university enterprises, contract training, research and consultancy for enterprises, and donations and endowments. More specifically, universities have their own factories and investment sectors to gain incomes, namely via university enterprises. In this way, universities can use the university enterprises to invest their own infrastructures development, such as student housing and canteen (see further discussion in Chapter 6). On the other hand, universities also can train workforces in enterprises and provide professional suggestions for enterprises. Local enterprises and alumni can provide financial resource (e.g. new facilities, buildings, scientific equipment and books) for universities, as well as the donations and endowments (Wang, 2010). As a result, universities can be funded from a wide variety of sources.

## 5.4 The changes of higher education institutions after 1999 expansion of HE

The total number of HEIs in China has increased in profound ways since the 1999 expansion of HE. As Figure 4.1 shows, there were a total of 2,442 HEIs in 2012, compared with 1,071 institutions in 1999. This is a marked increase of 1,371 institutions between 1999 and 2012.

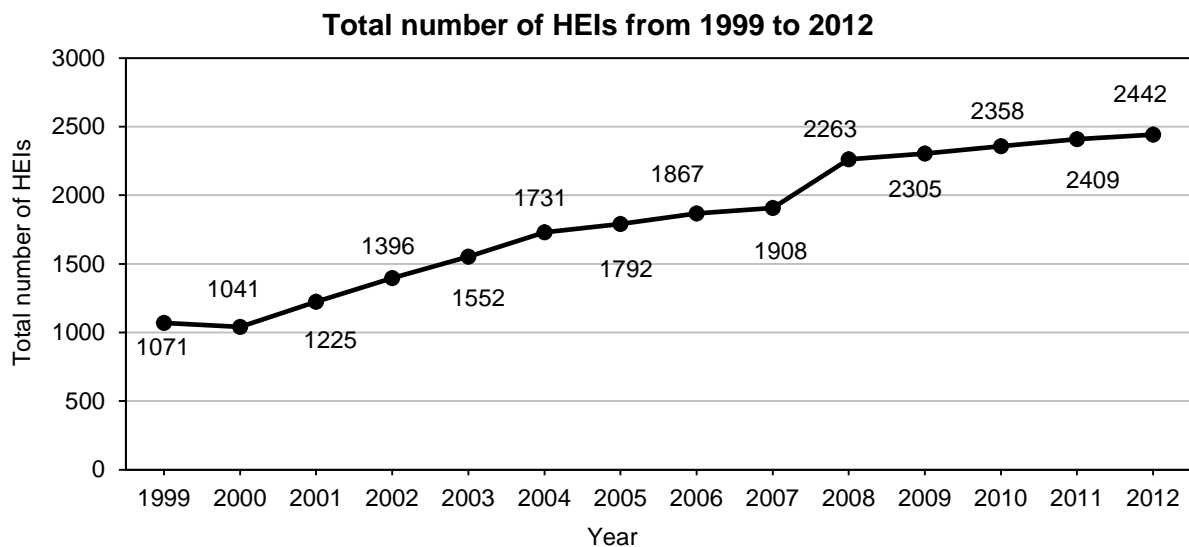


Figure 5.1: Total number of HEIs from 1999 to 2012 (source: the Ministry of Education official website, 2013)

Alongside the increased number of HEIs, there have been some other noteworthy changes within HEIs after the expansion of HE in 1999, and these are explored in the following sections. Section 5.3 is divided into two parts: Section 5.3.1 introduces three reforms in the HEIs, such as the ‘merger colleges and established campus’ for public university and private capital to invest in the HE, and the internationalized cooperation between Chinese universities and foreign HEIs; Section 5.3.2 makes the distinction between two main types of universities: the national key university and non-national key universities.

### 5.4.1 Three main reforms for HEIs

At the beginning of the expansion of HE, Figure 5.1 shows that the HEIs slightly declined to 1,041 in 2000, and then there has been a gradual annual growth since 2000 (1,041 to 2,442). This is, in part, due to the expansion of HE policy in 1999 being limited to the establishment of new public universities, while a reform on HE



system named 'merger colleges and established campus' was introduced in the HE system for public universities (Ministry of Education, 2013). The 'merger colleges' aimed to consolidate some relatively small colleges (specialised HEIs) in order to build up new comprehensive universities (Shi, 2014). For example, Changsha University of Science and Technology is an amalgamation of Changsha Transport College (managed by Ministry of Transport) and Changsha Electric Power College (managed by Ministry of Electricity), established in 2003 (Changsha University of Science and Technology, 2014). Therefore, since the expansion of HE from 1999, a number of comprehensive universities have been consolidated with some small colleges, to enhance and pool their faculties and meet the demands of an increasing student populations. In addition, Yao *et al.* (2010) point out that the HE policy allowed most existing of universities to build-up new university campuses within different locations, to meet the growth of HE enrolled student numbers. For example, PKU in 2001 officially set up a 'Peking University Shenzhen Graduate School' in the city of Shenzhen (located in the south of China), which is associated with 8 academic schools to enrol postgraduates (both Chinese students and international students) (Peking University, 2013). In this way, there are a number of high-quality public universities in different provinces to cater for the expansion of student numbers.

Indeed, there has been a dramatic growth of HEIs since 2002 (see Figure 5.1). One of the key factors here is that the People's Congress issued the Law for Promoting Private Education in 2002 (Ministry of Education, 2014), as the second reform in HE system. More specifically, the central government considered that public HEIs cannot meet the dramatic growth of students, and private sector organisations embedded within the HE system do not only undertake the increased student numbers, but also are able to improve the quality and facilities of HEIs. First, Wang (2010) indicates that local governments and the Ministry of Education have encouraged public universities to operate second-tier colleges since 1999, namely independent colleges. Public universities introduce private capital to invest in the second-tier colleges, which combines the public resources and private resources to offer the degree and train the high-skilled labours. Second, Wang and Liu (2011) indicate that vocational HE is one of key education for Chinese industry, because China still is a labour-intensive economy and vocational education can train a

number of skilled labour forces for different areas of industry. Importantly, over 80% of private HEIs invest in the vocational higher education to enrol students. In 2008 vocational higher education student numbers totalled 7,404,442, which had increased by 7.4 times when compared to 1998 (Wang and Liu, 2011). The private sector tier in HE has enlarged the scale of HE system. As Zha (2011:759) describes:

“In 1999, only 37 private institutions, with an enrolment of 46,000 students, were fully recognized by the Ministry of Education and accredited to confer their own graduate diplomas. By 2008, the number of private institutions that were accredited to confer degree and diplomas had grown to 638, including 322 independent colleges. They constituted 28% of all higher education institutions in China, with an enrolment of four million students, representing 20% of the entire enrolment in the regular higher education sector.”

Therefore, private HEIs can be viewed as key sector that has promoted the expansion of HE system since 1999.

At the same time, the third reform is the introduction of foreign HEIs to improve the quality of China's HE, and to offer the degree-level studying programmes for students. First, some national universities have founded programmes with foreign HEIs to attract student-consumers, such as Johns Hopkins-Nanjing University Centre and Beijing University of Foreign Studies and the Goethe Institute in Germany (Feng, 2013). As a result, since 1999 there have been over 70 HEIs with their international partners offering a considerable number of degree-level studies for students (Yi, 2013). Moreover, with the successful cooperative programme between Chinese universities and foreigner HEIs, “China is accelerating its efforts to globalize HE through joint ventures with other countries' universities” (Yi, 2013:471). The cooperation between Chinese universities and foreign universities has stimulated more programmes with international academic qualities and administration management, in order to recruit students across global, such as Duke-Wuhan University campus in Kunshan, New York University-East China Normal University in Shanghai. Furthermore, the new form of university (e.g. University of Nottingham Ningbo and Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University) has established in China, which is supported by local government to create a full-scale campus under the foreign university management within local areas, as well as ‘independent campus’ (Feng,

2013). Cooperation between Chinese universities and foreign universities only provide programme for degree-level studies, the new form of campus by foreign university management has decision-making power to recruit students across global. For example, they aim to build up a comprehensive university to offer research degree-level studies and making long-term strategic planning to impact on China (Lim, 2014). As a result, although the new HEIs by the international efforts still has a small increase in the HE system, they can recruit students to create a large number of high-skilled human labours who have an international experiences.

#### **5.4.2 Two types of university: national key university and non-national key university**

Prior to the expansion of HE before 1999, there were three levels of university groups: (1) 36 universities managed by the Ministry of Education department; (2) over 100 central ministries managed universities, and; (3) over 800 HEIs under the provincial-level and city-level governments control (Wang, 2010). After the decentralization (central ministries managed universities to local government), universities in the terms of government administration have been divided into two types: (1) 76 public universities managed by the Ministry of Education, and; (2) the rest of total HEIs managed by local-level governments (the Ministry of Education, 2014).

Meanwhile, central government launched two financial support projects: 211 Project and 985 Project in the mid-1990s, in order to improve the quality and competition of university in the global world. First, some universities are reformed by the method of 'merger colleges', which are selected as national key universities (109 universities), as well as labelled into '211 project universities. The aims of 211 Project is to improve research levels and create skilled human resources, in order to enhance the socio-economic development of China (the Ministry of Education, 2013). Second, in the May of 1998, the former president of Jiang was given a speech at PKU for the 'Peking University 100th anniversary' memorial day, which aimed to enhance a group of universities (39 universities) to achieve the world-class faculties and research-levels, as well as the '985' project (the Ministry of Education, 2013). In effect, central government started to provide funds to support the selected '985' project. For example, those elites of 39 HEIs had received 1.2 billion RMB in 2009,

which means “equalling that of the Association of American Universities member, a group of leading research universities in the world.” (Zha, 2011:757). Importantly, the 39 HEIs of ‘985’ project universities also included within the ‘211’ project, which means they can gain much more funding, rather than other universities. Therefore, based on the differentials of government funding support, HEIs can be divided into two main types: i) national key universities (‘985’ and ‘211’ project), and: ii) non-national universities (local government support).

In addition, Wang and Liu (2011) note that national key university have been restricted to expanding their enrolment, as they can receive a large number of financial supports from central government, while non-national universities need to gain the revenue from the operating income and tuition fees. As Zha (2011: 757) describes:

“Notably enrolment in the national elite universities grew only in symbolic ways, mainly at the graduate level or with the development of new programme, from 1.36 million in 1997 to 1.63 million in 2005. By contrast, local institutions increased their enrolment most dramatically in the same period, from 1.79 million to 11.89 million.....now they (local institutions) accommodate 95.3% of all enrolments in the Chinese system.”

Clearly, non-national key universities have to the opportunities and incentives to expand their enrolment to gain from the incomes from ‘student-consumers’.

## **5.5 Student populations in the HE system after expansion of higher education since 1999**

Figure 5.2 shows the dramatic growth of the total student population in China, increasing from 4.31 million to 25.63 million between 1999 and 2012, with an approximate 6 fold increase between 1999 and 2012. Without doubt, China has the largest, and rising, HE student population in the world (the Ministry of Education, 2013).

### **5.5.1 The enrolment rates of students**

According to the ‘National Long-Term of Education Reform and Development Plan’ issued by central government of China (2010), in 2009 the gross enrolment rate

(GER) of students reached at 24.2% (22.97 million enrolled HE students). In contrast, in the 1998 (Before the expansion of HE), there were 3.41 million HE students with the GER of 9.8% (Wang and Zhang, 2009). According to the education expert Martin Trow's theory, when the GER reaches 15-50%, HE has developed into the mass education stage (Trow, 1972). In turn, the GRE has reached at 24.2% in 2009, it is shown that China's structure of HE has therefore changed from a system of elite education to mass education.

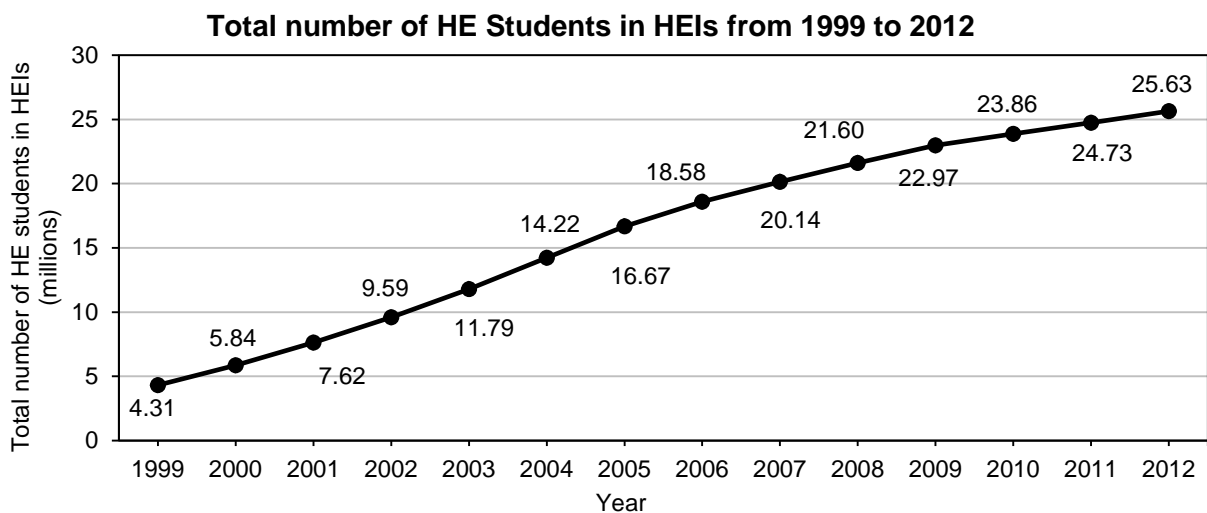


Figure: 5.2 Total number of HE students in HEIs from 1999 to 2012 (source: the Ministry of Education official website, 2013)

Figure 5.2.1 shows that the total number of undergraduate students (including 4 normal years and 3 short-cycle years) reached 29.31 million in 2009. This compares with 4.09 million of undergraduates in 1999, an increase of approximately 7 fold since the expansion of HE policy in 1999. On the other hand, the total number of postgraduate students (including master students and Ph.D students) has also witnessed a dramatic growth. Figure 5.2.2 reveals that the number of postgraduates increased from 0.22 million (1999) to 1.72 million (2012), which has grown nearly 8 times since the expansion of HE in 1999. It can be concluded that China has the largest number of undergraduates and postgraduates in the global world (Ministry of Education, 2013).

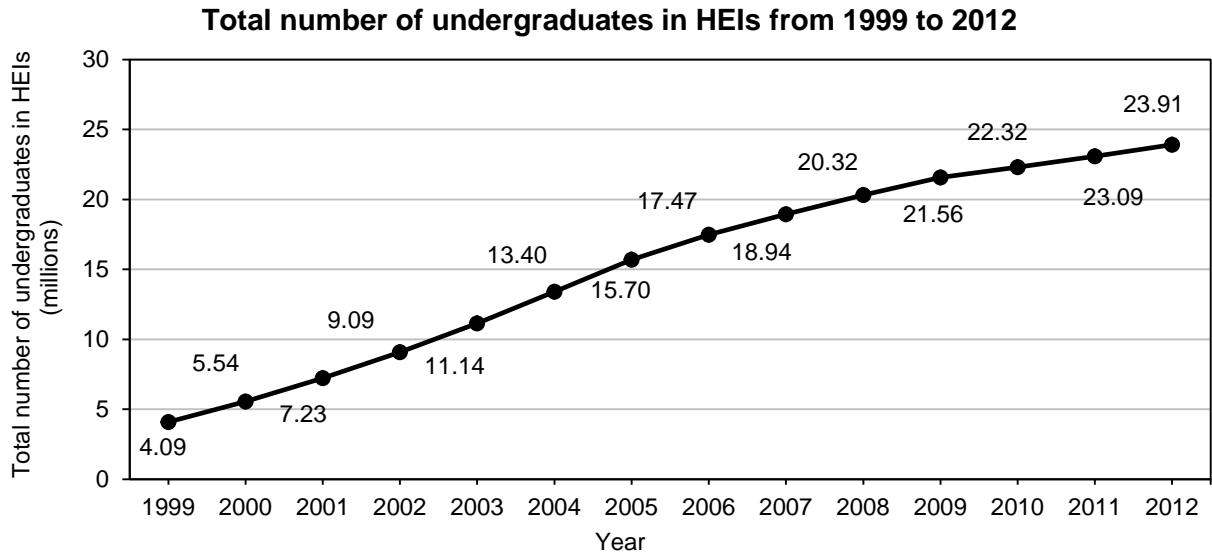


Figure 5.2.1: Total number of undergraduates in HEIs from 1999 to 2012 (source: the Ministry of Education official website, 2013)

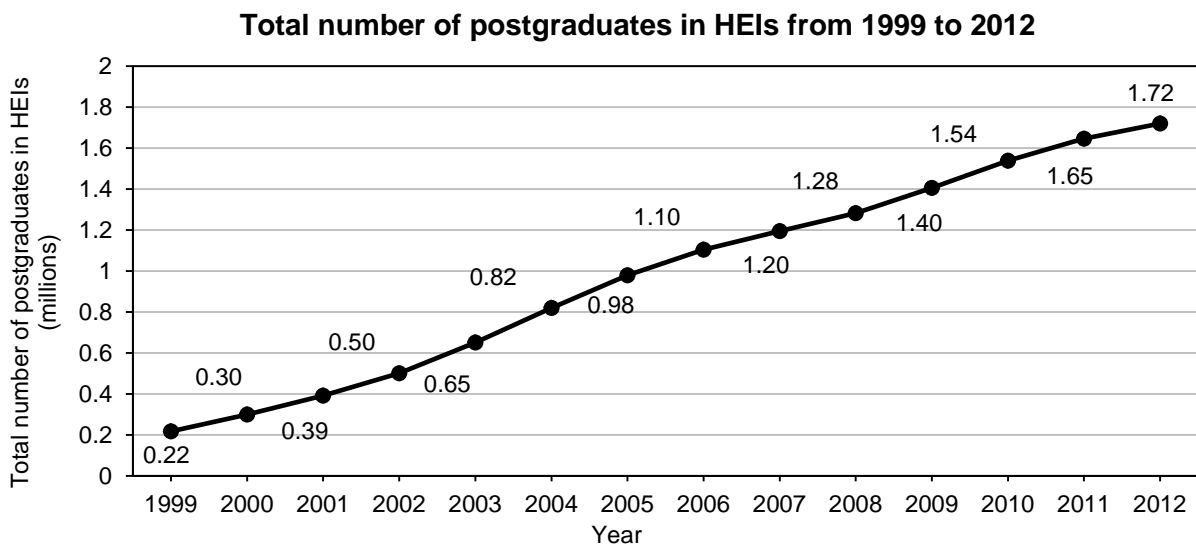


Figure 5.2.2: Total number of postgraduates in HEIs from 1999 to 2012 (source: the Ministry of Education official website, 2013)

### 5.5.2 The differential factors in admission

With the expansion of HE student numbers, admissions at different levels of universities has led to more and more students being recruited to HEIs. First, by the decentralization of HE system, local-provincial governments have the decision-making power for the enrolment rates of students. Second, some national-key universities (all 985 Project universities and more than half of 211 Project universities)

have the right for independent enrolment, but the Ministry of Education will control over 5% of student recruitment (Wang, 2011).

At the same time, the HE entrance examination has been reformed by the decentralization processes. The HE entrance examination is the key gateway to evaluate people who can study in universities and colleges. Before the reform, HE entrance examination was only taken via the central government, the so-called the national entrance examination. The decentralization on the HE entrance examination allows some local governments to design their own examination syllabuses to take the HE entrance examination (Wang, 2011).

Due the effects of decentralization of admission and HE entrance examination, there are some other changes that have impacted on the HE system in China. Five factors are worthy of discussion here for the admission on the enrolment of HE, such as: (1) socio-economic regional differences; (2) urban-rural gap; (3) socioeconomic group; (4) key and non-key secondary school, and; (5) gender (Huang, 2003; Yao *et al.*, 2010; Liu and Wang, 2010; Wang, 2011).

First, due to the local-provincial governments having the right on the enrolment rate, they concern the benefits on the expansion of local HE to create high-skilled labours and knowledge-economic development for local socio-economic development (Yao *et al.*, 2010). For example, a case study in 2004 reveals that the rate of provincial enrolment was 26.82% at PKU in Beijing and 67.29% in Sun Yet-Sen University in Guangzhou (Liu and Wang, 2010). Those enrolment rates are much higher rather than universities enrolment rate within other provinces. In addition, due to the uneven socio-economic development in past years, provinces located within the eastern region have much more educational resources to support local HEIs to expand their enrolments (especially local national-key universities), while central and western regions tend to be lacking educational resources (Liu and Wang, 2010). As a result, different regions have different HE entrance examination pass rates. For example, a pass rate of 60.23% is national average HE entrance examination; eastern region such as Zhengjiang, Jiangsu, Tianjin, Beijing and Shanghai reach over 70% rate; on the other hand, Gansu and Guizhou where are located in western region only have at 40% (Wang, 2011). Therefore, students in eastern region (or wealthy regions and cities) could have many more opportunities to study in the HEIs.

Second, admission rates between urban and rural students are different, since there is significant socio-economic polarization between urban and rural in China. Yang and Welch (2012) indicates that admission rate for urban student was 3.95 times rather than rural students in an investigation of 37 HEIs in 1997; after expansion of HE system since 1999, the rate was reduced to 1.89 times in 2004. It is clear that the expansion of HE policy in 1999 can reduce admission gap between urban and rural students. However, Yao *et al.* (2010) point out that the different types of HEIs also cause differences in the urban-rural access opportunity rate. Yang and Welch (2012) describe that the in 2004 urban-rural access opportunity rate in 985 Project universities is 2.42, which is higher rather than the non-national key universities for 1.41.

Third, based on the social-class polarization by the uneven development of socio-economy in China, Zha (2011) claims that students are from privileged families (e.g. government officials, business services and professional classes), who have much more opportunities to access the HE system. Indeed, the expansion of the HE system since 1999 has, arguably, allowed a higher number of students from low social-classes families (e.g. low-income farmer and unemployment groups) to enrol at an HEI, which has reduced the gap of HE education opportunities between privileged families and lower social-classes families (Yao *et al.*, 2012). However, the social-class differentiation has resulted in national key universities. An investigation conducted in 2004 describes that:

“Within the key institutions under the Ministry of Education, the proportion was the highest among children of officials and professionals, at 5.48 and 3.6 respectively. For the children of urban and rural unemployed people, it was 0.33. For key HEIs, the opportunity gap was more marked with almost 17 times more opportunity for the children of government officials than the children of unemployed people.” (Wang, 2011: 238)

It is clear that students from privileged families can more easily access into the national key HEIs, when compared to students from low income and unemployed families.

Fourth, due to the factors of elitism and distribution of education resources, secondary school also divided into key school and non-key school. Students who are



from key secondary schools have much more opportunities to access into HEIs. This is because key-secondary schools always are located in urban and can gain a number of funds and supports from local governments. As a result, urban students who are educated in key secondary schools have more opportunities to access into the universities, especially national key universities (Huang, 2003).

Finally, consideration on the social factor of gender, although urban male students have more opportunities into HEIs rather than urban female students, the admission rate between urban male students and female students has reduced by the effects of expansion of HE policy since 1999, as well as the urban male students has 1.07 times to urban female students in 2004 (Wang, 2011). On the other hand, rural male and female students, male student has 1.33 times rather than female student (Wang, 2011). In a word, male students have more opportunities than female (Wu and Yang, 2011).

### **5.5.3 The expansion of international students in China**

Since 1978, central government had encouraged international students to study in Chinese HEIs. As Huang (2003) found, there is an increased total of international student numbers, rising from 500 (1980) to over 1,500 (1990), as a growth of 3 times. The relatively high number of international students has clearly increased since the expansion of HE in 1999. Although the official data for the numbers of international student accounts from 2002, Figure 5.2.3 shows that there is an increased trend about the numbers of international students. The number of international student populations has increased from 54,220 (2002) to 157,850 (2012), signifying a three-fold increase. Although there is a slight decrease for the number of 52,33 (thousand) in 2003, the total numbers have continued to grow each year since 2003.

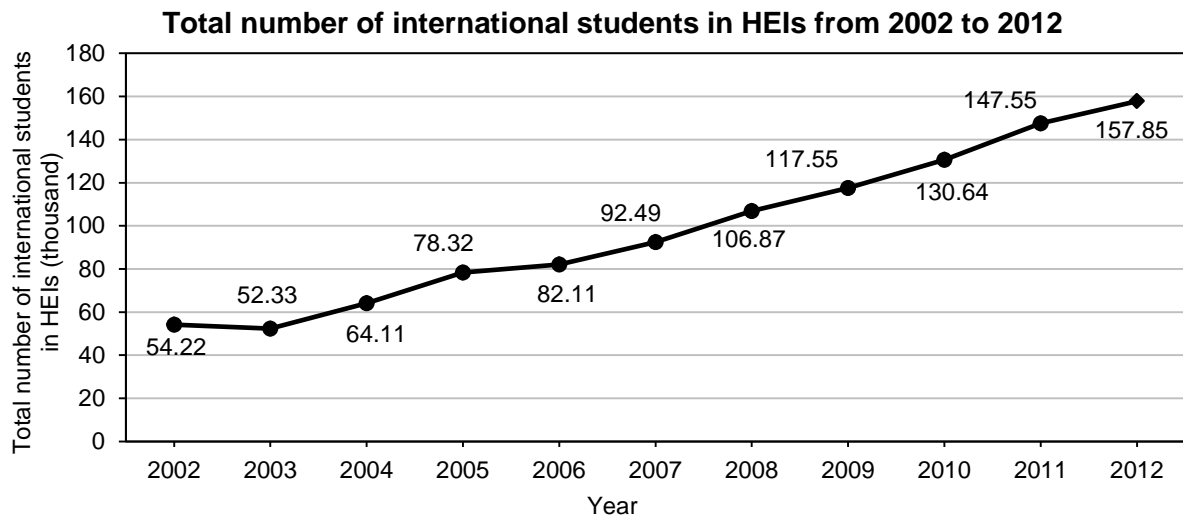


Figure 5.2.3: Total number of international students in HEIs from 2002 to 2012 (source: the Ministry of Education, 2013)

In addition, Huang (2003) indicates that central government encourages international students to study in China, especially providing governmental funds for international students in HEIs, particularly the national key universities. For example, the number of international students funded by Chinese government was 18,967 in 2012, compared to 5,585 in 2005, as increased of 3.4 times (the Ministry of Education official website, 2013). On the other hand, the self-supporting students also have increased 89,784 in 2009, compared to 68,160 in 2005, an increased 32% for self-supporting (the Ministry of Education official website, 2013).

Moreover, Figure 5.2.4 reveals the comparison of international student numbers in each continent in 2005 and 2009, with the percentage of total student number changes for each continent. More specifically, international students from Asia are the main group in total of enrolled international students in China. Europe and Africa are respectively second and third area to provide international students studying in China. Consideration on the changes on percentage of international student number, in 2009 Africa and South America have the rapid increased percentages than 2004, as 77% and 70%, respectively. Although Europe and North America have a similar increased percentage of 40%, the increase speed is over Asia (25%). It seems likely that students from western countries contexts (e.g. Europe and North America) have a rapid increase during 4 years, which increased the percentage in the total of international students in each continent. Although student from Asia has reduced

percentage in the total of international students in 2009, South Korean provides the top of student numbers are studying in China (the Ministry of Education official website, 2013; Kim, 2010).

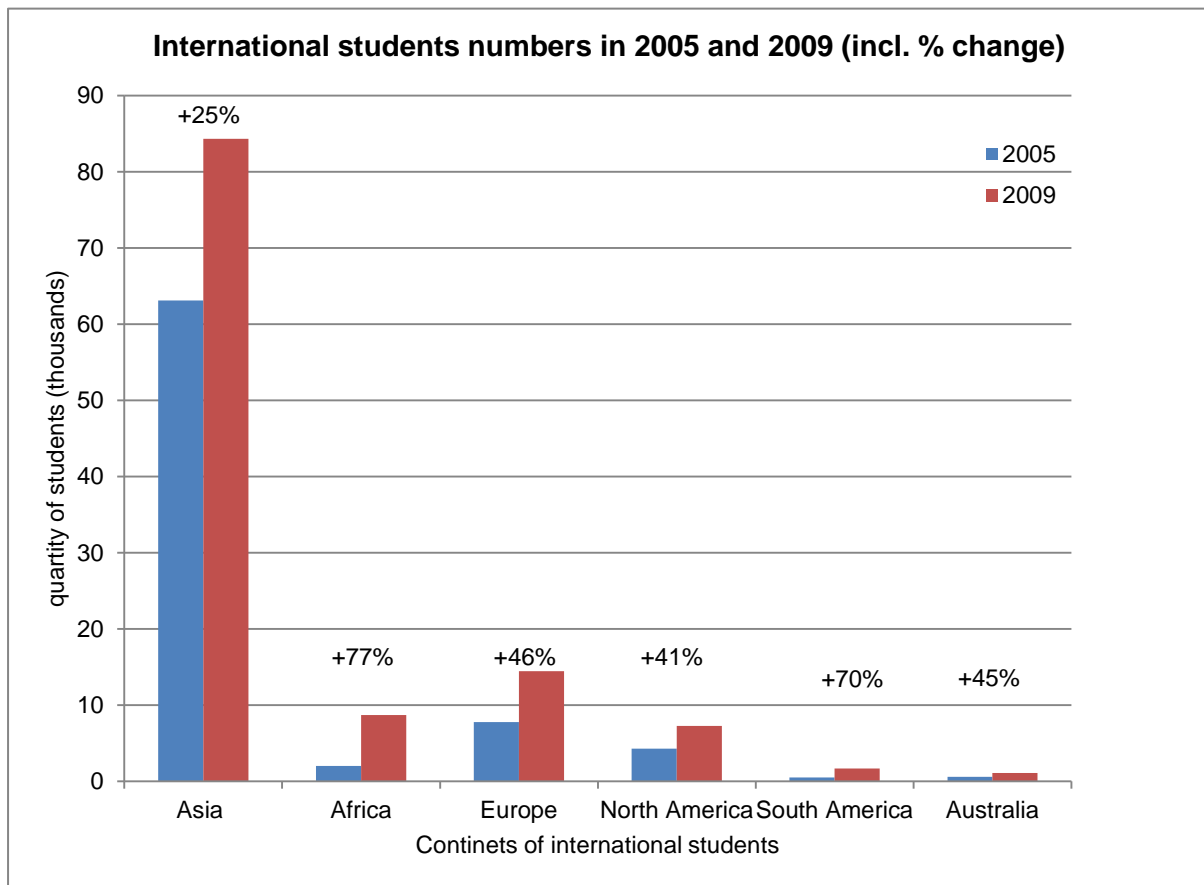


Figure 5.2.4: International student numbers in 2005 and 2009 (incl. % change) (source: the Ministry of Education, 2013)

## 5.6 The changes of student housing in higher education system

In tandem with the charges to tuition fees regimes for full-time students, universities have also revised their accommodation fees since 1990s (Wang, 2010; Zha, 2011).

Traditionally, universities have responsibility to build up the student dorms to cater for their students (see further discussion on Chapter 6). Thus, after the expansion of HE in 1999, university-managed student housing have to face the challenge from the expansion of student numbers. Figure 5.3 identifies that there has been a significant growth in total floor space of students' dormitories from 1999 to 2009, which has increased from 28 million m<sup>2</sup> to 171.22 million m<sup>2</sup>, as the floor area increase over 6

times during 11 years. More specifically, the floor area of students' dormitories has seen a significant growth that has increased 101.29 million m<sup>2</sup> between 2003 to 2006; after 2006, the total floor space of students' dormitories have steady increased by each year. Especially, in 2004, this is influenced by a horrible crime by an undergraduate student, who killed 4 of his roommates within university-managed dorms, and which profoundly impacted on society, namely the 'Majiajue incident'. In effect, the Ministry of Education issued regulations on student housing, which allows all students to live in the university-managed dorms and enhanced the gated management and security of dorms (the Ministry of Education, 2013).

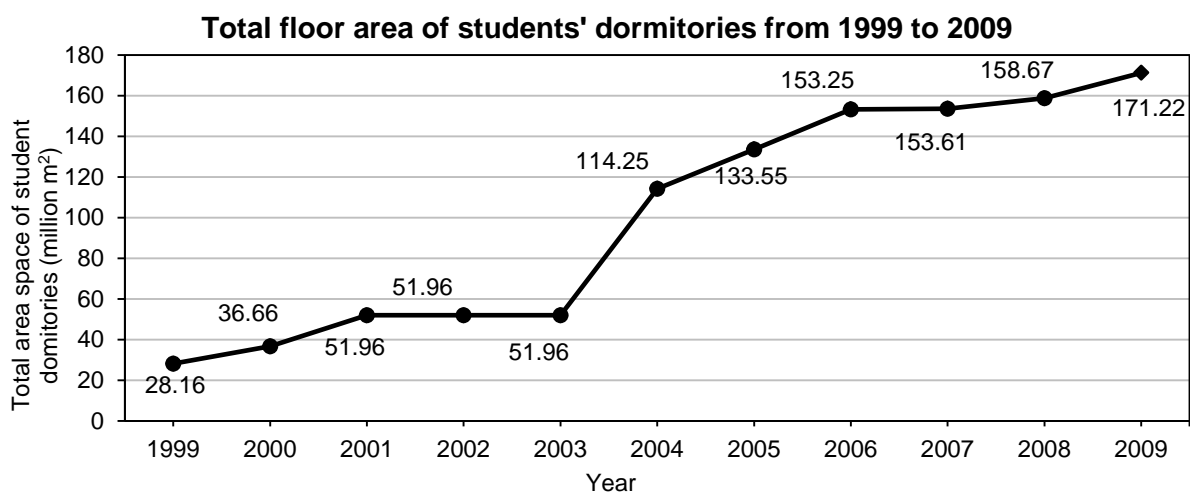


Figure 5.3: Total floor area of students' dormitories from 1999 to 2009 (source: the Ministry of Education, 2013)

Although the total floor area space of students' dormitories has increased between 1999 to 2009, Figure 5.3.1 reveals that the trend of newly-added floor space appears between 1999 and 2009. The newly-added floor space has increased from 2.72 million m<sup>2</sup> to 9.16 million m<sup>2</sup>. It is similar that the dramatic increase of newly-added floor space is from 2003 to 2004. However, after the year of 2006, there is a decline from 17.05 million m<sup>2</sup> to 9.62 million m<sup>2</sup>. It seems likely that HEIs have reduced the newly-added floor space for student living.

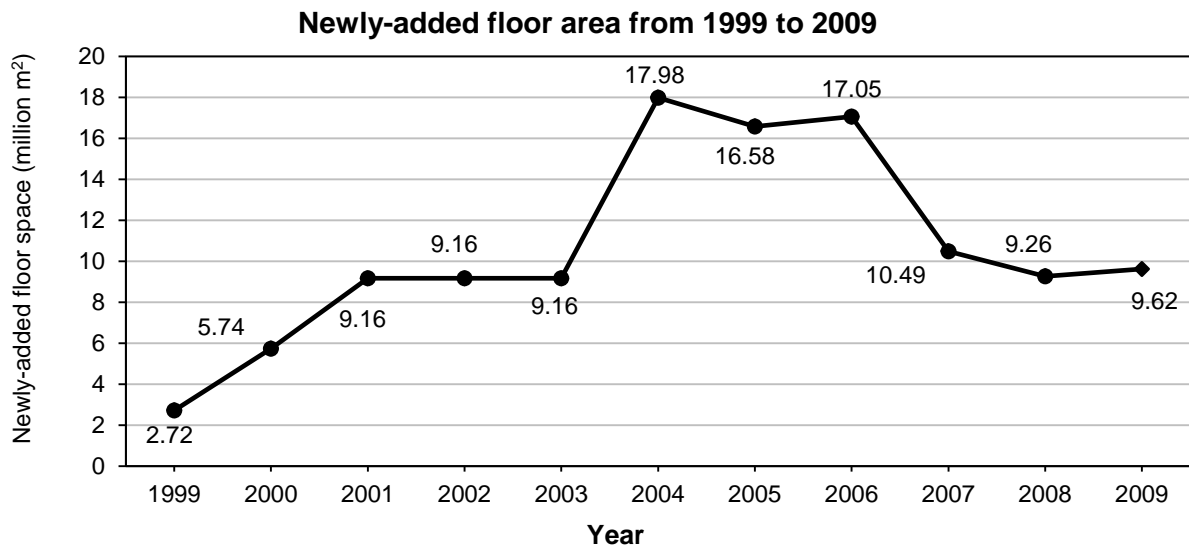


Figure 5.3.1: Newly-added floor area from 1999 to 2009 (source: the Ministry of Education, 2013)

Focussing on the data of the expansion of student numbers and the total floor space of students' dormitories, Figure 4.3.2 presents changes of students in per square metre in floor space from 1999 to 2009, which perhaps reflects the student living space in university-managed dormitories. In general, the trend has a slight increase from 6.59m<sup>2</sup> (1999) to 7.45 m<sup>2</sup> (2009), which improves the space of 0.86 m<sup>2</sup> for students. More specifically, there is an obvious drop from 6.82 m<sup>2</sup> to 4.41 m<sup>2</sup> between 2001 and 2003. However, after 2003 there is a dramatic rise to reach at 8.03 m<sup>2</sup> in 2004. Afterward, although the area of student in per square metre in floor area has a slight decline after 2006, the data is shown that the each student in per square metre in floor area still has improved rather than data of 6.59 m<sup>2</sup> in 1999.

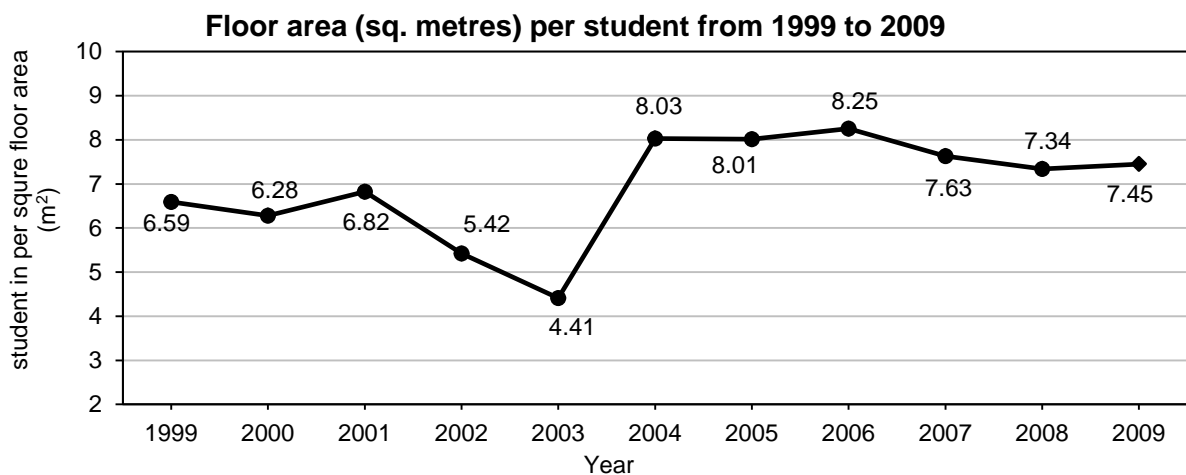


Figure 5.3.2: Floor area (sq. metres) per student from 1999 to 2009 (source: the Ministry of Education, 2013)

## **5.7 The expansion of higher education in Peking University**

Focussing on the case study of this thesis, and in line with the broader changes to HE noted above, it is important to stress that PKU is one of the most reputable universities, which represents a top HEI and a leading research university in China and the global world. Ranked No.1 in mainland of China, and 46th in the world by the QS Worldwide University Rankings in 2013 (QS World University Rankings, 2013), PKU has a positive reputation. It seems likely that the funds and supports from the '211' and '985' projects have resulted in the prestige of PKU. Meanwhile, in line with other world leading universities, PKU continually strives to improve its academic and research level to compare within the global university ranks, which is also exemplified by enlarged postgraduate student populations.

Section 5.3 divided into 2 parts: (1) the expansion of enrolled students in PKU since 1999; (2) the social differentiations of students attending PKU.

### **5.7.1 The expansion of enrolled students in Peking University**

In history, student populations in Peking University (PKU) never totalled over 3,000 before the communist party governance China in 1949 (Peking University official website, 2013). According to Figure 5.5, enrolled full-time students (which includes short-cycle course, undergraduate and postgraduate) increased from 16,363 to 36,222 (increased over 120%) at PKU between 1999 -2012.

In particular, Figure 5.5.1 reveals that undergraduate student populations increased from 9,456 to 14,166 between 1999-2012, with a notable increase between 1999-2002 (14,212). Post-2002, it would appear that general rate of the expansion of the student population has dampened.

Figure 5.5.2 also reveals that the postgraduate student population increased from 6,970 (1999) to 22,106 (2012). It is striking that the postgraduate student population has increased year on year since 1999. Indeed, in 2005 the total number of postgraduate students exceeded undergraduate students for the first time. This trend suggests that since 2002 PKU may be focussing its efforts on an enlarged

postgraduate student population, alongside the stabilisation of the undergraduate student population.

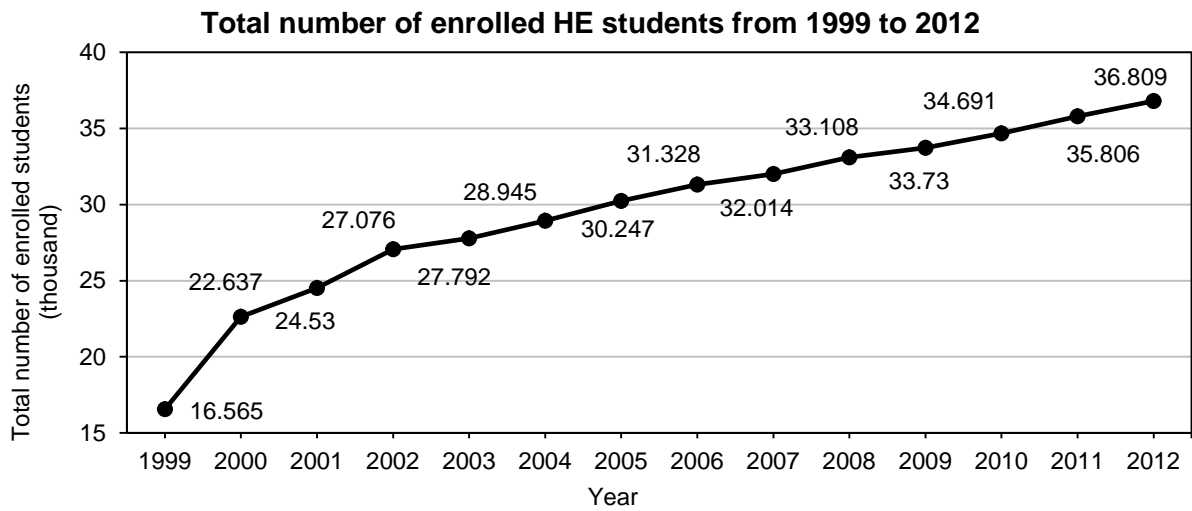


Figure 5.4: Total number of enrolled HE students from 1999 to 2012 (source: the Peking University Vice-Chancellor Secretary Office, 2013)

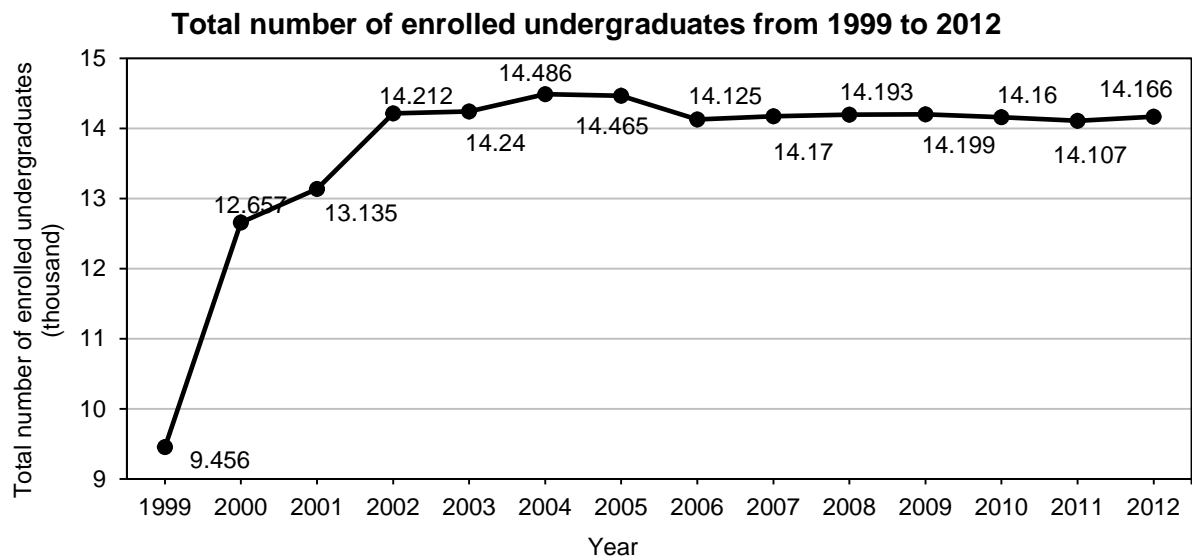


Figure 5.4.1: Total number of enrolled undergraduates from 1999 to 2012 (source: the Peking University Vice-Chancellor Secretary Office, 2013)

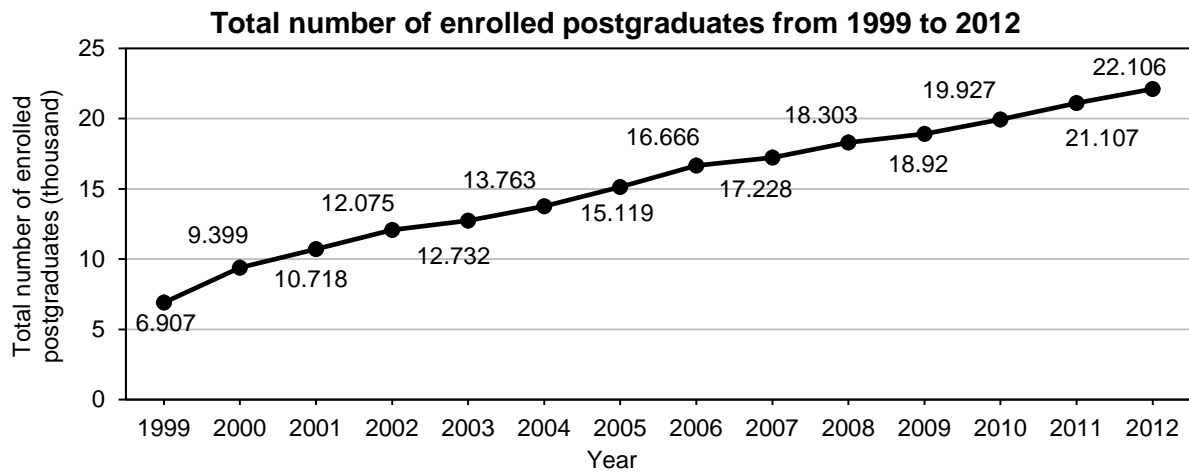


Figure 5.4.2: Total number of enrolled postgraduates from 1999 to 2012 (source: the Peking University Vice-Chancellor Secretary Office, 2013)

As a result, the expansion of HE system in PKU has been embodied in the rapid growth of postgraduate students. This is important to understand the rise of Kaoyanzu who rent housing near campus (see further discussion in Chapter 6).

In the side of international student, although this thesis cannot obtain the detailed data to show the changes in international student populations by each year since the expansion of HE policy in 1999, the international student numbers still have a growth from 2,248 (2009) to 3,279 (2012), namely increased 46% during 3 years. It is therefore that the internationalized high education in PKU has resulted in the increased international student populations.

### 5.7.2 The social differentiations of students in Peking University

Chinese undergraduates enrol at PKU via the national HE undergraduate entrance examination by each year. However, by the effects of social factors (e.g. urban-rural gap and regions), rural student populations in PKU have reduced by the expansion of HE policy since 1999. According to the report by China Youth Daily (2012), a PKU professor research findings pointed out that the rural students in PKU has 20-40% between 1978 and 1998 while the decreased percentages only 10-15%, by the expansion of HE system in PKU. Therefore, by the decreased rural student populations, the growth of urban student populations is studying in the PKU now. In addition, the percentage of enrolled local students -Beijing students-in PKU had 23.1% (in 1998) in the total of enrolled students, which is over other 6 provinces total



(Shangdong, Zhejiang, Hubei, Henan, Anhui and Hunan). In turn, by the expansion of HE policy since 1999, Yao *et al.* (2010) argue that the percentage of local students makes up 17% in the total of enrolled students in 2005. Therefore, PKU has clearly reduced the regions differentiations by the effects on the expansion of HE system. However, it is notable that the identities of urban students and local students still have much more opportunities rather than rural students and other provincial students (especially middle and western regions). In other words, students from privileged families make up the main percentage in the socio-economic population structure within PKU.

Although enrolled undergraduate students in PKU are generally from 'Gao Kao' system, PKU as the national key university has the right (since 2009) to apply the self-enrolment to different provincial-levels of secondary schools especially the type of key-secondary schools. Based on the discussion on (Section 5.3), students who are privileged families have more chances to study in key-secondary schools. It is assumed that student enrolled by the self-enrolment system that can be viewed as the students from privileged, which are more than the low-income families.

Consideration on postgraduate student populations, although postgraduate entrance examinations can be examined as the 'equal education opportunity' for all students, PKU had charged tuition fees since 2007 to limit the students from low-income families (see discussion on Section 5.3). It is assumed that postgraduate students who are from privileged families possibly make up the main percentage rather than students from low-income families in the expansion of postgraduate populations in PKU since 1999.

In the side of international student, by the reputation and ranking in global world, PKU indeed has attracted the large number of international students. In this way, a number of international students who are from privileged families are willing to study in the PKU, in order to gain the cross-cultural life experiences and a comparative degree. This thesis notes that although some international students are able to gain some studentship to study in the PKU, PKU has charged high-cost accommodation fees. a large number of international tuition fees from international students who are from privileged families.

## 5.8 Summary

Understanding the Chinese context of HE system is important to fully grapple with the specific processes of studentification in China, particularly in the relation to the growth of student populations and student housing provision. Due to the effects of the expansion of HE post-1999, China represents the largest enrolled HE student numbers (both undergraduate populations and postgraduate populations) in the world, and is thus a potential harbinger of studentification processes. Both the first-wave (in 1956) and second-wave (in 1978) of the expansion of HE in China was controlled by central government, which had been profoundly influenced by the Soviet-Union education system, as controlled the GER no more than 5% (Yao, *et al.*, 2010). It is notable that the more recent third-wave of the expansion of HE since 1999 has profoundly transformed the HE system. Central government expansion of HE policy in 1999 not only aimed to address the socio-economic issues, but also planned to create more highly-skilled and r human resources to meet the demands for global competitiveness in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Meanwhile, the policy on decentralisation by the central government has also enhanced the expansion of HE. A number of universities joined to local governments have also increased the enrolment of local students. On the other hand, government has reduced the government funds while universities charge tuition fees to enhance their financial resources and income.

In addition, there are three reforms to promote the increasing numbers of the HEIs. In particular, the rise of private HEIs makes up an important role for the increased HEIs. International cooperation between Chinese universities and foreigner HEIs enhances the quality of HE system. At the same time, the central government aimed to improve some universities qualities to reach the international standards, which found two projects: 985 Project and 211 Projects. Universities are included within two projects, which can be seen as the national key universities, while non-national key universities are unable to gain the financial support from the central government. From the discussion on the enrolment of two types of universities, it is clear that the non-national universities play a key role in the enrolment, particularly with undergraduate students. In effect, non-national key university are charged full tuition fees for the university management. On the other hand, national key universities have enlarged the postgraduate student numbers, since they can obtain a large

number of funds from government to improve the research areas; taking the example of PKU.

In addition, based on the different factors (e.g. socio-economic regional differences; urban-rural gap; socioeconomic group; key and non-key secondary school and gender), students from privileged families have much more opportunities to access national-key universities, while students from low social-class families tend to enrol in non-national-key universities. Consideration on the studentifiers from privileged families in the UK context, national-key HEIs in China seems to produce the 'studentifier' who would like to rent housing off-campus.

Moreover, the expansion of internationalized HE system will attract more and more international students to study in Chinese HEIs. The expansion of internationalized HE is a benefit to national-key HEIs, due to the funds and supports from two projects to enlarge the internationalized education strategy for each university. In order to identify international student group, students from Asia make up the main percentage in the total of international student numbers, especially South Korean students studying in China. Students from western countries have rapidly increased between 2005 and 2009, especially the western students often are labelled into 'traditional student' associated with their expansive lifestyle. As a result, international students with their social-culture capitals have had significantly impacted on local contexts (see further discussion on Chapter 6).

The expansion of the HE system also has created new challenges for providers of student housing, due to the regulations by the Ministry of Education allowing housing provision by each university. In this way, HEIs have had to build more and more bedroom spaces to meet the demands from increased student populations, and some universities have had to build more university-managed student housing off-campus.

Within this mind, this thesis uses the case study of PKU, which is one of the top global universities (funded by '985' and '211' projects). Tied to the expansion of HE system within PKU, the trend of enrolled postgraduate student populations has rapidly increased between 1999 to 2012. In this sense, the policies for the expansion of postgraduate students not only attracts the growth students to apply PKU, but also enables the university to develop and build up new-built student accommodations to

meet the increased housing demands from students. In this sense, the case study of PKU provides an excellent opportunity to investigate processes of studentification in the Chinese context, which have been sparked by central government policies to expand the HE system.

## **Chapter 6 – The diverse geographies of student housing within Beijing**

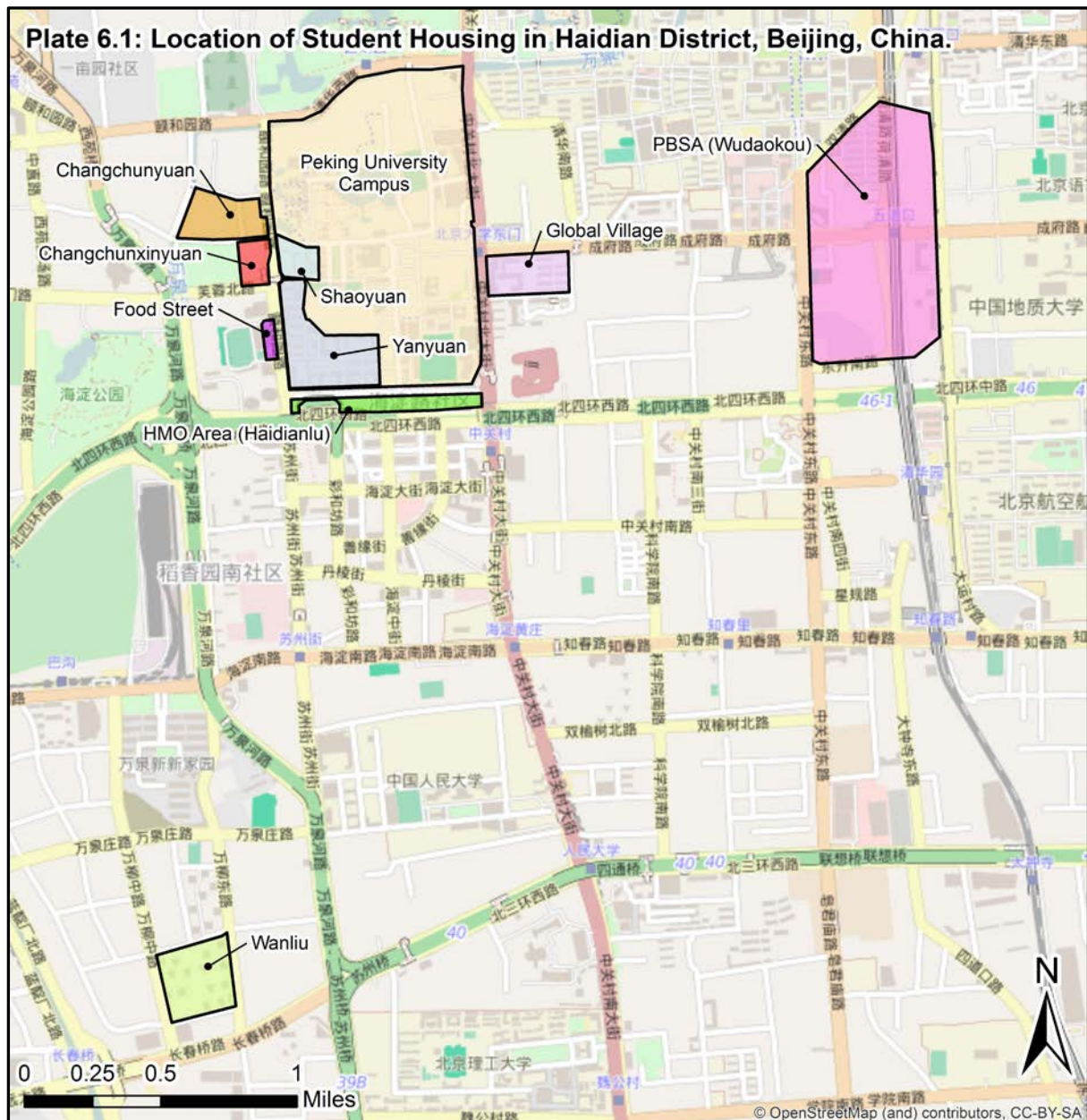
### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines the distinct geographies of student housing within Beijing that are tied to Peking University (PKU), Haidianlu and Wudaokou; and considers how these multiple geographies may be connected to different types of studentifiers. Drawing on a wide range of primary and secondary data sources, it is contended that the geographies of student housing within Beijing can be divided into: on- and off-campus; with some important differences between the off-campus patterns of student housing and studentifiers.

This chapter is divided into four main sections: Section 6.2 briefly outlines the concept of the university involving the work-unit system, and the discussion focuses on the history about student housing in PKU, and the development of various types of student housing of PKU, both on and off-campus. Section 6.3 considers the informal student housing market in Haidianlu and describes the main form of housing (HMO) and types of studentifiers within this location. Section 6.4 focuses on the hotspot of Wudaokou neighbourhood, with the notable population of international students residing within new-built gated communities. Section 6.5 provides a conclusion that includes the comparison of each type of student dorms on and off-campus for PKU, the studentifiers living in the transitional community of Haidianlu, and the international student populations residing within the relative high-quality apartments in gated communities within Wudaokou.

In general, the discussion on work-unit system shows that PKU has developed a relatively high number of on-campus student apartments, in response to an increased demand from the expanding student populations. Moreover, after the expansion of HE (post-1999) (see Chapter 5), PKU has also, more recently, developed new student apartments off-campus to cater for enlarged student populations (particularly postgraduate students). Additionally, a ‘compound community’: Haidianlu’, south of campus of PKU, recently provides more long and short terms of rental rooms for three distinct types of studentifiers: full-time PKU students, Kaoyanzu (students that are preparing for their master entrance exams), and ‘ant tribe’ (low-income graduates that are living in a poverty-level settlement). As the effects of the internationalization of HE in Beijing unfold, increased numbers of

international students are shown to be moving to Beijing. This international student population tends to reside within Wudaokou, an area of Beijing which is increasingly known as an international student neighbourhood, to the east of PKU campus (see Plate 6.1).



## 6.2 The geographies of student housing at PKU

It is important to note that PKU provides a relatively high number of different types of student apartments both on- and off campus. With this in mind, this section is divided into five parts: Section 6.2.1 introduces that the term of work-unit, as applied to PKU, in order to more fully understand the living environments of students. Section 6.2.2

describes some of the key background details of student housing development for PKU. Section 6.2.3 defines three types of UMDs by PKU, with different student accommodation fees. Section 6.2.4 discusses two UMDs on-campus, and Section 6.2.5 provides a discussion of three main forms of student accommodation off-campus.

### **6.2.1 The university as work-unit compound**

In general, the term of the work-unit system was engendered by China's modernization and urbanisation processes since 1950s. Within the urban scale, populations were allocated into different types of work-unit compounds by the effects of government policy. Wu (2005:240) indicates that: "the enlarged version of work-unit compound is the planned residential district or so-called 'micro-region', a planning concept imported from the former Soviet Union". In effect, as the discussion on Chapter 5 (Chinese university system had been transformed into Soviet Union model), the term of university under the China's socialist reform in 1950s converted into the concept of work-unit compounds, as work-unit system management such as distribution of housing and jobs.

According to the socialist economic institution, the work-unit is mainly the basic element to develop industrialisation for the economy in China. In turn, the system of the work-unit is given a master plan to build housing and different amenities for its employed workers, in order to plan a 'worker village' as well as 'micro-region' in the scale of urban (Wu, 1996). Thus, Wu (2005:241) critically claims that the form of work-unit compounds can be viewed as a form of gated community in China:

"the compound is surrounded by walls and gates secured by the guards employed by the workplace and the members are affiliated to the workplace and thus have an agreement (although not in legal terms) of acceptable norms."

It is clear that the work-unit compound is a product of the gated community by socialist institution, to compare with the different reasons for the 'self-organized private community' and/or 'security concerns' in western context.

In addition, Wu (1996; 2002) indicates that the work-unit compound can be viewed as an 'efficiency' of gated community in transitional China, due to the effects of

institutional economics importantly reduced the costs of information and consumption. Moreover, through collective consumption and allocation housing policy, compound is able to reduce the homelessness. Also, most workers are living within compound, with a working relationship, thus the social relationship is higher rather than western community (Webster, 2001; 2002). It is therefore that compound as the form of gated community seems to produce a stronger community attachment by workers' collective lifestyle.

With regards housing, the work-unit has a responsibility to supply an effective housing consumption by the employer populations, which is able to save costs and address the issue of homelessness. As a result, the policy on the allocation of housing can be examined as a form of social housing for employees who are working in the work-unit; and the properties of housing belonged to work-unit can be considered as the collective property within the socialist ideology. In line with the role of student housing by the university, public universities have built a relatively high number of dorms via university management on-campus; thus university-managed dormitories (UMDs) can be viewed as the social housing for their students, associated with the low-cost of accommodation fees. In this way, the university needs to provide enough housing to match the demands of the student populations, in order to avoid the issue of the homelessness of students.

In addition, most of the work-unit compounds, as the function of community, provide facilities and amenities such as clinic, nursery, schooling, supermarket and canteen for their employees' working and living. Similarly, campus of PKU provides an integral infrastructures (e.g. student housing and academic buildings) and community amenities (e.g. canteen, library, theatre and stadium), which possibly creates a sense of 'student community'. It is therefore that THE university does not only aim to address the homelessness of students, but also seeks to create a student community for students' social living.

Furthermore, Wu (2005) indicates that due to the high-level of social mix, the security management of the compound is lax. The role of guard is difficult to check all the identities while they also have to undertake some services such as newspaper and parcels delivery and information provider for visitors. In fact, most gated services are located within the entrances of residential zone of the work-unit compound (the



separation zones between work area and living area). It is likely that the campus will be surrounded by walls and different entrances to secure people who are living and working at PKU; the role of guard has responsibility to check all the identities, thus people who are seeking to enter the campus have to show their ID cards. Although there are no entrance restrictions in student housing areas, each dorm/building has a dorm manager (Louzhang in Chinese) to secure student living and students have to swap personal student cards to enter their student dorms. Meanwhile, the role of the dorm manager is similar to the role of the guard in the work-unit context, they need to do more a range of activities, in addition to the security-related activities:

“Louzhang (dorm manager) is not only to secure our living, but also she will receive our parcels and check our environment to keep it clean” (PY4, undergraduate living in Yanyuan, on-campus).

As a result, in a sense of security within campus context has also same experienced as the gated entrance for residential area within work-unit compound, which aims to enhance security for students living, as well as gated management. While the enhanced security is able to improve the sense of community for students, most social activities of students are limited by the gated management (for further discussion see Chapter 7).

### **6.2.2 Student housing history in Peking University**

As the discussion on Chapter 1, PKU is a major attraction within Beijing, with some older academic buildings and student dormitories being preserved (see Plate 6.2). In addition, by the social housing provision of gated campus, PKU also developed some new student dorms in Yanyuan to meet the growing demand from increasing student numbers after 1952. Two student apartments were developed: Yanyuan student apartments (see Plate 6.3) and Shaoyao student apartments (see Plate 6.4) (Peking University, 2013).

Although PKU continued to develop new student dorms on-campus, the university was unable to meet the increased student demand after expansion of HE in 1999. As a result, PKU developed three new student housing blocks off-campus: Wanliu Student Apartments (in 2002) and Changchunyuan (in 2005) and Changchunxinyuan (in 2005) Student Apartments, and Zhongguanxinyuan, known as the Global Village

(in 2008) (see Plates 6.5-6.8). By 2012, in total, PKU has five main student apartments on and off-campus.



Plate 6.2: Traditional Chinese architecture (source from Peking University website)



Plate 6.3: Yanyuan student apartment (source from Peking University website)



Plate 6.4: Shaoyuan student apartment (source from Peking University website)



Plate 6.5: Wanliu student apartment (author' photography source)



Plate 6.6: Changchun Yuan student apartment (source from Peking University website)



Plate 6.7: Changchun Xinyuan student apartment (source from Peking University website)



Plate 6.8: Zhongguanyuan (the Global Village) (source from Peking University website)

### **6.2.3 The types of university-managed student accommodations and accommodation fees**

Based on three social and institutional factors of nationality, gender and grade levels, PKU basically allocates UMD into three types: (i) dorms for home students and international students; (ii) dorms for male and female students; (iii) dorms for undergraduate and postgraduate students (Peking University, 2013). Chinese students are arranged by gender and grade levels; on the other hand, international students are mixed within UMDs (for further discussion on Chapter 7).

In addition, different accommodation fees are linked to different types of student housing. According to the Peking University official website (2013), there are three different priced UMD for Chinese students by regulations: (a) 750 RMB per year; (b) 1,020 RMB per year and, (c) 1,200 RMB per year. Otherwise, there is a different situation in Wanliu student apartment. Students must pay 3,600 RMB per year for their accommodation fee, which is clearly over regular prices. From the interview

reveals that students only need to pay 1,500 RMB and their supervisors will pay 2,100 RMB for the Wanliu student apartment.

“We only need to pay a low-cost accommodation fee for each year, this makes up a few percentage in my total living costs” (PY1, undergraduate student living in Yanyan).

“My supervisor will pay 2,100 RMB for each year, so I just pay for 1,500 RMB for the Wanliu. But student accommodation fee is much cheaper rather than rental housing off-campus” (PWL2, postgraduate student living in Wanliu).

It is shown that Chinese students rarely need to pay a fixed term of accommodation fees by each year, which are much more lower than the rent in housing market of Beijing (see further discussion on Chapter 7).

On the other hand, international students are relatively free to select different priced accommodation at PKU, and the accommodation fees are much more expensive rather than Chinese student accommodation fees. More specifically, according to the Office of International Relations official website of PKU (2013), different buildings in Shaoyuan have different prices: (1) standard housing is \$3.5 per day (22 RMB); (2) Building No.6 provides \$ 8 per day (50 RMB); (3) Building No.8 is \$11 per day (68 RMB) and \$38 per day (236 RMB); (4) Building No.5 is \$28 per day (174 RMB); (5) Building No.9 is \$20 per day (124 RMB). Different priced accommodations also provide different services and facilities for international students. In addition, there are four types of rooms as four different prices in Zhongguanxinyuan: (a) Single room (120 RMB per day); (b) Double room (90 RMB per day); (c) Triple room (81 RMB per day); (d) Quadruple room (60 RMB per day). It is notable that PKU can provide a number of scholarships to cover international student accommodation fees (Peking University, 2013). An interview by a USA student living in Zhongguanxinyuan replies that:

“There are different prices with different services and facilities within our accommodations.....especially, although accommodation fees in here are expensive, I got the scholarship to cover it.”

Based on the different range of accommodation fees by UMDs, there is a significant accommodation fees gap between Chinese students and international students,

international student accommodations fees are much more higher than Chinese student accommodations. However, it begs a question: why there is a visible difference between two groups? The rest of sections will describe the details (e.g. facilities and spaces) of five UMDs by PKU.

#### **6.2.4 Two student accommodations on-campus: Yanyuan and Shaoyuan**

Yanyuan and Shaoyuan are two student apartments on-campus, which respectively provide accommodations for Chinese students and international students. Based on the collected data, housing conditions and accommodation fees have differentiations between the two student apartments.

Yanyuan recently has 22 different types of dorms located within south campus for undergraduates and postgraduates (see Figure 6.1). Although there is lack of data to show how many dorms accommodate each undergraduates and postgraduates, interview revealed that most undergraduates are living in Yanyuan. More specifically, Figure 6.2 shows that there are three different types of dorms located in Yanyuan. type A is the oldest building that began to build in 1956 with 4 floors, which can be examined as the first-wave of housing provision within the relocated gated campus of PKU. The total Gross Floor Area (GFA) is 5,002m<sup>2</sup> and use area of each room is 13.2 m<sup>2</sup>. Additionally, 186 rooms are distributed in the building and 4 students share for one room; thus, each person of use area in one room is about 3.3m<sup>2</sup>. Second, type B began to build in 1999 with 6 floors, with a total GFA of 5519.5m<sup>2</sup> and use area of room is 22.04m<sup>2</sup>.

This building can provide 161 student rooms with 4 students sharing one room, as each person of use area in one room is about 5.51m<sup>2</sup>. The last type (type C) began to build in 2005 with 6 floors, the GFA reaches 7,675.7 m<sup>2</sup> and use area of room is about 21.87m<sup>2</sup>. Type C can provide 218 rooms and each room shares with 4 students and their use area in each room is about 5.47m<sup>2</sup>. In the side of accommodation fees, the type B is the most expensive accommodation for 1,200RMB per year (p/y), type C costs 1,020 RMB p/y and type A is the cheapest accommodation for 750 RMB p/y.

From the interview replies students describe the space of each types:

“I am living in the most small space of dorm (type A) in Yanyuan now. To compare with other types of dorm located within Yanyuan, our bedroom space is too small for us.....But we only need to pay 750 RMB p/y; this is very cheaper for us” (PY2, third-year undergraduate, living in type A of Yanyuan).

**Figure 6.2: 3 types of UMD in Yanyuan**

Type	The year of begin to build	Total student rooms	Student number in room	Total student number	Accommodation fee per/year (RMB)	Floors of dorm	Total Gross Floor Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Use Area of Room (m <sup>2</sup> )	Each person of Use Area in one Room (m <sup>2</sup> )
A	1956	186	4	744	750	4	5002	13.2	3.3
B	1999	161	4	644	1200	6	5519.5	22.04	5.51
C	2005.12	218	4	872	1020	6	7675.7	21.87	5.47

Source: Peking University official website (2013)

Discussion on facilities in three types of UMDs at Yanyuan, although students have a few facilities for personal use in each room, they have to share most facilities within rooms or on the floors. First of all, Figure 6.2.1 shows that in type A most facilities are provided for public use, students thus only have three personal facilities within their rooms such as cabinet, chair and bunk bed. Moreover, in each room provide Internet and electric outlets, telephone, lighting, curtain for students sharing with roommates. In addition to each floor, the type A has 2 washing rooms and 2 toilets for students, and laundry room and bathroom are only available on the ground floor. It is important that this bathroom only provides cold water; therefore most students have to go to a public bath centre which is located close proximity to the Yanyuan student apartment (see further discussion on Chapter 7).

According to Figure 6.2.2, facilities are only located in rooms because of the layout of room for type B. The layout of room does not only attach a balcony space, but also there are a washing room and a toilet associated within each room. In addition, public facilities are provided as same as the type A; and for the student personal use, the type B provides 4 closets which are more than types. It is conclude that the type C can accommodate the total number of students (872) rather than type A (744) and



type B (644), thus the total Gross Floor Area of type C (7,675.7m<sup>2</sup>) is the largest rather than type A (5,002m<sup>2</sup>) and type B (5,519.5m<sup>2</sup>).

Finally, the type C (see Figure 6.2.3) shows that facilities are still distributed on floor spaces and room spaces, as similar as the type A. Moreover, there are a washing room, a toilet and a self-studying room for each floor, in particular the laundry room only located on ground floor. Within each room, there is also provided the balcony, Internet and electric outlets, 2 telephones, 2 lighting and a curtain for public use by students. In side of student personal use, the facilities are the same as the facilities in type B.

**Figure 6.2.1: Public and personal facilities in each floor/room of type A**

Floor				Room							
Public				Personal			Public				
Laundry (ground)	Bathroom* (ground)	Washing room	Toilet	Cabinet	Chair	Bunk beds	Internet outlet	Telephone	Lighting	Electric outlet	Curtain
1	1	2	2	4	4	2	1	2	2	4	1

Bathroom\* only provided for cold water

Source: Peking University official website (2013)

**Figure 6.2.2: Public and personal facilities in each room of type B**

Room											
Public								Personal			
Washing room	Toilet	Balcony	Internet outlet	Telephone	Lighting	Electric outlet	Curtain	Cabinet	Chair	Bunk beds	Closet
1	1	1	1	2	2	4	1	4	4	2	4

Source: Peking University official website (2013)

**Figure 6.2.3: Public and personal facilities in each floor/room of type C**

Floor				Room									
Public				Public						Personal			
Laundry (ground)	Washing room	Toilet	Self-studying room	Balcony	Internet outlet	Telephone	Lighting	Electric outlet	Curtain	Cabinet	Chari	Bunk beds	Closet
1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	1	4	4	2	4

Source: Peking University official website (2013)

Based on the three Figures (6.2.1; 6.2.2; 6.2.3), it is shown that university provides same facilities for each type of student dorm. However, the layout of facilities is different to three types, which has impacted on student living experiences within dorms (see further discussion on Chapter 7).

Shaoyuan international student apartment is located within the west of campus where only services for international students (see Figure 6.1). Shaoyuan is a university managed hotel built in 1981 to provide accommodations for foreign professors and international students, which are associated with service amenities such as 4 canteens, seminar rooms and conference centres (Peking University official website, 2013). It is important to note that Shaoyuan applies business operation to make profits by student-consumers. In addition, the total GFA of Shaoyuan is nearly 40,000m<sup>2</sup> and includes 10 buildings.

In the side of types of accommodations, there are 6 different types of room within different buildings to accommodate over 1,000 international students (Peking University, 2013). According to Figure 6.3, most types of rooms provide the private bedroom for international students, except the type of standard room. More specifically, standard rooms are shared by 2 students who need to share toilet and bathroom / shower on the floor space with other students, which is similar to the types A of UMDs in Yanyuan. In addition, the types of rooms in No. 6 building and No. 8 building of Shaoyuan seem to the layout of small apartments associated with sitting rooms to share with 3 or 2 persons with their private bedrooms, toilets, bathroom/showers, respectively. Therefore, those types of rooms in No. 6 and No. 8 building are similar to the type B of UMDs in Yanyuan. At last, the double room in No. 5 building and single room in No.9 building and standard room B in No.8 building

only provide for international student individuals who have more personal private spaces in their rooms (see Plate 6.9). Therefore, the single room in No. 9 and standard room B in No.8 could be viewed as the studio room in Shaoyuan, which is similar to the rooms in PBSA within the UK context (Hubbard, 2008; 2009).

As an interview reply by an international student living within Shaoyuan confirms that:

“There are different types of rooms and apartments providing for us. So, the accommodation prices are different.”

**Figure 6.3: 6 types of rooms in Shaoyuan**

Room Type	Student Number in Room	Bedroom (Private/Communal)	Toilet (Private/Communal)	Bathroom/Shower (Private/Communal)	Sitting Room	Studying Room
Standard room	2	Communal	Communal	Communal	No	No
Room in No. 6	3	Private	Private	Private	Yes	No
Double Room in No.5	1	Private	Private	Private	No	Yes
Single Room in No.9	1	Private	Private	Private	No	No
Room A in No.8	2	Private	Private	Private	Yes	No
Standard Room B in No.8	1	Private	Private	Private	No	No

Source: Peking University official website (2013)

Furthermore, Figure 6.3.1 shows that Shaoyuan international student apartment provides the different prices for 6 types of rooms associated with facilities for each room. More specifically, standard room is the cheapest room as 22 RMB per day for international students, which does not provide carpeting, fridge and air conditioning. The type of room in No.6 and the type of room A in No.8 have the similar accommodation fees that are 50 RMB p/d and 68RMB p/d, respectively. Although those two types of rooms have carpeting within room, they still have not fridge and air conditioning within room. Moreover, the accommodation fees for double room in No.5 and single room in No.9 and standard room B in No.8 are most expensive rather than other types, as 174 RMB p/d and 124 RMB p/d and 236 RMB p/d, respectively. Importantly, although those three types of accommodations are most

expansive rather than other types of rooms in Shaoyuan, they provide all the facilities for international students who are choose to live in the expansive rooms.

It is important to note that Shaoyuan provides 4 canteens; thus Shaoyuan student apartment indeed provides carting service for international students. Although international students have to pay much more accommodation fees rather than the group of Chinese students, the accommodation fees include the food services:

“I am living in the Shaoyuan now. I have my single bed-room by myself, the facilities are superb .....One of best things in here is that Shaoyuan provides meals for us, all including in our accommodation fees” (International student, living in Shaoyuan).

Within in mind, Shaoyuan can be viewed as a purpose-build student accommodation by university-managed, which attract international student-consumers to make profits.

**Figure 6.3.1: Facilities in rooms in Shaoyuan**

	Price (p/d)	Desk	Chair	Closet	Fan	TV	Telephone	Internet Access	Carpeting	Fridge	Air conditioning
Standard room	22	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Room in No. 6	50	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Double Room in No.5	174	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Single Room in No.9	124	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Room A in No.8	68	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Standard Room B in No.8	236	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

(1) Price shows US dollars on the website for per day price, the date exchanges as RMB in the table 5. Source: Peking University official website (2013)



Plate 6.9: one types of student rooms in Shaoyuan (source from Peking University website)

### **6.2.5 Three student accommodations off-campus: Wanliu, Changchunyuan/Changchunxinyuan and Zhongguanxinyuan**

By the effects on the expansion of HE of PKU since 1999, the growth of student populations indeed have impacted on the housing provision on the gated campus. Thus, the role of PKU as the work-unit system seeks to purchase undeveloped lands off-campus, in order to address the shortage of student housing.

Wanliu student apartment (see Figure 6.1), was a first off-campus UMD, is located within Wanliu neighbourhood where is about a distance of 4.7km from the campus (Peking University, 2013). More specially, in order to address the shortage of student housing after the expansion of HE policy in 1999, in 2000 PKU purchased and planned a new-built student housing in Wanliu, which aimed to build a high-rise housing structure associated with the form of modern apartments to provide modern urban life for students. It is notable that the Wanliu student apartment introduced a university enterprise company (a business company named PKU resources) to build up a modern student apartment.

In effect, in the end of 2002 Wanliu student apartment formally had operated for students. More specifically, the apartment occupies the land about 35200m<sup>2</sup> and the total student apartment of GFA is 108,545m<sup>2</sup>, which is able to provide a number of apartments for 8,000 students living, including 5,400 undergraduate students; 1,500 master students and 1,100 Ph.D. students (Beijing University, 2013). However, with the expansion of postgraduate populations and changes of university student housing arrangement, to date, the Wanliu student apartment only provides accommodations for postgraduate students.

In addition to the basis of arrangement in Wanliu, there is different to on-campus housing arrangement for Chinese students. For example, 4 master students will share a bed-room within an apartment and Ph.D. students have their single apartments (Peking University, 2013).

Moreover, each layout of apartment usually is associated with 3 or 4 bed rooms (see Plate 6.10), with 3 or 4 washing rooms and toilets and a public social space. Although there is no detailed date to illustrate the use area of each apartment from official website, from the empirical interview findings has shown that students living

in Wanliu have much more spaces rather than the three types of dorms in Yanyuan (for further discussion see chapter 6). It is therefore that PKU indeed has enlarged spaces within student apartments in Wanliu.

In the side of facilities, when Wanliu student apartment had built, accommodation centre provides a series of quality-facilities associated within student apartments. For example, each apartment provides a telephone, a TV, internet outlets, water heater and air conditionings for students; and also there are a hot-water room and a small laundry room located in each floor (Peking University, 2013). In addition, Wanliu student apartment has applied for gated management which built walls and guard officials to ensure students security, as a gated community. In effect, Wanliu provide basic amenities within the gated community to meet student needs, such as canteens, student print services, retails and so forth. As a result, although Wanliu is an 'isolate land' where is far away from campus, PKU in fact has designed a gated community for students. An interview reply from a postgraduate student living in Wanliu confirms that:

“Wanliu is a modern student apartment, providing superb facilities for us. Although we have to share the apartment with other 3 bed-rooms; we still have enough space for the apartment.”

Notably, although Wanliu could be viewed as the designed high-rise buildings for Chinese students, Wanliu provide housing for academic and university staff living. Therefore, the new-built apartments of Wanliu does not only address the housing shortage for the growth of student populations, but also by the role of PKU need to provide housing for its staff to avoid the issue of homeless in work-unit system.



Plate 6.10: student room in Wanliu (source from Peking University website)

It is important to note that Wanliu student apartment is a product by the collaboration between university accommodation centre and university enterprise so-called Beida Resource (Peking University, 2013). This is type of student accommodation need to attract student-consumers to enlarge profits, while students need to pay much more accommodation fees rather than other Chinese students. Therefore, this Chinese student apartment can be viewed as a PBSA by university control, rather than the term of UMDs.

There are two student apartments located off-campus named Changchunyuan/Changchunxinyuan which provides housing only for Chinese postgraduates. First, Changchunyuan student apartment, located to the west of campus, was a royal park also named 'Changchunyuan' (Peking University, 2013). This former park had been redeveloped for PKU's staff and student housing, which belonged to PKU's land property. In the side of student apartments, there are 5 buildings for postgraduates in this park areas where were building from 2005 and 2007, such as No.60, No.61, No.63, No.64, No.65 (Peking University official website, 2013). Second, Changchunxinyuan in here will be considered as another part of student apartment based on Changchunyuan, this is because that understanding of Changchunxinyuan within Chinese language context is a new developed park based on Changchunyuan. The Changchunxinyuan has developed from 2005 and occupies

20,000 m<sup>2</sup>, which had built 4 student housing buildings to provide dormitories for 3,522 postgraduate students (Peking University official website, 2013).

Focussing on the types of student housing in two Chinese postgraduate apartments, according to Figure 6.4, it can be seen that there is one type in Changchunxinyuan and two types in Changchunyuan. First of all, type D is only one form in Chuangchunxinyuan begin to build in 2005, which sets 6 floors with total 353 student rooms. The total GFA of building is 9,240.84 m<sup>2</sup> and use area of each room is 17.1m<sup>2</sup>. Importantly, there are only 2 students shared within each room, thus each person of use area in one room reaches to 8.55m<sup>2</sup>. Secondly, type E and F locates in Changchunyuan began to build in the December of 2005 and January of 2007, respectively. More specifically, type E has 6 floors with 188 student rooms, and the Total GFA is 5,460.23m<sup>2</sup> and each use area of room reaches 14.7m<sup>2</sup>. There are also only 2 students living in each room and each person of use area in one room is 7.35m<sup>2</sup>. Additionally, type F has 6 floors with total 96 student rooms. The total GFA is 2,252m<sup>2</sup> and use area of room reaches 15.39m<sup>2</sup>. As same as type D and F, two students share in one room with 7.7m<sup>2</sup> for each person of use area in one room. In the side of accommodation fees, although there are three different types of UMD in Changchunyuan and Changchunxinyuan, Chinese students have to pay the same price of 1,020 RMB per year without free choices.

From the Figure 6.4 reveals that the each person of use area in one room has increased space rather than three types in Yanyuan. The key reason is that there are only two students to share bed-room:

“I have been the Yanyuan dorms. Our Changchunyuan and Changchunxinyuan are both have more space rather than on-campus. The key factor is here we only have 2 students to share one bed-room” (PC, first-year master student, living in Changchunxinyuan).

In addition, Changchunxinyuan indeed has more use space for students within one room rather than other two types in Changchunyuan. It is possible that Chuangchunxinyuan is a new-build student apartment based on the Greenland of the royal park while Chuangchunyuan was the redeveloped student apartments from the original site of PKU's land property. As a result, Changchunxinyuan is able to occupy much more lands and relocate much more student numbers.



**Figure 6.4: Two types of UMD in Changchunyuan and one in Chuangchunxinyuan\***

Type	The year of began to build	Total student rooms	Student number in room	Total student number	Accommodation fee per/year (RMB)	Floors in dorm	Total Gross Floor Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Use Area of room (m <sup>2</sup> )	Each person of Use Area in one Room (m <sup>2</sup> )
D*	2005.08	353	2	706	1020	6	9240.84	17.1	8.55
E	2005.12	188	2	376	1020	6	5460.23	14.7	7.35
F	2007.01	96	2	192	1020	6	2252	15.39	7.7

Source: Peking University website (2013)

In addition, facilities in three different types of UMD in Changchunyuan and Changchunxinyuan are located on floors and rooms for student public and personal use, as same as UMD in Yanyuan. According to Figure 6.4.1 for the facilities in type D of Chuangchunxinyuan, there are 3 washing rooms and 3 toilets and 2 hot-water rooms on each floor for student sharing in public space. Within the room, all the function of facilities provide for students as same as room of type C in Yanyuan student apartment (see Figure 6.2.3), except the single beds instead of bunk beds due to only 2 students in each room. In addition, as Figure 5.4.2 (type E) and Figure 6.4.3 (type F) has shown that two types of UMDs in Changchunyuan have same public and personal facilities located on the floor and within each room. In contrast to the type D in Changchunxinyuan, there are 2 washing rooms and 2 toilets and one bathroom on each floor; particularly hot-water room only located on ground floor. The Changchunxinyuan provides 2 hot-water rooms in each floor. Consideration on the facilities of rooms, all the public and personal facilities are as same as type D in Changchunxinyuan.

It is notable that although Changchunyuan and Chuangchunxinyuan has built gate and walls as the gated spaces off-campus, amenities (e.g. canteen and retails) do not provide enough as well as Wanliu. Due to geographical locations of Chuangchunyuan and Changchunxinyuan are closed to the campus, postgraduates are benefit to the provisions from the role of gated campus. As a result, social activities and social life experiences by students have influenced from the function of campus:

“I am living in Changchunyuan now. And there is only one roommate sharing bed-room with me. Each floor of Changchunyuan provides washing room, toilet and hot-water room for us” (PC2, Ph.D. student, living in Changchunyuan).

“Chuangchunyuan and Chuangchunxinyuan are close. Now I am living in Chuangchunxinyuan and sharing bedroom with roommate.....Because the location of Chuangchunxinyuan is close to campus, we spend most time on-campus” (PC1, first-year master student, living in Chuangchunxinyuan).

**Figure 6.4.1: Public and personal facilities in each floor/room of type D**

Floor			Room									
Public			Public						Personal			
Washing room	Toilet	Hot-water room	Balcony	Internet outlet	Telephone	Lighting	Electric outlet	Curtain	Cabinet	Chair	Single beds	Closet
3	3	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2

Source: Peking University website (2013)

**Figure 6.4.2: Public and personal facilities in each floor/room of type E**

Floor				Room									
Public				Public						Personal			
Washing room	Toilet	Bathroom	Hot-water room (ground)	Balcony	Internet outlet	Telephone	Lighting	Electric outlet	Curtain	Cabinet	Chair	Single beds	Closet
2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2

Source: Peking University website (2013)

**Figure 6.4.3: Public and personal facilities in each floor/room of type F**

Floor				Room									
Public				Public						Personal			
Washing room	Toilet	Bathroom	Hot-water room (ground)	Balcony	Internet outlet	Telephone	Lighting	Electric outlet	Curtain	Cabinet	Chair	Single beds	Closet
1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2

Source: Peking University website (2013)

At last, Zhongguanxinyuan is new-built international student apartment off-campus, where is to the east of campus (see Figure 6.1). Zhongguanxinyuan, also known as the Global Village was built from 2008 (see plate 6.11), in order to provide housing for foreign professors and the increased international student populations (Peking University, 2013). More specifically, there are 9 buildings in the Global Village, which include foreign professor apartments, international apartments, post-doctoral apartments and a hotel. In particular, No. 6 building was the first apartment building to cater for international students in 2009, which has 7 floors (include one cellar) with total GFA 9,474.49m<sup>2</sup> (Peking University, 2013). Notably, the global village indeed has employed the same business management model as Shaoyuan; thus as one of international student accommodations aims to attract international student-consumers, in order to maintain the business operation and make profits.

In the side of types of apartments, the Global Village totally provides three different types apartments, such as (A) four students share with two bed rooms; (B) two students share with two bed rooms and; (C) double room. Although there is no layout and details about the type A, the Plate 5.11 has shown that there are two types of suites of use area such as type B 44m<sup>2</sup> and type C 22m<sup>2</sup> within this building (Peking University, 2013). The type B of room is shared by 2 students with two private bed rooms, which the each person of use area in one apartment is 22 m<sup>2</sup>. The Type C is a single apartment that provides a bed room and a toilet with 22m<sup>2</sup>.

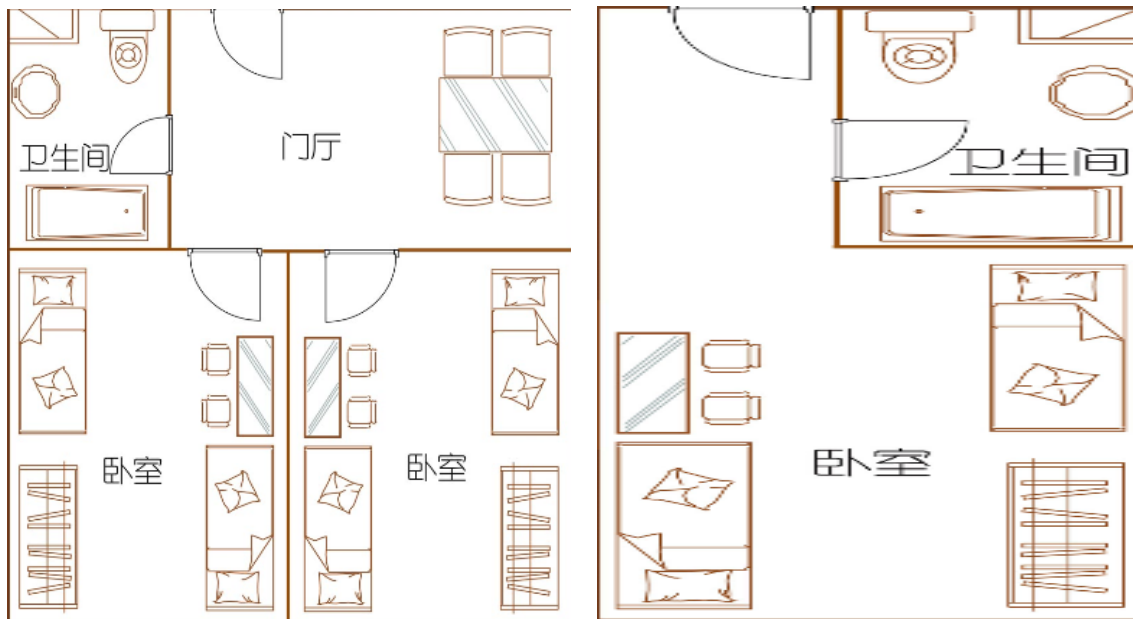
An interview by a USA student from the type B of double apartment describes that:

“I share another bed-room with my roommate. We have a washing room and a kitchen within apartment. The facilities are very good for us. I think this is an modern apartment.”

Importantly, there is no official data to show accommodation fees for each type of apartment, the accommodation fees will be conducted from empirical interview findings (for further discussion see chapter 7).

**Type B: double apartment**

**Type C: single apartment**



**Plate 6.11 Two types of student apartments (source: Peking University official website, 2013)**

Furthermore, apartments of the global village provide quality-facilities in order to meet international student needs, such as furniture, telephone, television and kitchen room. In addition, the Global village also has built fences and walls to segregate from public space, as the gated community managed by Peking University. Therefore, there are some amenities such as self-studying rooms, laundries and western style of canteens and gyms within the gated community for international students.

**6.3 The dynamic student housing in compound community: Haidianlu**

Haidianlu community as a compound is a gated residential community where is located to the south of campus (Figure 6.1). The community occupies 30,000m<sup>2</sup> with 9 residential buildings (total GFA 15,200m<sup>2</sup>) where built in April of 1987. Total

household is 1,271 with populations of 3,447, particularly resident household is 673 with populations of 1,692 (Haidianlu official website, 2013). It is clear that local residents only make up 49% in total of populations in Haidianlu. In terms of community also provides some facilities and amenities for people living, such as retails, restaurants, street food, community centre, older people entertainment centre.

In general, the type of residential housing in Haidianlu community can be viewed as social-welfare housing in Beijing (Wang *et al.*, 2005; Zhang and Chai, 2014). More specifically, before the housing reform of 1999, residential housing in Haidianlu that belonged to the Haidian District Government, as the allocation housing provided for staff living. By the effects of housing reform, employed staff is able to purchase the housing, which transferred the collective property to individual property. An interview sample by local older resident confirms that:

“I am living in here (Haidianlu community) for a long time.....before the housing form, here belongs to Haidian district government, after that, the collective property had sold to individuals, as individual ownership property” (HR1, Haidianlu).

As a result, individuals have rights to sell owned housing into housing market. At the same time, different types of housing agent are involved into Haidianlu to create an active housing market. Although some power housing agencies (such as Home link and Woaiwojia) have charged some apartments that package as housing product to sell into housing market (face to individuals buying all apartment) (Home Link, 2013 website and 515J website, 2013), this thesis only considers rented housing market by different informal housing agencies. In particular, some local business services also play the role of housing agent, namely they are running business while providing rental housing information, as well as informal housing agent. More specifically, informal housing agent does not have an official shop to run business and they will put rental housing information on the walls to attract student-consumers. For example, a restaurant within Haidianlu runs the food services; and also businessman has charged rental housing in Haidianlu. Indeed, those informal housing agents face to studentifiers groups to improve the student housing in Haidianlu, this is follow the same pathway as the HMO in urban villages of Guangzhou (He, 2014).

In this section (6.3), first part describes that Haidianlu community rapidly turns into an active rental housing market to provide a number of the form of housing in multiple Occupation housing (HMO) within Chinese context, especially focused on the types of rental rooms (collective room and single room) and rental housing terms (short-term and long-term); the rest part identify three distinct types of studentifiers: full-time PKU students; Kaoyanzu (students that are preparing for their master entrance exams); and 'ant tribe'(low-income graduates that are living in a poverty-level settlement).



Plate 6.12: Haidianlu Community (Author's photograph)

### 6.3.1 House in Multiple Occupation within Chinese context

In Haidianlu, HMO is the popular rental housing for studentifiers, which was restructured by landlords. Apartments are restructured into single rooms and collective rooms (especially the parlour changed into bedroom) by landlord, in order to accommodate much more tenants. In this way, Chinese HMO can accommodate much more studentifiers rather than the UK contexts (Smith, 2005; 2009).

In general, the single room provides basic facilities such as king-size bed and air conditioning for tenants. Importantly, the single room could be considered as a space for tenants who conduct their personal matters in private. On the other hand, in collective room there are usually 4 or 6 persons to share their personal space within a crowded space, they could not have any private space within the collective room. Therefore, private space is distinct factor to divided single room and collective room.

As such, single room is popular for short-term tenants such as student couples and student parents. In particular, some student parents who plan to visit their children in

PKU intend to rent a single room in Haidianlu for couple of days. On the other hand, collective rooms cater for long-term tenants such as Kaoyanzu and 'ant tribe', they prefer to rent a bed in collective room for a long-term contract:

“Student couples would like to rent this type (single room) for the weekend, and sometime some student parents (PKU) will rent this room for some days.....some Kaoyanzu and some graduates who are working near here are willing to rent the collective room for a while (HA1, in Haidianlu Community).”

As a result, the difference between single room and collective room is the terms of rental contracts for the different types of tenants.

In addition, two types of rooms have the different prices. For instance, the single room is about 100-120 RMB per/day and the one bed in collective room is about 650-700 RMB per/month in Haidianlu community. Therefore, the rental prices are shown that the single room and collective room respectively use day-unit and month-unit to account the rent fees.

### **6.3.2 Identifying three types of Studentifiers: full-time Peking University students, Kaoyanzu and 'ant tribe'**

Understanding three groups of studentifiers within local context, it is here that will (re) define the concepts for three distinct studentifiers:

First of all, full-time students of PKU rented housing in Haidianlu are able to be identity for two types: student couples (for private space) and students (for quality environment of studying). To consider the factors of quality and space for room, the type of single room is able to meet their needs.

In particular, the short-term rental contract provided by agent is able to meet their interests. According to the interview findings, most full-time students of PKU spend most time on studying and self-learning to improve their knowledge via university courses and different trainings, they confirm that UMDs sets only a place for rest, and their activities indeed focus on academic buildings and libraries, as well as campus. As such, it possibly explains why student couples enjoy the short-term rooms, they merely is to create a temporary private space beyond their intensive studying time. In addition, students for quality environment of studying are only to

rent housing during the intensive examination period, in order to avoid the crowded space in library and UMDs.

In addition, Kaoyanzu living in Haidianlu community could be viewed as the students who are preparing for their master entrance exams via PKU. Thus, this group of studentifiers are willing to rent housing for a long-term rental contract until the master entrance exam of PKU finished in January of each year. To understand studentifier of Kaoyanzu is likely to rent housing in Haidianlu for a long-term, it is here that three factors have determined for them: (1) the identity of final-year undergraduate; (2) the requirements of master entrance exams of PKU and; (3) studying atmosphere.

First of all, most Kaoyanzu living in Haidianlu are final-year undergraduates who are not from PKU, the final-year normally is one year of internship for undergraduates and they only need to conduct their undergraduate thesis. Thus, final-year undergraduates have much more flexible and free time to decide whether conduct further studying or apply the jobs. As an interview sample of Kaoyanzu in Haidianlu community:

“I am an undergraduate from Changchun University (located in north east of China).....I am a final year undergraduate and only have the undergraduate thesis. So I have enough time to prepare my exam (master entrance exam), and I do not need to live in my university now” (HS1, Kaoyanzu, living in Haidianlu).

In addition, based on the requirements of master entrance exam, students who apply to one of the master programmes at PKU do not only prepare the public courses exams (e.g. English and Mathematics), but they also need to prepare the applied master programme exams. Different schools/colleges will design their own topic on the master programme exams, Kaoyanzu will attend schools/colleges' lectures to collect important notes and reviewed resources:

“I plan to take exams to the college of governance at PKU, and I need to listen to some lectures in the college in order to get some information and exam reviewed resources. Importantly, the college will take their exam topics by itself, and you have to come to Peking University to prepare exams” (HS1, Kaoyanzu, living in Haidianlu).



At last, studying atmosphere is very important factor to Kaoyanzu. More specifically, Kaoyanzu are willing to university academic buildings for self-studying beyond the lectures, and the self-studying rooms in academic buildings are able to provide quiet environment for them. Moreover, Kaoyanzu living in collective rooms of Haidianlu will comply with some basic norms, such as keep quiet and timing for asleep. This is because they need a suitable room environment to ensure a quality of rest for the studying in day-time. Thus, 'Kaoyanzu' indeed spend most time on-campus, as well as full-time students of PKU, and the rental room in Haidianlu community is merely a place for rest:

"I usually go to university academic buildings for self-studying to prepare the PKU's master entrance exam.....I am studying on-campus until night to back here' (HK1, Kaoyanzu, living in Haidianlu community)."

Meanwhile, some Kaoyanzu are willing to share their studying information and reviewed resources within the collective rooms when they have finished self-studying on-campus. Therefore, it could be viewed as the collective room is not only a rest for Kaoyanzu, but also they consider the room is able to improve their studying, as well as the function of dorms in the UMDs. It seems likely that Kaoyanzu also need a study atmosphere within their collective rooms.

Lastly, 'ant tribe' is a migrant post-graduates group to share space in collective room, who are working near Haidianlu community with a low-income. Importantly, 'ant tribe' is a low-income graduate group from low-ranked universities in China, namely provincial-level universities and private colleges (see Chapter 4.2). As an interview from Lian Si (who coined the term of 'ant tribe'):

"I found this group (ant tribe) is from some low-ranked universities, and they only can get low-income jobs such as low sales and promoters to maintain their life. I have been asked some top universities students, they will not live as the ant tribe and they need to find jobs to match their degrees. So this is very important reason to explain why they have to settle into a low-quality environment."

Therefore, it seems likely that the group of post-graduate students who are living in the collective room of Haidianlu community are not graduated from PKU.

## **6.4 The active international student housing in the ‘global neighbourhood’: Wudaokou**

It is notable that Wudaokou can be viewed as an ‘international students enclave’ within the Haidian district of Beijing. Although international students are studying and living in different universities, they are willing to rent housing in Wudaokou, especially the South Korean students (Kim, 2010; Yoe, 2012).

The section (6.4) is divided into four parts: (1) 6.4.1 describes the transitions and development in Wudaokou; (2) 6.4.2 mentions the roles of transportation network and education networks in Wudaokou; (3) 6.4.3 introduces the types and value of housing property in gated communities; (4) 6.4.4 identifies the types of residents and studentifiers living in Wudaokou.

### **6.4.1 The transitions and development within Wudaokou**

With the effects of rapid market-oriented suburbanisation in Beijing since 1990 (Feng *et al.*, 2008), Wudaokou has significantly changed into a modern and international neighbourhood. According to the academic interviewee, a geography scholar, Meng who were studying at PKU since 1980s for 10 years and, recently, are working in Tsinghua University, as the witness evidently has seen and experienced the transitional Wudaokou:

“This (Wudaokou) was a rural area, to the outside of east gate of Tsinghua University. You can see in this map (Beijing City Map), in Chinese, we call here (Dongshenxiang) for Xiang that means a rural place, Wudaokou is a part of Xiang and some local villagers were living in here.....and when I was a student in Peking University in 1980s, I also saw Wudaokou as a rural place. But Wudaokou now is a living place for immigrants and students, with superior apartments and shop malls” (A11).

Therefore, the significant change of Wudaokou is that has developed a green land/abandoned land into a modern and commercialized settlement.

In addition to the development, Wudaokou was famous as a cultural landmark located in suburban areas of Beijing. First, an informal book market was popular in Wudaokou, low-income group (e.g. rural-urban immigrant) and educated group (e.g.

student and academic staff) are willing to purchase low-priced books in Wudaokou, because of some books without copy right (Peng, 2001). Second, a main local cultural product is punk music. Peng (2001) pointed out that Wudaokou is earliest place to produce China's punk music as well as Beijing Punk, based on the popular club culture. In particular, western student indeed plays a key role in the punk music; they will introduce punk music for Chinese young people and organize bands to play in local clubs. Finally, the wave of Korean culture had significantly impacted on the local contexts. Peng (2001) found that South Korean businessmen reproduce all the styles of South Korean within Wudaokou, such as the Korean barbecue; Korean salon and supermarket and so on, in order to attract more South Korean students for consumption. As a result, the development of book market and punk music and Korean culture are able to emerge the young and dynamic culture in Wudaokou, in particular, students (especially international student) associated with their cultural capitals can be viewed as key factor to produce the culture landmark.

On the other hand, restructured planning by city government was starting from 2000, in order to change disordered market and illegal constructions in Wudaokou. Importantly, government introduced real estate to restructure local housing, and also real estate had developed a number of high-quality apartments for indigenous villagers and high-income group who intend to live in Wudaokou. Meanwhile, business activities with government planning permit such as shop mall and restaurants enhance social-life for local people. As a result, the informal book market and some punk music clubs were demolished by the force of reform movement (Peng, 2001). On the other hand, a number of high-quality apartments and active business activities recently have transferred Wudaokou into a modern and commercialized settlement.

#### **6.4.2 The role of transportation and education networks in Wudaokou**

With the development of neighbourhood, this section examines both visible and invisible networks in Wudaokou, namely transportation network and education network. More specifically, the visible network provides public services for people who are working and living in neighbourhood. Besides, the invisible network as education network is able to attract increased students to study and live within/near the Wudaokou neighbourhood.

Although it is well known that the railway line from Beijing to Baotou crosses Wudaokou, it is useful to focus on the importance of the public transportation network to service for local residents, namely the underground and public bus lines. With the rapid development of Beijing's underground since 2001 (Feng *et al.*, 2008), the underground station named Wudaokou opened in September of 2002, as a part of No. 13 underground line (North to South). In addition, a relatively high number of public bus lines cross Wudaokou. Hence, both underground and public bus lines importantly build up a convenient public transportation network for people who are working and living in Wudaokou (see Plate 6.13). For example, if a student is living in Wudaokou and studying in PKU, (s)he will only need to take 3 stops via no. 307 bus line within 5 minutes to commute between university and their residential space.



Plate 6.13: Shopping mall and Subway at Wudaokou (Author's photograph)

There are also a high number of universities surrounded in Wudaokou, such as PKU; Tsinghua University; Beijing Forestry University; Beijing Language and Culture University; University of Science and Technology Beijing; China University of Geosciences and so forth, as well as a strong education network across Wudaokou. Importantly, most universities could be labelled into key and superb universities in China. They are able to enlarge a number of students who are from different provinces of China and different countries and regions over the world. This is because that key universities (985 project and 211 project) have a plenty of funds and subsidies from national government to support their expansion of HE, particularly, key universities such as PKU and Tsinghua University are the earliest universities which have the right to enrol international students. In addition, as far as

Beijing Language and Culture University as a specialized university provides Chinese language learning courses for international students; therefore international students prefer to study and learn some short-term/long-term pre-sessional Chinese language courses, to prepare an educational foundation for their further universities studying (Kim, 2010). Therefore, a stronger education network can attract growth of two groups of students (Chinese students and international students) to study and live within/nearby Wudaokou.

#### **6.4.3 The type of housing and the valuable properties in gated community**

Wu (2005) found that there has been a commercialisation of housing and an enlargement of housing consumption since 1990s, with more and more Chinese individuals/families willing to purchase high-quality apartments within gated communities to experience the so-called 'modern social-life', particularly within the suburban areas of Beijing (Feng *et al.*, 2008).

In this context, it is not surprising that there are a number of gated communities associated with high-quality and facilities apartments within Wudaokou. In a case, a gated community named 'Dongshenyuan' (in Chinese) is the first developed real estate apartment in Wudaokou, which had built in 1997 (Beijing Real Estate Network website, 2013). The total GFA of 'Dongshenyuan' is 115,000m<sup>2</sup> which are associated with 12 different buildings to provide 800 apartments for residents; and also there are different facilities such as gymnasium, entertainment room and car park located within fenced community. Therefore, people living in 'Dongshenyuan' could have experienced some basic services within In addition to the trading housing price, according to the report on Xinhua News website (2014), the real estate of 'Dongshenyuan' developer claims that when the apartment had built up, trading housing price in housing market was 4,000 RMB p/sm<sup>2</sup>. With the rapid real estate and active housing market in Beijing, the trading housing price in 'Dongshenyuan' has recently increased over 60,000 RMB p/m<sup>2</sup>, namely the price growth 15 times from 1997 to 2014 (Beijing Real Estate Network website, 2014). To date, Wudaokou is becoming one of most expensive trading housing prices and rent locations within Beijing.

As a result, the real estate had developed a range of high-quality and high-price apartments within gated communities, and also the luxury commodity housing

promotes the real estate economy, especially the increased trading housing prices and rents in Wudaokou. Meanwhile, the active housing market produces housing agencies which significantly exacerbates the local housing market. In particular, Home Link and Woaiwojia are two powerful housing agencies which increasingly mediate the processes of the local housing market (for further discussion see Chapter 7).

#### **6.4.4 Identities of resident and studentifier in gated community**

Investigation on the identities of local residents living in Wudaokou, immigrant and student are two main groups to reside in gated communities. Particularly, immigrants in here are viewed as the middle social-class group who are working near Wudaokou, namely professionals and white-collar workers:

“In ‘Dongshenyuan’ community, residents have high-incomes and they are professional people who are working nearby Wudaokou (Beijing Real Estate Network website, 2014).”

This is because of a number of high-tech companies (e.g. Chinese famous network company: 163 and Sohu; the global company: Google) and the group of key universities are surrounded Wudaokou. White-collar workers and professionals are able to undertake the high-rent or purchase apartments in gated communities of Wudaokou neighbourhood.

On the other hand, the majority of students rented housing in Wudaokou is international students, who tend to be from privileged families, and are able to pay relatively higher rents within gated communities. Hence, in order to consider the processes of studentification in Wudaokou, international students can be viewed as the studentifier group that is changing the local context. It is therefore that Wudaokou is known as an international student location, especially associated with Korean students (Kim, 2010; Yeo, 2008).

#### **6.5 Summary**

This chapter describes the diverse student housing geographies of Beijing; using the three case study sites to understand different types of student accommodations by PKU, the informal student housing market in the transitional community of Haidianlu,

and the valuable housing properties of quality-apartments within the gated community to cater for the group of international student in Wudaokou.

The terms of the 'work-unit' system enables a fuller understanding of the housing provision system in PKU. The housing provision within the socialist ideology leads the role of universities to build a number of university-managed dormitories for students living. Importantly, the effective housing provision by university is able to address the issue of homelessness, namely provided enough housing for their students. At the same time, the role of the university also needs to build other associated infrastructures and provide amenities for students, which creates a sense of 'student community'. As a result, most of the social life for students is concentrated on the campus. On the other hand, PKU as the term of work-unit has applied gated management for student housing, which has significantly impacted on students' social life on-campus.

With regards the student housing provision for Chinese students, historically, PKU has built a relatively high number of student apartments on-campus, during the first-wave of the expansion of HE in the socialist China (see discussion In Chapter 5), as well as the type A of Yanyuan student dorms began to build 1956. In contrast to other types of student dorms build by university, the secondary data has shown that type A of room is the smallest use area space ( $13.2\text{m}^2$ ) of room and the each person use area in room ( $3.3\text{m}^2$ ) in PKU. The facilities within the dorms still are less than other types of rooms, especially the bathroom on ground floor without hot water.

In addition, due to the effects of the expansion of enrolled student numbers since 1999, the university had built more student apartments to meet the increased student populations (especially postgraduate students). In particular, two types (type B and C) of dorms began to be built in 1999 and 2005, respectively. Although those two types of student dorms have similar person areas (e.g.  $5.51\text{ m}^2$  in type B and  $5.47\text{m}^2$  in type C), the room layouts are very different. Based on the analysis of room facilities from Figure 6.2.2 and Figure 6.2.3, the type B of room can be viewed as a modern shared student room, due to all basic facilities located within the room, while the type C still seems to the traditional way following the type A due to some facilities such as toilets and washing rooms on the public floor. Moreover, in order to meet the increased postgraduate student numbers, PKU had built two postgraduate student

apartments off-campus, namely Wanliu student apartment and Changchunyuan/Changchunxinyuan student apartment. More specifically, PKU aimed to build a first modern apartment and applied modern management in Wanliu. Although students living in Wanliu still have to share their space within each room, the student rooms associated with facilities such as a public social room and toilets make up a featured apartment for postgraduate students living. The Wanliu also provides basic amenities for students such as canteens and retails and so forth, due to the location is far away from campus. Therefore, by the effects of housing provision and work-unit system, PKU has built up a sense of 'gated community' for people who are living in Wanliu, which could be examined as the functions of gated campus applied into the Wanliu student apartment. Furthermore, Changchunyuan had developed two types of rooms in 2005 and in 2007, respectively. Changchunxinyuan began to build in 2005 and only provides one type of room within each dorm. In contrast to other student rooms in Yanyuan and Wanliu, there are only two students to share each room; therefore, the each person of use area in types of rooms within two student apartments have much more space rather than three types of rooms in Yanyuan student apartment. Consideration on facilities within two apartments, due to the layout of rooms, facilities are distributed into rooms and floors, as same as the type A and type C in Yanyuan. Notably, although two student apartments still applied gated managed and build walls and gates to make the sense of community, the amenities such as canteen and retails are less than Wanliu due to the locations of two universities are close to the gated campus. Therefore, student experience within two student apartments has experienced the effects of the gated campus.

PKU has also responded to the needs of international students, and has provided housing. Shaoyuan is the first international student apartment on-campus tied to the effects of the internationalization of HE system in PKU since 1980s. Although there is no date to show each person of use area in room for international student, from the Figure 6.3 is shown that the type of standard room is shared by 2 students and the rest types of rooms provide a private space of bedding room for students living. Therefore, it is conclude that international students indeed have much more private spaces rather than Chinese students in each type of rooms among different student apartments. Consideration on the facilities in 6 types of room in Shaoyuan,



international students have much more living facilities such as TV and fridge rather than Chinese students. It is clear that international students have much more experiences on modern social life on-campus rather than Chinese students. In addition, by the expansion of HE system since 1999, gated campus of PKU is unable to provide enough student housing for international students. In turn, PKU sought to develop an abandoned land into an international student apartment off-campus in 2008, namely Zhongguanxinyuan (the Global Village). The Global Village provides the types of rooms associated with quality-facilities (e.g. furniture, TV and kitchen) for international students. In addition, the Global Village is located off-campus as same as Chinese student apartments off-campus which applied gated management to build the term of 'gated community' managed by PKU. Amenities such as western style of canteen and gym still provide within the international student community to create a modern social life for international students as same as the term of PBSA in the UK.

Accommodation fees have differences to Chinese students and international students. More specially, Chinese students have the regulated accommodation fees by universities, such as 1200 RMB p/y, 1020 RMB p/y and 750 RMB p/y three-levels. In particular, although accommodation fees in Wanliu as a modern student apartment need to pay 3600 RMB p/y, students only pay 1500 RMB p/y for each year and their supervisors will pay the rest of fees (see further discussion on chapter 6). It seems likely that Chinese students pay different accommodation fees that have different social living experiences in UMDs. In the side of international students, international students have different accommodation prices in Shaoyuan and the Global Village. For example, Shaoyuan have 6 different prices per/day which are more expansive rather than Chinese students (see Figure 6.2.1). As a result, it is important that quality and quantity of facilities for international students are better to Chinese students.

This thesis thus considers that Chinese student housing and international student housing has changed in line with university operations. Except the Yanyuan and Changchunyuanyuan/Changchunxinyuan are still social housing products by university management, associated with fixed accommodation fees and housing arrangement. International student accommodations (Shaoyuan and Global village) and Wanliu are applied commercial operation to attract student-consumers, in order to make profits

(see more discussion on Chapter 7). In this sense, these three student accommodations can be viewed as the form of PBSA (Hubbard, 2008; 2009; Smith and Hubbard, 2014).

Haidianlu as a compound is a gated and walled residential community which is close to the south of campus. Housing in Haidianlu was social-welfare housing that had converted into commercial housing by the housing reform in 1999 (Wang, 2008). As a result, local residents have property rights to cope with their properties. Meanwhile, some households intend to package their properties to rent in the housing market, especially they will change the structure of layout of apartments to create the collective rooms for tenants sharing and single rooms in order to attract more tenants to make profits. Some informal housing agents as well as local business servicers collect and manage rental housing from landlords to provide a number of HMO housing for studentifiers.

On the other hand, different types of studentifiers intend to seek housing in Haidianlu community, who are able to change local contexts. First of all, some PKU student groups such as student couples for private space and students for quality-environment to conduct studying) seek for private space to meet their interests, which is the type of single room with short-term contract. Students who are able to maintain the rent (higher than accommodation fees) could be viewed as the student from privileged families by the effects of expansion of HE in PKU (see Chapter 5.4); second, by the expansion of postgraduate numbers, a group of Kaoyanzu are willing to rent housing in Haidianlu to conduct their self-studying, who are willing to rent a long-term contract in collective room; at last, by the negative effects of expansion of HE, pressures on employment produce the term of 'ant tribe', they are associated with their low-incomes prefer to rent in collective room with a long-term contract (based on their working contract).

It is concluded that a process of population change is able to unfold in Haidianlu, this is because the active housing market attracts a number of studentifiers to rent housing in Haidianlu. Notably, the official data in 2013 reveals that there is only 49% of local residents to live in Haidianlu, namely there is over 50% of populations who could be viewed as the floating populations such as three types of studentifiers.

Wudaokou is an international student enclave within Beijing, especially South Korean students. Wudaokou is profoundly influenced by processes of suburbanisation and globalisation, where transfers from the abandoned/rural land into the valuable and commercialized settlement in Beijing. In addition, this chapter mentions that transportation networks and education networks play key role in the Wudaokou, which drive a number of international students studying in this location.

In addition, high-quality apartments within the gated communities are popular in Wudaokou, which have changed local housing structure. In particular, 'Dongshengyuan' gated community is the first commercialized housing in Wudaokou to provide a high-quality and facilities residential space for local residents. Meanwhile, housing agency plays a key role in the housing market, which has encouraged the inflation of the local housing market in Wudaokou. Within this mind, people from upper and middle social-classes are able to purchase and rent the high-quality apartments within gated communities. It is important to note that international students can be interpreted as studentifiers that rent housing in Wudaokou. As a result, international students associated with their social-cultural capitals are more readily able to produce and express the outcomes of processes of studentification on Wudaokou, and which are more in line with Anglo-phone representations of studentification (i.e. noise and parties). These lifestyle-related differences will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.

## **Chapter 7: Connecting diverse social-life experiences of students and studentification within Beijing**

### **7.1 Introduction**

Understanding students' social life experiences and perceptions within different forms of student housing is an important dimension for understanding the diversity of studentification within Beijing. He (2014) notes, for instance, in her pioneering study of studentification in Guangzhou, the importance of local socio-economic and cultural infrastructures in transforming the urban village. Although it is shown that studentification within this urban village does not lead to local residents moving out of their housing and neighbourhood, this may not be the case in other studentified neighbourhoods in China.

Within this entry point in mind, this chapter focusses on processes of studentification within Beijing, and explores why most students prefer to concentrate within the UMDs of PKU. At the same time, a focus is placed on processes of studentification that have unfolded within Haidianlu and Wudaokou, which have resulted in significant population changes within these two local neighbourhood contexts.

Chapter 7 is thus divided into 4 sections: Section 7.2 shows that the regulations on the housing arrangements and gated management for UMDs at PKU are connected to very different social living experiences for students, and student consumption practices promotes the student-oriented business close to campus. Section 7.3 analyses the impacts of studentification from four dimensions (economic, social, culture and physical) within the Haidianlu community, by three types of Chinese studentifiers. Section 7.4 describes the effects of the international students with their expansive lifestyles, and how this social group have changed the local contexts of Wudaokou (e.g. economic, social, culture and physical); importantly this section describes how two processes of gentrification and studentification have unfolded within the gated community of 'Huaqingjiayuan'. Section 7.5 concludes that different social life experiences are tied to different forms of student housing in Beijing, and two different expressions of studentification have transformed local contexts within Haidianlu and Wudaokou, respectively.

## **7.2 Social life experiences within UMDs on- and off-campus**

Different types and layouts of rooms in UMDs on- and off-campus provide different social-life experiences for PKU's students. On one hand, the majority of students enjoy their living experiences within dorms, due to UMD often being seen as a 'student-community' that meets the interests of students. On the other hand, some students prefer to spend their socio-economic capital off-campus, to seek rental housing off-campus, due to the layout and gated management of UMDs.

This section is divided into 7 parts. Section 7.2.1 introduces the university regulations for student housing arrangements and gated management practices. Section 7.2.2 describes the different student living experiences within five student dorms. Section 7.2.3 explains three reasons to form the collective lifestyle for Chinese students. Section 7.2.4 discusses the intended and unintended effects of social segregations by the dorms. Section 7.2.5 considers some of the advantages for students residing within UMDs. Section 7.2.6 discusses some of the key motivations for Chinese and international students moving into off-campus housing. Section 7.2.7 introduces that students' social activities tend to promote student-oriented businesses, in close proximity to the campus of PKU.

### **7.2.1 Regulations for housing arrangement and gated management at PKU**

Drawing upon research on UMA, Smith and Hubbard (2014:93) describe that "institutional spaces that supposedly allow incumbent students to learn the rules and regulations of studenthood." The statement argues that different rules and regulations are able to form different types of studenthood.

Regulations for UMDs by the Ministry of Education allow all students to live in UMDs, in order to enhance the management of student housing (the Ministry of Education, 2004; 2005; 2007). In doing so, PKU issued the 'Provisions of Peking University Dormitory' in March, 2004, which concerns student housing arrangement and gated management (Peking University, 2013).

Basically, Student Accommodation Centre of PKU arranges new enrolled students in each year. In particular, the basis of arrangement is that undergraduate and master student rooms are shared by 4 students, and 2 Ph.D. students share within one room. Meanwhile, the provision of No. 3 demands students to follow the housing

arrangement, and they cannot exchange their beds/rooms without university consent (Peking University, 2013).

It is notable that research findings indicate that there is a different arrangement of student accommodation between Chinese student and international student. On one hand, the provisions allow all Chinese students to reside within the UMDs, especially PKU established two new-built UMDs off-campus to meet the increased postgraduate student numbers, such as Wanliu and Changchunyuan/Changchunxinyuan. Research findings in here examine 5 factors to introduce the living assignments of Chinese students (both undergraduate and postgraduate). These can be categorised as; (i) 'top-to-down' assignment determined by the university itself; (ii) ballot-style university arrangement; (iii) cycle arrangement is given from first year students to graduate students, determined by school and departments; (iv) assignment based upon previous undergraduate educational background/qualifications, and; (v) rights for some postgraduate students to choose university arrangements by themselves.

First, the 'top-to-down' assignment is an important factor that decides Chinese student housing arrangement at PKU. More specifically, Student Accommodation Centre will provide an arrangement proposal for each school and department (Peking University, 2013). Based on the same programmes and grades, schools and departments will arrange new registered students by the unit of class into the same dorms. As a result, by the 'top-to-down' assignment by university, students from same programmes/courses in the school/department will concentrate within the same dorms, beside students do not have free choice to reside within other dorms.

Second, although each school/department will arrange their students based on the same programme and grade, the rise of question is how university arranges different types of dorms (see Section 6.2) for each school/department on-campus. The basis of arrangement from student accommodation centre does not concern on the university decision. However, some interview findings emphasize that a 'ballot-style' of arrangement can be seen the approach for the university arrangement on the different types of dorms to school and department arrangement:

“Our college ballots the dorm for us, if my college ballots a low quality dorm, our students are not lucky. We have to accept and face this situation to live

within this dorm during my four years of university life” (PY4, third year undergraduate student, living in Yanyuan).

By the ‘ballot-style’ arrangement, students prioritise their prospective living choices and the university allocates based upon these choices

Third, when the school and departments are allocated their dorms, interview findings indicate there is a ‘cycle process’: first-year student assignment by each school/department will replace graduate student living rooms:

“I heard about the basis of arrangement by our college that is the cycle accommodation arrangement: when the final year students are moving out from the No. 47 dorm, we need to follow their footsteps to live within the same dorms” (PY3, third year undergraduate student, living in Yanyuan).

“I know when our fresh students (same programme) were moving in my dorm (No. 35), final year of our same programme students were moving out this dorm. So, I think our college arranges our programme within the same dorm by each year, as a cycle process” (PY5, third year undergraduate student, living in Yanyuan).

The ‘cycle’ arrangement by schools and departments allows first-year students’ to live with the dorms which are allocated by the ‘ballot-style’ university arrangement. ‘Cycle arrangement’ can drive some students to live within the low-quality and facilities dorms for a long term; particularly some affluent students will rent housing off-campus to avoid the low quality and facilities dorms.

At the same time, interview findings reveal another two categorises on postgraduate student housing arrangement beyond university regulations, such as undergraduate education background and flexible arrangement for postgraduate. ‘Undergraduate education background of PKU’ has been considered by school and department for the postgraduate student housing arrangement. A first-year master student, who is an assistant in the administration of College of Urban and Environmental Sciences, confirms that ‘undergraduate education background of PKU’ has impacted into the process of postgraduate accommodation arrangement:

“I know the arrangement by our college, the basis is that our postgraduate students who undergraduate is from PKU, they will arrange to live in Yanyuan (on campus); postgraduates who are not graduate at PKU, they will arrange to Wanliu student apartment (off-campus).”

Furthermore, the research findings found that regulation for postgraduate student housing arrangement is more lax rather than undergraduate, as well as postgraduate students have free to reside off-campus:

“I have right whether live in UMD on-campus or rent housing off-campus. I do not think university will manage our postgraduate students” (PY7, master student, living in Yanyuan).

“When I got an offer (master programme) from Peking University, I also had received my accommodation application form from Wanliu. As the introduction of my offer, I can choose whether live on/off campus” (PWL1, first-year master student, living in Wanliu).

It is shown that university regulations on postgraduate student housing arrangements are more flexible, when compared to regulations for undergraduate housing. Perhaps this is because the growth of postgraduate populations in PKU can be seen as the key reason to affect housing arrangement.

PKU also has responsibility to provide housing for international students who are free to choose different types and prices of international student apartments (see figures in Section 6.2). According to the official website of PKU, international students need to submit the accommodation application forms via on-line system to Shaoyuan or Zhonggguanxinyuan accommodation centre, international student accommodation centre applied the principle of ‘first come, first served’:

“I know I could apply the international accommodation and submit my application form via on-line system. There are different types and prices on the website, and this is an easy way to find the university accommodation for me” (PZ2, U.S. A student living in the global village).

The principle is similar to university arrangement within UK context (Kinton, 2013). Students are free to choose their room for university life.



In addition, PKU cannot provide enough rooms for all international students. Thus, PKU has encouraged international students to rent private housing off-campus. For example, a number of rental housing information are provided on the official international student department website (Peking University, 2013). As an international student confirms that:

“I know PKU could provide accommodations for us (international students), but I just know most our international students are willing to rent housing off-campus, this is better for our one-year overseas studying programme in Beijing” (WAS2, British student, living in off-campus).

It is important to notable that Chinese students do not have the right to select dorms in which they intend to reside, though there are three accommodation fees tied to five main student apartments. On the other hand, international students can apply the different types of rooms/ dorms via university accommodation on-line system, while they are free to live off-campus. It is shown that PKU employed distinct arrangements for the different student groups (Chinese undergraduates and postgraduates and international students).

In order to manage the groups of students, PKU issued the regulations to apply the gated management to regulate students' behaviours within the dorms. At the same time, university often employ a non-high educated staff appointed as dorm manager (Louzhang in Chinese) to manage some student dorms (e.g. Yanyuan and Changchunxinyuan). Specifically, the main role of dorm managers is to enhance the sense of security for their managed students, and they are living within the first floor of dorms to 'keep attention' on students who access in the dorm, as the role of concierge service:

“We have a dorm manager who is living on the ground floor with us. She ensures we feel as though we are living in a safe and secure environment (PY4, third-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).”

“I am happy to live with a dorm manager. She recognises every student who living in the dorm, making us feeling very secure. She controls who is able to enter the dorm, preventing strangers from” (PY5, third-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

In addition, the dorm managers can deal with some social issues from students; and the university dorm regulations allow dorm managers to provide and maintain a clean dorm environment for students:

“Sometimes she could help us. For example, if we lose the key to open the door, we can ask dorm manager to help us” (PY4, third-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

“The dorm manager will organise a group of students to inspect our living conditions each month, evaluating factors such as the cleanliness of the rooms. If the living conditions are too dirty, for example, we will be asked to clean the room to an appropriate standard” (PY6, third-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

It is shown that dorm manager is one of the key factors embodied within the university gated management system, who indeed carry out the university regulations to apply the gated management for the dorms. In the side of students, most students are satisfied the management by dorm managers, to enhance the sense of security within the dorms. Furthermore, consideration on UMA in some universities in UK, the dorm manager may be compared with the role of a (sub) warden in most UMDs (Kinton, 2013; Smith and Hubbard, 2014).

Although dorm managers alongside with students are living within the dorms to maintain security, research findings have shown that Chinese students still need to swap their student ID card to access into the on-campus dorms (where they reside in) and they cannot swap the personal cards into other dorms:

“I need to swap my student ID card to access my dorm.....others cannot go to our dorm. I like this management because it ensures the dorm is secure” (PY2, undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

Arguably, off-campus such as Wanliu and the global village do not provide the dorm manager for Chinese students and international students, respectively, but they need to swap the student ID cards and/or passports into the dorms:

“We do not have a dorm manager in our dorm, but we need to swap our student ID card to access into our apartment” (WL3, master student, living in Wanliu).

“I know we [international students] need to show our passport to gain access into the dorm every time but there is never anyone there to check. Therefore, any international students can enter” (PZ1, US student, living in Global Village).

It is shown that university applied the card/passport accessibility to enhance the sense of security for students, but from interview replies indicate that accessibility on gated management for international student is much more flexible.

In addition, the No. 3 provision in the ‘Provisions of Peking University Dormitory’ demands students to comply with the housing arrangement, and they cannot exchange their beds/rooms without university consent. The No.13 and the No.14 provisions regulate that students cannot rent/invite their friends/guests to stay in the dorm during night:

“We can exchange our beds and letting our bed for others. If university found we rent our bed for others, they can punish us” (PWL 2, master student, living in Wanliu).

It is clear from these provisions that university aims to regulate students’ behaviours to enhance university gated management on dorms. In other words, students cannot exchange the rooms to live with their familiar friends who are not from the same programme. University do not allow student to rent/let their beds for other groups, which enhances the collective social network within the room (see further discussion on Section 7.2.3).

Furthermore, the No. 10 provision indicates that students cannot use some electrical appliances such as heater and kettle within their rooms, and university applied curfew to most on-campus dorms:

“We could not use any high power electrical appliances in our room. If we use any high power electrical appliances, the dorm will automatically cut off our power in the room. And university has a fixed electricity credit such as 80

credits for our room sharing with 4 students for each month” (PY1, undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

Arguable, the Chinese dorm of Wanliu and international student dorms do not employ the curfew regulations:

“We do not need to curfew. This is very good for us, but we do not have enough electric power for us, even though university will provide a fixed electric power for us in every month, we need to buy much more electric power to use it” (PWL6, third-year master student, living in Wanliu).

“There is no curfew in global village. We can have our private time during overnight” (PZ2, US student, living in Global Village).

It is clear that although regulation does not allow students to use some electrical appliances and applied curfew to reduce students’ activities overnight, the regulation employs obviously differences for different dorms. Therefore, regulations on electrical power and curfew cause some conflicts between students and UMDs, especially in the Yanyuan dorm (see further discussion on Section 7.2.2).

Importantly, according to the university regulations (Peking University, 2013), accommodation centre will arrange student by gender into different dorms. In effect, this arrangement causes that one building/floor to only provide rooms for males or females.

“Of course, No.47 (dorm) only provide for our female” (PY1, fourth year undergraduate student living in Yanyuan).

“Our building is gender mixing. But there is still divided by the floors. Floor 1 to floor 3 is only for boys and floors 4 to floor 6 is only for girls” (PY7, first year master student living in Yanyuan).

The discussion reveals that Chinese student dorms can be viewed as high-level of homogenous population structure, and the relationship between males and females has segregated by the gated management concentrated within different dorms/floors. On the other hand, international students are gender mixed to reside within the

dorms. As a result, the gated management on gender only applies for Chinese students.

It is concluded that the Student Accommodation Centre plays a key role in the housing arrangement for Chinese students and international students; which directly affects student living experiences within the UMDs (see Section 7.2.2). Importantly, this key finding reveals that the Student Accommodation Centre is an institutional actor that can trigger studentification in different student residential areas, in the same way as research findings in Melbourne's universities (Fincher and Shaw, 2009) and the case study in Loughborough University (Kinton, 2013).

### **7.2.2 Living experiences within UMDs**

This section explores different student living experiences in five different types of UMDs on and off-campus, and points out the layout of dorm is the key factor to create living experience for studenthood. In particular, in here describe 3 categories in the layouts of dorms to impact living experiences, such as bedroom space; facilities (washing rooms and toilets and bathroom and hot-water room); amenities (university canteen).

First, most students, in interview, have emphasized that the layout of bedroom can be seen as the key factor to create different living experiences for segregated student groups: Chinese students and international students. On one hand, Chinese student dorms in general concentrate students with shared space of bedrooms. Hence, analysis on each person of use area within one room can reveal some differences between each Chinese dorm. In particular, Figure 5.2 describes that the each person of use area within one room is only  $3.3\text{m}^2$ , by 4 students sharing within one room in the type A dorm located in Yanyuan. It is not surprising that many students living in type A complain shared bedroom space:

“The space (room) is too small. If your roommates all stay within the room, you cannot easily turn around. Also, I cannot find a personal space to store my personal things, the bedroom space is a big problem for me” (PZ2, third-year undergraduate, living in type A of Yanyuan).

“Can you image that 4 girls are living in a small space during our undergraduate time. For example, we do not have a space to dry our clothes

within the room, so we dry our clothes on the corridor. So, the corridor becomes a very wet space” (PZ1, four-year undergraduate, living in type A).

Figure 6.4 reveals that each person of use area in one room within three types of dorms in Changchunyuan and Changchunxinyuan (off-campus) are over 7m<sup>2</sup>, which is more than the dorms of Yanyuan:

“To compare with dormitory on-campus (Yanyuan), our dorm obviously is better to them. For example, on-campus dorms share with 4 students within one room, and we only 2 students to share one room. I am very happy for this room” (PC1, first-year master student, living in Changchunxinyuan).

“I am living in Chuangchunyuan with a roommate. The space is bigger rather than my undergraduate dorm of No. 35 (type A in Yanyuan)” (PC2, Ph.D. student, living in Chuangchunyuan).

This is because that there are only two students to share space within one room to reside within Chuangchunyuan and Chuangchunxinyuan, thus students can have much more room spaces to meet their interests.

Although there is no data to show the each person of use area within room in the Wanliu student apartments, students are generally satisfied their room space. Especially, students living in Wanliu consider that they have enough space to compare with other dorms:

“To compare with other dorms, we have a lot of space for living. We live in a big apartment including 4 bedrooms, each bed-room has 4 students; and 3 washing rooms; two toilets; and one public sharing living room” (PWL2, second-year master student, living in Wanliu).

It is clear that the layouts of Wanliu student apartment provides enough spaces for students sharing, although students still need to share their bedroom within 4 persons.

In the side of international student, Figure 6.3 (Shaoyuan) and Plate 6.11 (Global Village) reveal that international students generally have their personal bedroom spaces within two international student dorms, except standard room is about 22

RMB per/day for 2 students sharing within one room, without facilities of carpeting and fridge and air conditioning (see Figure 6.3 and Figure 6.3.1):

“I like to live in Shaoyuan. I have my personal room in apartment” (FGS1, Japanese student, living in Shaoyuan).

“I am happy to live within my apartment. I have enough space in my bed room. My roommate and I share bathroom and a toilet within the apartment” (PZ2, US student, living in Global Village).

In order to understand the satisfaction for international students, one key reason is that two international student dorms provide different types of rooms for international students; thus they have different choices, based on financial supports (Kinton, 2013) and varied personal interests (Hubbard, 2008; 2009).

It is important to note that most interview replies concern on private space within the bedroom is important to their living conditions and experiences, especially replies from female students:

“I think private space is very important for me. For example, when I want to write a personal letter, I really do not be disturbed by my roommates” (PY1, female fourth-year undergraduate, living in type A of Yanyuan).

“I think private space is very important, I want to use a curtain to make a personal space around my bunk bed, as a private space, but dorm manager does not allow me to do that by the regulations” (PY7, female master student, living in type C of Yanyuan).

Analysis of those replies reveals that the layout for sharing bedroom is not only factor against private space, but also the regulations do not allow Chinese students to create the private space within the room. While international students have their private spaces within their bedrooms, from interviews replies are shown that international students concern on the private bedroom as one of key room conditions when they choose and apply rooms within UMDs.

The second aspect is that facilities determine how students gain different living experience from different types of student housing (Kinton, 2013). Importantly, based on the discussion on Chapter 6, the types and locations of facilities are differences

provided by Chinese and international student dorms. In general, Chinese student dorms provide similar facilities within the dorms, but space and location of washing room and toilet cause different experiences for Chinese student. As the Figure 6.2.2 shows that the room use area of type B is 22.04m<sup>2</sup>, which is the most largest use area of room in the Yanyuan and Changchunyuan/Changchunxinyuan student apartments. This is because that washing room and toilet are located within the room:

“My dorm is the best on in Yanyuan, the room provides a washing room space and a toilet for us, so this is very convenient” (PY9, undergraduate, living in type B of Yanyuan).

On the other hand, students living within other two types of dorms have to share washing room and toilets on the public floors with other students who are living in the same floor:

“The big problem for me is that I need to share toilet with over 120 students on the same floor” (PY6, third-year undergraduate, living in type A of Yanyuan).

Especially, although the type C has similar use area of room (21.81m<sup>2</sup>) with the type B, students still complains the public sharing space of washing rooms and toilets on the floor. Therefore, public shared space on washing rooms and toilets can be seen as a key problem to impact Chinese student living experiences within the dorms:

“FGS1: public washing room and balcony are too small; FGS3: I do not like to go to the public washing room and toilet, because there are nearly 150 students to share one toilet on our floor.....too crowded; FGS4: our toilet is often blocked, I do not like this, so I have to go to upstairs to find toilet; FGS5: I am agree with your point, the public toilet is too crowded. If the toilet has blocked, that is a big problem for us” (6 focus group first-year master students in the type C)

“This is a good apartment, but washing room and toilet is too crowed. We only have one washing room and a toilet in apartment for 12 students using. This is a big problem for us” (PWL1, second-year master student, living in Wanliu).



“I think facilities are not very good. For example, toilet is public use on the floor, not within our room. This is not very convenient for us” (PC1, first-year master student, living in Changchunxinyuan).

This thesis in here mentioned that the shared space and location of washing rooms and toilets are important to student living within dorms. In particular, to understand the important facility of washing room, Chinese students generally prefer to wash clothing by hands and dry on the balcony (see discussions above on complains on space of bedroom in type A), instead of washing machine and dryer (although some dorms provide washing machine in washing room). Except the type B dorm in Yanyuan, most students need to share the public washing rooms and toilets with other students who reside in the same floors and dorms. It is shown that there are lacks of basic facility spaces within dorms to provide convenient living conditions for Chinese students.

Students concern on facilities of bathroom and hot-water room is another issue for student living within the dorms, especially in on-campus dorms. For example, in type A there is only one bathroom located on ground floor without hot water (see Figure 6.2.1), namely all the dorms students have to share one bathroom. Meanwhile, university regulations do not allow students to use the high power electrical appliances such as boiler and heater to obtain hot water, which cause a problem for student living condition:

“We do not have hot water within the room and the bathroom, I have to go to the public hot water centre and bathroom centre (on-campus) to get the hot water and have a shower. This is a big problem for me, especially in the winter, too cold” (PY6, third-year undergraduate, living in type A of Yanyuan).

On the other hand, off-campus dorms provide the hot-water rooms and bathroom within the dorm for students (see Figure 6.4.1; Figure 6.4.2; Figure 6.4.3):

“I think Wanliu student apartment is very good for student living. Our apartment installs a boiler in bathroom. We do not worry about the shower problem” (PWL7, third-year master student, living in Wanliu).

“We have hot water room and bathroom in our floor. It is very convenient for us, but sometime is crowded” (PC1, first-year master student, living in Changchunxinyuan).

Indeed, although university provide a public hot-water centre and bathroom centre on-campus, students who are living in Yanyuan still consider the improvement on facilities of hot-water room and bathroom. Due to the location of off-campus, two off-campus Chinese student dorms provide bathroom and hot-water room within the apartment/dorms, although they still need to share public space with each other.

Therefore, the research findings appear to be in line with the arguments of Kinton on her research focussed on university halls experiences on-campus: “the role of accommodation, amenities, layout, management and location of halls forming an essential part of students’ satisfaction” (2013:166).

In the side of international student, international students are able to choose different types of rooms associated with different facilities services. For example, the type of standard room B in No. 8 building can be viewed as a studio (see Figure 6.3.1) for one person, as the price of 236 per/day. It is therefore that students can pay different costs to gain rooms associated with different facilities, which creates different living experiences for their studenthood (Kinton, 2013).

Furthermore, university canteen can be seen as one of key amenities to service for students daily food consumption (see plate 7.1). Chinese students confirm that university canteen provided comparative meal prices can improve their living conditions on and off-campus:

“There are some university canteens to provide cheap food and meals for us. You have a lot of options on daily food consumptions..... Personally, I only spend 5-7 RMB per/meal, this is very cheap for me” (PY2, third-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

“University meals are very cheaper and we have different choices with a reasonable price 8 RMB per meal” (PY1, third-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

“Although Wanliu is far away from campus, there is a canteen located within Wanliu to provide food for students. I can find different types of food in canteen” (PWL7, third-year master student, living in Wanliu).

It is clear that university concerns on canteen services for student daily food consumption, with reasonable meal prices for all students. One of key factor is that government can provide some financial support on university canteen, as subsidy on food consumption (the Ministry of Education, 2011).



Plate 7.1: university canteen (author's photograph)

Shaoyuan provides cater service for international students to consume different types of international food. The cater service is important to some western students for their 'hassle-free' style, which is important factor to influent on their housing making-decisions (Kinton, 2013; Hubbard, 2008; 2009). However, international students living in global village argues that cater service is another factor to influent student living experiences:

“I think there is a good quality for our international students. But the trouble is that we cannot cook meals in my apartment, so I need to eat food in canteen.

If you miss the opening time, you have to go to other places for eating” (PZ2, US student, living in Global Village).

As a result, some international students are willing to consume food with their friends off-campus, beyond the fixed opening time of cater service; particularly Wudaokou neighbourhood is one of popular food consumption location for international students. This research finding confirms that international students associated with their expressive lifestyle intend to escape the university regulations on UMDs and the campus, who are willing to spend their social-cultural capitals off-campus (Chatterton, 1999; 2010).

### **7.2.3 The collective lifestyle**

Due to the university arrangement and layouts of dorms, there is usually more than one student to share bedroom space. This thesis discusses that collective lifestyle has formed by Chinese student residing in Chinese dorms (He, 2014). More specifically, Chinese students usually have to live in the shared space by 4 students (except the examples of two students sharing one room within dorms of Chuangchunyuan and Chuangchunxinyuan). It is no doubt that the university arrangement is key factor to produce the collective life experiences for Chinese students. However, research findings conclude that there are three social factors to enhance the collective life experience, such as (1) collective life experiences within previous educated stages, (2) classmate(s) social relationship forged by collective activities, and: (3) the practices of gated management by the university

First, some undergraduate Chinese students have been experienced collective lifestyle in their previous educated stages:

“Yes, I have this experience (collective life) since I was in high school. I am used to be it” (PY2, third-year undergraduate living in Yanyuan).

“I had experienced on collective lifestyle for three years during my high school, so I feel fine” (PY3, fourth-year undergraduate living in Yanyuan).

In the side of postgraduates have already experienced on the collective lifestyle on their undergraduate time, they could accept collective lifestyle to reside in the dorms:

“My undergraduate also is the collective life, and I am used to be it” (PWL5, first-year postgraduate living in Wanliu).

“Since I was 11 years older, I have been the collective life until now.....I like this life” (PWL3, second-year postgraduate living in Wanliu).

It is clear that the research findings reveal that collective lifestyle does not only produce by university, but also some Chinese students had experienced collective life before higher education. This is an important social factor causes most Chinese students to ‘accept’ the collective lifestyle, and can be viewed as one of key reason to explain Kaoyanzu and ‘ant tribe’ are willing to rent collective room within Haidianlu community (see more discussion on Section 7.3)

Second, thesis indicates that institutional student housing arrangement is an important factor to produce the collective lifestyle. The unit of class is foundation of arrangement principle by the Ministry of Education. Therefore, social relationship for Chinese students can be examined as the classmate relationship rather than the sense of friend relationship (in the UK context). Therefore, classmate relationship is an important social factor to create a social-spatial framework by student activities on and off-campus:

“My roommates also are my classmates. They are very important to me and we will accompany with each other for university life” (PWL7, third year postgraduate living in Wanliu).

“Yes, I am living with my classmates. And our classmates are all living in the dorm.....Last time, he had organized a birthday party on the Food Street and he called our classmates to celebrate it, we enjoy it” (PC1, first year postgraduate living in Chuangchunxinyuan).

Especially, Chinese students (especially female) enjoy collective lifestyle rather than independent activities:

“We are like the collective lifestyle. We always are going to the library and lectures together; and after class we are going to university canteen for dinner. In the rest of time, we will go to shopping together..... We will share our information and some gossips when we back dorm in night. Now my

roommates and I always discuss that if we graduate, we could not adapt independent lifestyle in the society” (PWL7, female third year postgraduate living in Wanliu).

The classmate relationship is a key factor to form the collective lifestyle, which can enhance collective social experience between each roommate. The collective lifestyle by Chinese student activities the engaged social relationship by collective lifestyle not only has resulted in university campus, but also is able to impact on local infrastructures near campus, such as the student-oriented business of Food Street.

University applied gated management to regulate students’ behaviours within dorms, which engages the collective lifestyle. This is because students have to regulate their behaviours and activities within the shared space, in order to make collective consciousness to adjust relationship between each other. For example, the curfew in Yanyuan student apartment aims to regulate students’ behaviours:

“We will power off after 11 pm, after that time, we cannot do anything and we have to sleep. If someone makes noise, we will stop her. Sometimes the dorm managers will check our room to keep quiet” (PY4, third year undergraduate living in Yanyuan).

As such, the role of gated management concerns on students’ behaviours and activities to enhance the social relations within the rooms. Thus, the collective lifestyle is a key social factor for Chinese students to reside within the dorms.

#### **7.2.4 Intended and unintended segregations in UMDs**

It is not surprising that segregations have unfolded within university-managed dormitories by university student housing arrangement. However, the regulation by the Ministry of Education (2005; 2007) stipulates that university cannot assign student housing based on students’ socio-economic conditions, the regulation significantly concerns on the sense of ‘social mixing’ living for all students. This section explores that the institutional practices by the role of university on student housing allocation produces intended segregations between home students and international students, as same as the research findings on Melbourne’s universities (Australia) by Fincher and Shaw (2009). Meanwhile, an unintended segregation has

unfolded on-campus, due to different socio-cultural consumption patterns between home students and international students.

Regulations by PKU obviously separate Chinese students and international students into different UMDs. Interview replies reveal that nationality segregated arrangement by university is tied to different social lifestyles. In particular, most Chinese students are agreed on this segregated arrangement:

“I am agreed with the segregation arrangement between Chinese students and foreign students, because of different lifestyles. For example, if we are residing within the same room, we will make lots of troubles” (PY1, third-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

“I am happy to make foreign friends, but I do not think we can live together. Because I do not think they would like to share bedroom space with us, and they have different life habits and customs” (PY4, four-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

However, some international students pointed out that the physical layout of dorm is one of key factors to create nationality segregation beyond university regulations:

“When I arrived at PKU, I also plan to live with Chinese student on-campus. Because I think I could improve my Chinese language and get Chinese culture experiences from my Chinese roommates. But, the fact is that PKU separates student housing between us, and we need to share space within the room, I do not like that” (exchange student from Poland).

“I know Chinese students need to share space within the room, 4 students in room. I really want to live with Chinese friends, but I do not want share space and facilities together. I need a personal space for bedroom” (WS1, British student).

Social lifestyles differences can be seen as one of key reasons for university applied nationality segregation on UMDs. However, the layout of bedrooms/dorms can be viewed as obstacle to segregate two groups. In effect, international students consider that nationality segregation on housing indeed has reduced social communications for two groups.

“I do not have many chances to make some Chinese friends in university.....we cannot live with Chinese students within the UMDs. I think this segregation causes we lose lots of opportunities to get the Chinese experiences from communication” (WS2, British student).

It is shown that international students prefer to gain cross-cultural experiences from Chinese students to enhance their studenthood, nationality segregations by university. This findings oppose the arguments of international students as ‘self-segregated groups’ within PBSAs of UK (Hubbard, 2008; 2009) and high-rise residential buildings in Auckland of New Zealand (Collins, 2010). On the other hand, PKU provides different types of rooms with different prices within two international student dorms. Two international dorms employed market-oriented approach to create high quality and facilities student apartments, in order to attract international student consumers (Peking University, 2013). It is clear that the regulations by the Ministry of Education treat different ways between two groups, to create the nationality segregation within UMDs.

In addition, university arranges Chinese students into UMDs with 3 fixed prices for each academic year, such as 750 RMB; 1020 RMB and 1200 RMB (except the example of Wanliu, see discussion as below), Chinese student dorms can be viewed as ‘social housing’ to meet the objective of ‘social mixing’ living. In turn, university in general will build up unified quality and facilities dorms to accommodate Chinese students. For example, the facilities and amenities are similar to each dorm in PKU (see Figure 6.2.1; Figure 6.2.2; Figure 6.2.3; Figure 6.4.1; Figure 6.4.2; Figure 6.4.3). Therefore, Chinese student dorms are lacks of financial investments to improve housing quality and facilities within the work-unit of PKU (Wang, 2010). However, research findings argue that one of off-campus indeed provide a high-quality apartment associated with quality facilities for Chinese students, namely Wanliu student apartment. Wanliu student apartment was founded and invested by university enterprise of ‘PKU Resource’, and student accommodation fee charges for 3,600 RMB per/year, which is much more expansive rather than other Chinese accommodation fees. Therefore, students can gain high-quality student living experiences:



“I have been the Yanyuan dorms. Our quality and facilities are better than on-campus dorms. I am lucky, I can live in Wanliu” (PLW1, first-year master student, living in Wanliu).

However, the high cost accommodation fee in Wanliu opposes the objective of ‘social mix’ living. The interview transcripts explain that the accommodation fee is provided by two ‘financial entities’:

“The total accommodation fee is 3,600 RMB per/year. In particular, I paid 1,500 RMB per/year for Wanliu, my supervisor will pay 2,100 RMB per/year for extra part” (PWL1, second-year master student, living in Wanliu).

“I know the price of Wanliu is different to other dorms. I will pay 2,100 RMB per/year for Wanliu. The extra part my supervisor students need to pay by themselves” (A5, Academics in Peking University)

It is clear that students only need to pay 1,500 RMB per/year (less than 50% in total of accommodation fee) to reside in Wanliu, due to the supervisor financial support system in PKU for postgraduate student. The high accommodation fee (compare with dorms on-campus) associated with quality-facilities seem provide quality studenthood for postgraduates who reside in Wanliu, while students who are assigned into other Chinese dorms cannot gain the high-quality student living experiences, in line with the research findings from the UK (Kinton, 2013; Smith and Hubbard, 2014). This is an intended segregation by university arrangement for Chinese students (see further discussion on Chapter 8).

It is important to note that PKU segregates Chinese students by gender into different dorms or floors, in order to manage students’ behaviours, as well as gender segregation (see Plate 7.2). Both male of female Chinese students are agreed on the gender segregated arrangement on UMDs, they focus on the different lifestyles could make ‘troubles’ between each other:

“I believe that segregation between male and female accommodation is better to my student life. Our dorm is a special one at Yanyuan, the ground floor to second floor is for male and third floor to fifth for girls. Boys always make some noises and smoking within room. I do not like this at all. If you live with

girls, you do not need to worry about those issues” (PY7, female postgraduate student, living in Yanyuan).

“FGS2: Boy is stronger than us. If we are living together, I believe that some criminals could happen within the dorm.....FGS4: I strongly support this segregation arrangement to protect our security at university” (conducted from Focus Group 2, Living in Yanyuan).

“We (male and female) have lots of different life habits and customs, so I do not think we have to live within the same dorm” (PC1, male first-year master student, living in Changchunxinyuan).



Plate 7.2: gender segregation by dorms (Author’s photograph)

Arguably, university does not apply the gender segregation into international student housing. Especially, international students consider that communication between male and female is important to their student social life:

‘I know the Chinese girls and boys could not live in the same dorm. But I do not find our global village has this regulation to allow our girls and boys to live together. I do not think we need to segregate boys and girls, and we need social communications between us (PZ1, US student, living in Global Village).

It seems likely that Chinese students prefer to gender segregation arrangement for their accommodations, which is able to reduce some social conflicts between male and female. Moreover, the layouts of dorms cannot provide a personal bedroom

space to accommodate the expansion of student numbers. However, this thesis argues that some Chinese student couples have intensive social relationship between each other, the gender segregation within the dorms leads student couples to seek private space to enjoy their life, namely rental housing off-campus (see further discussion on Section 6.3) On the other hand, there is no regulation to segregate gender for international students. International students have personal bed-rooms as private spaces, and they concern on social communication and activities between male and female. As a result, this thesis argues that the ineffective gender arrangement between Chinese students and international students in fact begs the question in terms of 'social mixing' by the regulations of the Ministry of Education (Smith, 2008; Smith and Hubbard, 2014).

Furthermore, with the increased international student populations, university provides some amenities (e.g. coffee bars) to meet international students' interests. In particular, coffee consumption can be examined as a western consumption lifestyle, with high-priced food and drink (to compare with Chinese food prices in university canteen):

"I like to have a coffee in here. There are only international students to consume in coffee bar. We would like to discuss studying and make friends in here..... Of course, the food and drink in here are more expensive rather than the meals in university canteen" (WS3, international student studying in PKU).

A coffee server in university coffee bar confirmed that:

"This Cafe bar opened in 2008. This bar aims to attract foreign consumers. A lot of international students would like to have a cup of coffee in here. Within last 5 years, you can find lots of foreigners are coming to Beida (campus). I do not think most Chinese students will come here, the prices are not cheap for them" (B1, coffee server in on-campus).

It is shown that coffee bar as dorm amenity creates a segregated space between Chinese students and international students, due to different cultural lifestyle and the food prices. It is an unintended social-spatial segregation on-campus. However, international student associated with their different socio-cultural capitals also enhance the diversity of the campus (see further discussion in Chapter 8).

### 7.2.5 The advantages for students living in UMDs

Although regulations allow students to reside within UMDs, willingness of students living within dorms can be lined into four reasons; such as (1) accommodation fees; (2) locations of UMDs; (3) studying at campus; and (4) the sense of security.

First, Chinese student accommodation fees have four different prices such as 750 RMB p/y; 1020 RMB p/y; 1200 RMB p/y and 1500 RMB p/y (only in Wanliu student apartment). Students consider that there are lacks of quality and facilities within dorms, due to the cheap of accommodation fee:

“Although my dorm is not very good, the cost of accommodation fee (750 RMB p/y) is very cheap. I think the accommodation fee could represent the quality and space, so I could accept it” (PY2, third-year undergraduate, living in type A of Yanyuan).

“The space of room is too crowded for 4 girls and we only have cabinets and 2 bunk beds without anything. But, if I evaluate the quality and facilities of my dorm based on 10 standard score, I will mark 5. This is because you will consider this dorm as the cheapest accommodation fee (750 p/y) at PKU, you will be satisfied’ (PY6, third-year undergraduate, living in type A of Yanyuan).

In addition, Chinese students confirm that accommodation fees make up only a small percentage in their living cost. Based on the students’ interview replies, the range of living cost for full-time students in PKU is about 1,200-3,000 RMB per/month. As such, housing cost is a small part of consumption for students.

Although postgraduate students have free right to live off-campus, they are still willing to live in UMDs. This is because accommodation fees are much lower rather than the fees of rental housing off-campus in Beijing, which is a comparative advantage on student making housing decision:

“The accommodation fee is only 1,020 RMB p/y and I am very happy with this price. If I have a plan to rent a room off-campus, the rent is much more expensive rather than the accommodation fee. That is maybe over 2000 RMB per/month in Beijing” (PY7, first-year master student, living in type B in Yanyuan).

“We could have choices whether live in UMD, but I think most students will decide to live in UMD, because this is a university-managed dorm and the accommodation fee is very cheap. Personally, I am a non-income student. If I rent housing in Beijing, the rent is too expensive for me” (PWL5, first-year master student, living in Wanliu).

It is therefore that Chinese students confirm that the low-cost of accommodation fee as the key factor significantly determined their housing decisions on UMDs.

In the side of international student, some students are willing to live within UMDs, although some accommodation fees are expensive rather than rental housing off-campus. The one of most important reasons is that some international students can apply the Chinese government scholarship to cover their accommodation fees. For example, basically PKU can provide 3.5 US dollar (about 22 RMB) per/day for international students (Peking University website, 2013). From interview transcripts from international students on two international student dorms confirm that:

“I am sorry, I do not know about my accommodation fee in Shaoyuan, because university helps me to apply the scholarship to cover my accommodation fee. So I do not worry about my housing issue in Beijing” (FGS1, Japanese student, living in Shaoyuan).

“I do not know about how much about my accommodation fee, because I have the scholarship to cover it. But I think accommodation fees in global village are expensive rather than the rent housing off-campus” (PZ1, USA student, living in Global Village).

It is clear that university scholarship plays a key role for international student dorms, which is able to save their living cost in Beijing.

Therefore, this thesis argues that the accommodation fees are a key factor in student housing decisions within global context (Smith, 2005; 2006; Fincher and Shaw, 2009; Collins, 2010).

Second, location of UMDs can be viewed as one of key reasons for students to live in UMDs on and off-campus. In particular, Yanyuan and Shaoyuan are located within on-campus:

“The dorm is located on-campus. There are lots of canteens near my dorm and close to the library and academic buildings” (PY2, third-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

“I prefer to live in on-campus, because accommodation location is close to library and academic buildings. It is convenient for studying and social life on-campus” (FGS1, Japanese student, living in Shaoyuan).

It is shown that location of accommodations is key factor to impact studenthood (Smith, 2008; 2009), due to amenities and academic spaces (library and lecture building) are located within campus. Students are willing to reside within UMDs to save their travelling time between living space and studying space (Kinton, 2013; Hubbard, 2008; 2009).

Chuangchunyuán/Chuangchunxinyuán and Zhongguanxinyuán are close to the campus (see Figure 5.1), students only cross road (Yiheyuan Road/Zhongguancun North Road) to campus:

“Chuangchunxinyuán is close the campus, we only cross the Yiheyuan Road to the campus. The location is very convenient to us” (PC1, first-year master, living in Chuangchunxinyuán).

“There is a flyover to connect the Global Village and campus. I can save time to go to the university” (PZ2, US student, living in Global Village).

The locations of two-off campus dorms are close to campus, students can easily travel to campus to spend their studying time. Although Wanliu student apartment is far away from campus, university provides a university bus as a transport to connect off-campus students and campus:

‘I always stay at campus for studying during my academic semesters. Before that I think the distance is a problem for me. But, university provides a bus for us. It is only cost 10 minutes for travelling. I just need to catch up the timetable of university bus..... and the bus ticket is very cheap, our (students) only pay a 0.4 RMB for once with our student bus card. So, I do not think the distance is a problem for me to living in Wanliu’ (PWL2, second-year master student, living in Wanliu).

It is concluded that locations of UMDs is an important advantage for students' consideration on UMDs, especially some postgraduate students and international students have decisions to rental housing off-campus. In other word, university-managed student housing always provides the advantage of housing for student decision-making on housing (Kinton, 2013).

Third, most Chinese students, in interview replies, focus on learning academic knowledge and studying rather than socializing life during their high education stage. Learning academic knowledge and studying, therefore, can be considered as the key objective for them. This is because that the traditional Chinese value of Confucianism allow student to learn knowledge priorities in studenthood (Wang, 2011; Liu and Wang, 2010). Research findings reveal that Chinese students living in the UMDs can improve their studying:

“Of course, I would like to live in the UMD. I can share my studying ideas with my roommates (same programme) and we can exchange our ideas to improve my studying” (PY3, fourth-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

In addition to the locations of UMDs closed to lecture rooms and library, students prefer to live within UMDs to save time consumption:

“When I open my eye, studying and coursework are in my mind. Living on UMD is close to the school building and library. This is very convenient to me” (PY2, third-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

“Although Wanliu is off-campus, I usually stay in on-campus for class and self-studying all day-time” (PWL5, first-year master student, living in Wanliu).

It is similar to the student returning UMA on-campus in UK context, final-years students are willing to reside in UMA for studying, due to the location of UMA and studying pressure (Hubbard, 2008).

Finally, by the effects of gated management, most Chinese students are agreed on gated management to secure their properties within the dorm. In particular, female students consider that UMDs can improve security for them:

“The advantage of dorm is secured by university. And I do not think my parents will allow me to rent housing off-campus in the sophisticated society” (PY5, third-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

“I can feel security in dorm, because the dorm manager does not allow others to enter our dorm” (PY3, fourth-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

On the other hand, although gated management for international students is lack effects than Chinese students, they consider that physical structure of UMDs seem to improve the sense of security:

“The fences and the guard are in here to protect students” (PZ1, US student, living in Global Village).

As discussion above, students consider that UMDs can improve security for them, but the UMD associated with gated management indeed isolates student and society (see further discussion on Chapter 8). Some students are willing to rent housing off-campus to meet their interests off-campus.

### **7.2.6 Motivations for students moving off-campus**

Regulations by the Ministry of Education (2004; 2005) indicate that students are able to rent housing off-campus, providing a detailed report for university (including the parents’ agreement and reasons for rental housing and address for university). Therefore, some students may seek housing off-campus to meet their personal interests. It is here to divide into two groups (Chinese student and international student) to explain different reasons to rent housing off-campus. Chinese students have four reasons to seek a room off-campus, such as (1) student couples for private space; (2) environment for studying; (3) quality of living environment; (4) working off-campus.

In the side of Chinese student, first, the gender segregation for dorms perhaps leads student couples to reside within different dorms/floors. Student couples cannot have private space for their close relationships. In effect, student couples will seek to rent housing off-campus for the private space, as one type of studentifiers. Rental housing market, close to campus, provides daily and/or monthly rental rooms to meet student couples’ interests:



“I have lots of different types of rental rooms under my charge. For example, I provide the single room as 120 RMB per/day. Peking University student couples prefer to rent this type of room. I also provide monthly rental rooms. If they are like to rent in here for long time, we can discuss the rents” (HA, housing agent, in Haidianlu).

It is shown that student couples are interested in the single room as a personal private space for them. In addition, some married students will rent housing near campus, especially the postgraduate students:

“Some of my classmates they rent housing off-campus, because they got married” (PWL5, first-year master student, living in Wanliu).

“I rent housing off-campus with my husband about 3500 RMB per/month.....he is a Ph.D. student in Tsinghua University. The important thing is that we are funded by universities, we can pay the housing rent.....the quality and facilities of my apartment are better to UMD in PKU. I have a living room, bed room, kitchen and toilet. This is very nice for us” (FGS4, Ph.D. student, rent housing off-campus).

It is clear that married student couples rent housing off-campus to seek a high-quality apartment for their private space. In particular, the most important factor is that they can be funded by university(s), which is a stable income to maintain their consumptions off-campus.

Interestingly, the regulation of PKU indicates that married Ph.D. student couples are able to apply the couple-room in UMDs in June of each year. University accommodation centre will arrange some couple-rooms for married Ph.D. student couples during their research time at PKU.

However, a Ph.D. student, in interview, argues that there are some changes of rules and conditions for the ‘couple room’ within the dorms:

‘I know some married students would like to rent housing near campus such as Zhongguanyuan (community) and Furongli (community). For example, my friend rent housing in Zhongguanyuan where is close to our college.....Although university will provide a couple-room for married student

couples, two Ph.D. students have to both registered for PKU students. If one party was graduated, they could not apply this couple-room in UMDs. Actually, before 2010, regulation of couple housing is not like this, married student couples could apply the couple-room whether one party are graduate.....the couple-room is a shortage resource now' (PC2, final-year Ph.D. student, living in Changchunxinyuan).

It seems likely that consideration on private space for married students by university forms the 'couple room'. However, with the expansion of postgraduate populations, the additional conditions for the 'couple room' have limited the applicants. As a result, some married students are willing to rent housing near campus to seek quality apartments.

As the discussion in Section 7.2.3 shows, students in PKU have to undertake the pressure from learn knowledge, especially during the examination. Some students who are from privileged class family will plan to rent a room for a month to prepare the exam, which escape shared space within the rooms:

"Some rich students will rent housing off-campus during exam time. Because they do not like the curfew in the dorms and shared bedroom" (PY3, fourth-year undergraduate, living in the Yanyuan).

It is shown that the privileged student intends to rent housing off-campus to escape the shared space and the regulations of curfew, in order to seek quiet private space for preparing their exams. This group can be viewed as one type of Chinese studentifiers into local communities (see discussion on Chapter 6).

At the same time, some undergraduates aim to prepare the master entrance exam (Kaoyan), to enhance their further HE. They will plan to rent rooms near campus:

"I think If I want to kaoyan (master entrance exam), I need a private room off-campus" (PY6, third-year undergraduate, living in the Yanyuan).

It is therefore that the engine of 'studying' drive some students (who are normally from privileged class families) to rent housing near campus.

From the discussion on students' living experiences, the lack of facilities within dorms can be viewed as one of most important problems for students. Students are

willing to rent housing off-campus to gain a quality-life from facilities. For example, before the summer of 2012, a number of students rented housing off-campus, because the shared bedroom is crowded and weather is torridness in the summer of Beijing:

“The summer is very hot in Beijing. Before university installed the air conditioning for us in 2012, lots of students rented housing to spend the summer time. For example, one of my roommates she will leave the dorm when the summer is coming” (PY6, third-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

From the interview transcript reveal that students need a quality of facilities to improve their living experiences. And PKU has installed the air conditioning for each room of UMD after 2012. This effort by university perhaps attract some students returning UMDs during the summer, but the shared bedroom spaced and the fixed amount of electricity lead some privileged students to rent housing off-campus:

“Although air conditioning is in the room, my roommates are willing to rent housing off-campus during summer. Because the room space is too small, and we need to control our amount of electricity for air conditioning” (PY6, third-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

Therefore, some students are willing to pursue ‘freedom style’ to seek for private space off-campus, and this is similar to the wider research on western context. Thus, it is argued that students as a social group prefer to escape regulations and restrictions by institutional actors, in order to pursue their studenthood (Chatterton, 2010).

Finally, some final-year undergraduates and postgraduates will rent housing off-campus, due to they have an internship job off-campus:

‘I will have an internship job in a company, so I need to rent housing off-campus, and I will find a room where is close to my company’ (PY3, fourth-year undergraduate, living in Yanyuan).

‘Some students have internship jobs in companies, they have to rent housing off-campus where are near companies’ (PWL7, third-year master student, living in Wanliu).

When students have internship jobs, they will rent housing near companies to save their travelling time between UMDs and workplaces. This housing making decision opposes the research finding in Xiadu village in Guangzhou (He, 2014); some Chinese students who have part-time jobs will rent housing near campus. It is possible that the internship jobs provide for final-year students who are less studying pressures and focus on working.

On the other hand, the motivations for international student rental housing off-campus are different to Chinese students, such as (1) comparative accommodation fee; (2) independent lifestyle; (3) cross-culture experience; and (4) part-time job.

First, although there are different types of student apartments with different prices in the UMDs, international students consider that accommodation fees are much more expensive rather than rental housing off-campus, especially for students who cannot be funded by university scholarship cover UMD accommodation fees:

“I think the accommodation fee is much more expensive than rental housing off-campus. And I have some friends to rent housing off-campus, because they do not have the scholarship to support their living in Global Village” (PZ1, US student, living in Global Village).

It is clear that the scholarship can be seen as a factor to impact student housing decision-making.

Second, international students who rent housing off-campus consider that ‘independent lifestyle’ is important to their life; and the layout of dorms and gated management can be viewed as two barriers have had impacted for their socializing within the UMDs:

‘Living off-campus is freedom. I can invite my friends to my apartment to hold a party, but you cannot do this in within the university-managed dorms” (WS1, exchange student from the University of Copenhagen, living in Wudaokou)

“Before I came to China, I had enquired some housing questions to the last grade students who had been the programme (exchange programme between PKU and Cambridge University). They told that Shaoyan is not a good choice for our foreign students, because you have to show your passport to access your dorm. If you invite your friends to your room, this is a problem.....Interesting, we have 11 students (exchange programme from Cambridge University), we are not living on-campus, as well as the oxford students making same decisions (exchange programme).....I think we (international students) need private space and ‘free lifestyle’, and we can get different experiences off-campus’ (WS2, exchange programme student from the University of Cambridge, living in Wudaokou).

It is clear that international students (western students) need private space and free time to organize their social life beyond studying time (Hubbard, 2008; 2009). As the words of ‘different experience’ is an important factor to make their decisions to rent housing off-campus.

Finally, international students in PKU, in interview, emphasise that cross-culture experience is important factor for their studying in China. Interestingly, some students are funded by university scholarship, who still rent housing off-campus:

“My Canadian friend got the scholarship to cover accommodation fee in global village, he still rented an apartment within Huaqingjiayuan community in Wudaokou. He believed that the ‘real life’ in Beijing is to rent housing off-campus to understand the society” (PZ2, US student, living in global village).

In addition, some international students have the part-time jobs off-campus. Rental housing off-campus is convenient for them while they can gain the cross-culture experiences from part-time jobs:

“I am teaching English off-campus, (the working location) is only 10min by walk from my apartment” (SW4, exchange programme student from The University of Cambridge, living in Wudaokou).

“I rent apartment in Wudaokou that is very good for me to find a job. Before I was teaching English, ten years old, a Chinese boy, one hour, three times for a week.....Now, I am in a TV show, an English TV, also this is a part-time job

and 2 days for two weeks, This is very funny, I can get the payment and I also get the experiences in China” (SEW3, exchange programme student from The University of Cambridge, living in Wudaokou).

As a result, international students consider rental housing is a way to gain cross-culture experiences in China while the gated UMDs can be viewed as an ‘enclave’ to segregate students and society.

### **7.2.7 The rise of student-oriented business: Food Street**

The rise of student-oriented business has unfolding close to campus, namely a street named Changchunyuanmeishijie (in Chinese) opposites the west gate of campus (see Plate 6.1). As He (2014: 9) claims: “near-campus commercial development targeting university students, also known as bangxiaojie or banxiaocun in Chinese (literally meaning commercial streets or villages parasitical to university campus) has become a common phenomenon in many Chinese cities.” According to the official website of ‘Changchun Garden Food Street’ (2013), the ‘Food Street’ opened in May of 2009 with a 5-story building, with occupied total area of 21,000m<sup>2</sup>. Beijing Haidian supply and marketing cooperative centre (a state-owned enterprise) has invested and managed in this ‘Food Street’. On the other hand, the ‘Food Street’ is open to all private investors who are able to service business, in order to build a young and fashion consumer centre (Changchun Garden Food Street official website, 2013). There are different food styles (e.g. dinner, snack, hot-pot, barbecue, fast food and coffee) to attract different social groups (see Plate 7.3), including international students and Chinese students and local residents. In particular, students in PKU are one of main groups to consume food on this street, because YanYuan and Shaoyuan (on-campus) and Chuangchunyuan/Changchunxinyuan (off-campus) surround ‘Food Street’ (see Figure 6.1). As a local businessman describes that:

“I have managed this restaurant since 2009 .....the location of restaurant is opposite to the west gate of PKU, as first restaurant is located to the entrance of Food Street (see Plate 7.3). Peking University student is the main group for food consumption in here. They make up nearly 70% in total of customers” (Businessman 2, in Food Street).

In the side of student, students associated with their socio-culture capitals have enhanced business on the 'Food Street'. A Peking University lecturer has evidently seen the development of student-oriented business:

“When I was a Ph.D. student lived in Changchunxinyuan in 2008, there is no 'Food Street'. So we (off-campus students) have to walk to university canteens to have meals..... when the 'Food Street' had built up, different restaurants provide different meal options for us, and we were willing to spend our social life on Food Street”



Plate 7.3: Food Street (Author's photograph)

In addition, Food Street provides social spaces for students to organize their social activities:

“Food Street is one of important places for us. For example, if our classmates have their birthdays, we will go to Food Street to celebrate and have a dinner

together. I like this atmosphere in Food Street” (PC1, master student living in Changchunxinyuan).

“Although there are a lot of university canteens on-campus, sometime I would like to come with my friends to have dinners on Food Street, especially in the weekend” (PY6, undergraduate student, living in Yanyuan).

“Students would like to invite their friends to have dinners. As you know, Chinese social life is on the dinner table, they always call lots of friends for one dinner table, especially in the weekend, in the end of semester and graduate dates. Therefore, restaurant business is very busy during this period” (B2, student-led business in Food Street).

Food Street can be viewed as an important social space for young group consumption off-campus, this is because that there are lacks of social space within the dorms. Moreover, the shared consumptions by young group is important factor to promote local business development (Smith, 2005)

Due to the crowded environments and taste of food within the university canteens, international students often prefer to consume food on ‘Food Street’, and they also consider that ‘Food Street’ is an important place for socializing:

“I like to come here (food street) to have good meal with my friends, even some Chinese friends. I prefer that, is relaxing” (WS3, international student living in Wudaokou).

“In last semester, we usually go to canteen. But now we do not usually go to here, because of crowded. So, we go to ‘Food Street’, there are lots of food in here. To compare with canteen, food price is expensive, but the environment is good for me..... although university canteen is a good value for money, but the food is not great” (WS2, international students living in Wudaokou).

It is shown that international students consider that ‘Food Street’ provides different food tastes and friendly environments for their consumptions, which enhance their social life experiences in studenthood. At the same time, local businessmen provide a diversity of food meals to attract different social groups. As a businessman confirmed:



“We are welcome to all student-consumers. For example, I have some meals for international students with English menu. Although my meals prices are not cheap, the quality is good.....And we will give some promotions to attract much more student-consumers. For example, the student discount promotes in the weekend” (B2, student-oriented business in Food Street).

However, the expansion of student-oriented business implicitly creates some conflicts between students and local business. For example, a student’ complaint found from PKU student on-line forum (BBS) described that some student-led business services will make noisy in the early morning to play music to attract consumers. In addition, sport events such as 2010 World Cup (FIFA) and 2012 European Football Championship have impact to students living conditions:

“In a case, there is a World Cup in 2010 summer. The Food Street is very noisy in the night, because lots of students will go to food street watch football games. Some students reported this noisy issue for student union, and student union has some negotiations with local business to reduce the noise in the night” (interview conducted from focused group 4, Peking University).

Although some business promotion can attract increased student-consumers in ‘Food Street’, social activities can make noise to irrupt other students’ benefits within the dorms, namely a social conflict between businessman and studentifiers (Chatterton, 1999; 2010). As a result, ‘Food Street’ can be viewed as a highly-studentified space by students living within the UMDs on-and off-campus (UniversitiesUK, 2006). This finding argues that the near-campus commercial areas not only are encouraged by studentifiers living rental housing off-campus (see Chapter 2), but also be promoted by full-time students living within university-managed dormitories.

### **7.3 The impacts of studentification on Haidianlu Community**

Smith (2008; 2012) points out that a community living over 20% students can be defined as a studentified community. As the official data of Haidianlu community in 2013 is shown that there is less 50% local residents to reside in community (see Chapter 6.4); and three groups of studentifiers (full-time PKU students, Kaoyanzu and ‘ant tribe’) are the main tenants to rent housing in Haidianlu. Due to the ‘political

gateway' for the official data access, it is difficult to map the total and detailed number of studentifiers populations data within the Haidianlu. This thesis argues that the population change by the effects of three groups of studentifiers has rapidly transformed Haidianlu into the studentified community associated with the housing form of HMO, based on empirical research findings.

In this Section (7.3) analyses studentified Haidianlu community into four conceptual dimensions: Section 7.3.1 considers the impacts of economics on Haidianlu; Section 7.3.2 draws some social changes within the Haidianlu by the processes of studentification; Section 7.3.3 introduces the effects of studentification on culture; and Section 7.3.4 points out that the processes of studentification have changed the physical of housing structure and environment of Haidianlu.

### **7.3.1 The impacts on economies**

By the changes by welfare housing policy in the late 1980s (Wang, 2010) and the rapid development of housing market (Wu, 2009; 2012), affluent local residents increasingly have transformed their availability of ownership housing into housing market (Zhang, 2011). At the same time, active housing market can produce the housing agency to service residential property between tenant and landlord (Smith, 2005; 2008). It is not surprising that there are different types of housing agencies to collect housing resources within the Haidianlu. On one hand, some formal and large-scale agencies such as 'Home Link' and 'Woaiwojia' have collected rented housing resources, they package the type of single-story rooms (about 4,000-5,000 RMB p/m) to rent for affluent groups who are working close to Haidianlu community. On the other hand, a number of small-scale housing agencies provide rental housing services for studentifier groups. Interestingly, small-scale housing agencies are running their own business within communities, as similar role of informal letting agency in Haidianlu They have collected rented housing resources from housing ownership and restructured apartment layout to design different types of rooms to meet different demands from three types of studentifiers, which are similar to the studentifying urban village in Guangzhou (He, 2014). For example, an interview finding shows that the housing agent has charged over 20 rented rooms, while also managing a restaurant in Haidianlu (HA1, Haidianlu community). Informal letting agents employ flexible management to provide different types of rental rooms to

attract studentifier-consumers, in the form of HMO. As a result, the informal housing agent plays a key role in the student housing economy in Haidianlu. On the other hand, the active housing market has transferred the type of 'single-family' housing into the form of HMO, which has reduced the levels of owner-occupation to produce the inflation of housing property (Smith, 2005; 2008).

It is not surprising that local housing rent fees have significantly increased within last three years. In a case, according to local newspaper report (Beijing Morning Post, 26/09/2010), a rented bed in collective room was about 400-600 RMB p/m in 2010. To date, interview replies describes that a rented bed in collective room is about 650-1000 RMB p/m. It is clear that the high-demand on rented bed spaces within the collective rooms has stimulated the increased rent, which is an important income for landlord and informal letting agency. The key reason is that the increased Kaoyanzu and 'ant tribe' prefer to rent within collective room to promote the prices of rent. Arguably, the rise of rental housing fee possibly forms the 'threshold' to other social groups (Hubbard, 2008; 2009), such as some 'Kanyanzu' who are from low-income families (Lian, 2008).

In addition, "student presence ensures the viability of some retail businesses" (Smith, 2006:13), while service businesses such as retails and restaurants are benefit to the studentifier groups (especially for Kaoyanzu and 'ant tribe') in the studentified community of Haidianlu. More specifically, full-time PKU students are able to access the facilities services on-campus. However, due to the social identities of Kaoyanzu and 'ant tribe' (non-registered full-time by PKU), both groups are unable to consume food on canteens on-campus. Therefore, consumptions by Kaoyanzu and ant tribe within the Haidianlu are able to enhance the local service economy:

"I will find food in here, there are lots of snack in the entrance of Haidianlu. I cannot go to university canteen, because they need to swap student ID card consumption" (HK 1, Kaoyanzu, living in Haidianlu)

Furthermore, research findings indicate that two types of 'studentifiers' prefer to consume food within the community, due to the layout of apartment has been restructured kitchen space into bedroom space. Therefore, there is no facility provided for studentifiers on daily food consumption.

### 7.3.2 The impacts on social

Population change can be viewed as a key outcome by the effects of studentification on social change (Smith, 2005; 2008; 2012). Within Chinese context, the increased studentifiers groups are moving into Haidianlu, which create a young population structure. An interview sample from a PKU's undergraduate, who has already completed a coursework (living conditions for Haidianlu), describes that:

“This community is for the floating population living. A few local residents and older people will live in this space, and increased young groups are moving in Haidianlu. Especially, we have spoken to the neighbourhood committee each building only has a few local residents, especially most elder people are living in Haidianlu.”

In the side of local resident, an elder local resident confirms that:

“Most of my neighbours are moving out buildings, and now lots of students are moving within the building” (HR1, Haidianlu community).

It is clear that Haidianlu community is undergoing the process of population change: (1) reduced permanent residential populations and increased floating populations; and (2) decreasing family groups and the growth of single and young groups. As the local resident focuses on the ‘lose neighbours’, population changes indeed reduce the levels of social attachment for permanent residents in Haidianlu, as same as the reduction of social attachment in urban villages (Wu, 2012).

Studentifier can be viewed as a seasonal-moved social group to reside within residential community (Smith, 2005; 2009). Consideration on Chinese university academic semester arrangements, Chinese full-time students generally return home for two vacations: the first one is ‘Hanjia’ (in Chinese) in the Chinese spring festival (normally one month in Chinese lunar calendar either January or February); and the second is ‘Shujia’ (in Chinese) in summer season (July-to-September). During two vacations, full-time students will leave the rental housing. Seasonal movement of Kaoyanzu is different to full-time students, this is because the date of entrance master exam is usually in January of each year; Kaoyanzu will return their universities or home to wait for the exam results until March. Therefore, Kaoyanzu will leave their rental rooms after the entrance master exam. As a result, with the

increased seasonal-moved studentifiers, Haidianlu has transformed into a 'ghost community' during the academic vacations and the after entrance master exam (He, 2014; Smith, 2005). The seasonal movement by studentifiers is tied to negative effect for local community cohesion.

In addition, studentifier can be seen as a high-mobile social group produce crime problems to undermine local security. As Munro and Livingston (2011: 6) describe:

“student households are not always careful about making sure doors and windows are secured and they are targets because they will typically have multiple copies of valuable and easily portable items (MP3 players, mobile phones, laptops).”

Three types of studentifiers are only living within the rental apartments for night, full-time students and Kaoyanzu will spend most time (including weekend) on the campus and 'ant tribe' needs to work during the day-time (see discussion on Section 6.3.2). The high-mobile movement by studentifiers perhaps causes the rise of crime for local community. However, empirical findings in Guangzhou (China) claims that studentifiers living in community is able to reduce crimes, this is because that the student represent a HE group to control their anti-social behaviours while the local committee enhanced security for community stability (He *et al.*, 2011). This thesis in here points out that fieldwork is difficult to collect the official data within the Haidianlu about crimes through the informal research. However, the interview by an undergraduate who completed a coursework about Haidianlu describes that:

“local committee considers that floating populations is a big problem for Haidianlu security. Thus, local police station will reinforce the patrol to protect residents' properties.”

It seems likely that the high-mobile studentifiers could bring the crimes for local community; beside the reinforced police forces can enhance the sense of security for local residents, as same as the 'walking safe community' by the impacts of studentification in Canada context (Fox, 2008).

Expansive lifestyle by studentifier always makes some social conflicts with local residents (Smith, 2005; Chatterton, 1999; 2010). Noise nuisance can be viewed as

the key social issue between studentifiers and local residents within Haidianlu community:

“I heard about the social conflict reported by an older grandmother (local resident), she said that they (studentifiers) always make noisy in the community” (PY5, the research project conducted in Haidianlu).

In addition, the feedback by local residents do not concern on studentifiers social life within the Haidianlu:

“Although there are lots of students living in here, I do not care about their behaviours and lifestyle. Most students only live in here during night; we have different lifestyles” (HR1, Haidianlu community).

This thesis in here argues that local residents (especially older residents) and studentifiers can be considered as two self-segregated social groups, they do not care about lifestyle and behaviours for each other. Therefore, the increased young population density recently has challenged community cohesion in Haidianlu.

### **7.3.3 The impacts on culture**

Smith (2005:75) points out that “the gathering together of young persons with a putatively shared culture and lifestyle, and consumption practices linked to certain types of retail and service infrastructure.” Indeed, the expansive lifestyle and fashion consumption by studentifiers’ cultural capitals provide a number of opportunities for businessman to create a range of cultural events (e.g. music venue or art exhibition) (Chatterton, 1999; 2010).

Research findings indicate that three groups of studentifiers in Haidianlu represent a low-led cultural consumption to take place on local business services within Haidianlu, which is similar to the research in one of urban villages of Guangzhou (He, 2014). This section explores the key reason to explain the low-end cultural changes by the impacts of studentification, as well as geographical location. More specifically, the Haidianlu community is a physical enclosure by walls and gates. The residential compound does not have enough space to provide cultural facilities with governmental orders. In addition, the location of Haidianlu is close to campus and ‘Food Street’, studentifiers are able to share culture facilities provided by PKU and

'Food Street'. For instances, most sport facilities and theatre within the PKU are open for public, and 'Food Street' provides different types of leisure spaces to attract student-consumers. Therefore, studentifiers associated with their socio-cultural capitals are able to enhance the culture development for PKU and 'Food Street' rather than within the Haidianlu.

### **7.3.4 The impacts on physical**

Consideration on the impacts of studentification on physical, this section will discuss for two parts: (1) the physical structure of rented housing; (2) the physical environment of community.

First, the layout of apartment has been restructured by property owners and agents, in order to attract more tenants to make profits. For instance, the parlour room has converted into the collective room and/or collective room, which is indirectly reduce the leisure space for tenants. Moreover, with the increased tenants, the restructured room only provides one wishing room which perhaps cause some issues between each tenant, as same as the layout of UMDs. Therefore, the restructured housing layout make some negative effects impacted on the living experiences for three studentifier groups. This key finding opposes the studentified urban village in Guangzhou (He, 2014), which local residents improve housing quality and structures to attract student-consumers.

Second, the layout of the apartment attracts increased studentifier-consumers, some unregulated studentifiers' behaviours create the increased refuses, which downgrade the physical environment for Haidianlu community:

"An old resident said that students destroy the local environment. Sometimes they throw refuse from their apartment windows, or they will leave their refuse in the corridors within the building. I really dislike this, but I cannot stop them doing so" (PY5, the research project conducted in Haidianlu).

It is clear that some unregulated studentifiers' behaviours not only downgrade the local physical environment, but also have had impacted on local residents' living experiences (Smith, 2005; 2008; 2012).

## **7.4 The Impacts of studentification on Wudaokou**

The expansion of internationalized HE within China has given an opportunity to enlarge the growth of international student numbers to reside in Wudaokou. Although different types of social groups are working and living in this dynamic neighbourhood, international students associated with their capitals (social; economic and cultural) play produce the studentification within local contexts.

In the first part, analyses the impacts of processes of studentification for four conceptual dimensions as four sections: (1) Section 7.4.1 discusses on economic; (2) Section 7.4.2 analyses the impacts of social; (3) Section 7.4.3 focused on the impacts of culture; and (4) Section 7.4.4 discusses the physical impacts. Moreover, in the rest of part (7.4.5) will explore the relations between studentification and gentrification within the hotspot gated community of 'Huaqingjiayuan'.

### **7.4.1 The impacts on economics**

The economic impacts of studentification cause that the type of single-family apartments have converted into the type of private-rented apartment as repackaged housing product in housing market, which changes the local housing structure (Smith, 2005; UniversitiesUK, 2006). Particularly, housing agency plays a key role in the change of housing market:

“They (homeowners) just need to give rental willingness for us and we will charge the apartment.....they still keep the residential property but they do not live in here” (WA1, housing agent in Wudaokou).

“Indeed, there are two methods to run rental housing business in Wudaokou. First of all, homeowners rent housing by themselves. Second, our company (housing agency) plans to collect some apartment resources.....for example, we will contact with homeowners who plan to rent their apartments for students. And we try to convince them to put their apartments into our hands. We will manage their apartments and rent for the housing market. For example, the homeowner bid the rented apartment (3 bedding rooms associated with one living room and washing room) for 8000 RMB p/m to our company, and we will rent this apartment for 8500 RMB p/m in housing market, as the 500RMB for our profit ” (WA2, housing agent in Wudaokou).



It is shown that housing agency indeed plays the role as letting agency (in English context) to make a 'bridge' between landlord and tenant within housing market; they provide different rental housing information to earn the profit from the charged rental apartment within the gated communities (Sage *et al.*, 2010).

In addition, some letting housing agencies also provide a convenient rental housing product to attract student and young consumers, in order to enlarge their profits from housing market:

"Now, our Home Link (housing agency company) provides a product called 'Ziru'(the easy way as meaning in English) for student consumers, you can easily find the product via our website. Ziru provides lots of rental housing information and the rent is about 2000-3000 RMB p/m, including Internet without electrical and water fees. Each month, we will clean the apartments. Especially, students can use the Internet to pay their rents by each month. On the other hand, landlord needs to sign contract with us. We will clean and give some furniture in the apartment. If there are any problems in apartments, student tenants just need to contact with us, we represent the role of landlord to solve problems for students" (WA1, housing agent in Wudaokou).

It is notable that letting housing agency can save the time and cost for landlord in order to help them to deal with their private-rented apartments, and also they will provide some student favourite facilities such as Internet and furniture to meet students' interests. In addition, housing agency repackages rental apartments to offer reasonable prices for student-consumers who can pay their rent via on-line system. In this sense, student-consumers can compare with different types of rental rooms/apartments to meet their personal interests, which promote the active rental housing market in Wudaokou.

However, the high demand of student housing are always associated with a high housing rent (Smith, 2006), students who are from low-income families are marginalized. A master PKU's student who was a Kaoyanzu confirms that:

"I also was looking for a private and peaceful room in Wudaokou, but the price is too expensive, and my family is unable to undertake this price."

It is shown that some Kaoyanzu intends to rent the high-quality housing in Wudaokou near to university, but the increased accommodation rent can be examined as a 'threshold' (Hubbard, 2008 and 2009) to resist other social groups to live in gated communities.

Moreover, studentifiers' activities have encouraged local service businesses (e.g. restaurants; retails; bars; clubs and clothing shops), which are given the label of student-oriented businesses within local economic structure (Smith, 2005; 2006). According to the research on business shops in Wudaokou (Wang, 2013), there are nearly 200 shops located within Wudakou; particularly, the restaurants and snake shops makes up 28.8%; the total of bars and clubs makes up 12.25%; and other shops are clothing and barber and gyms. This Chinese research finding also indicates that students and white-collar workers are two main consumption groups in Wudaokou, especially coffee bars are largely unfolding in Wudaokou to meet international students' needs (Wang, 2013). International students, in interview, confirm that their activities are concentrated within Wudaokou:

"I always go to Wudaokou..... There are lots of international restaurants for foreigners, and I would like to eat the western food rather than Chinese food" (WS4, international student living in Wudaokou).

"Eating and drinking in Wudakou. You can find the menu have two languages: English and Chinese. So, there are no a language problem for our foreigners to enjoy life in Wudaokou" (WS2, international student living in Wudaokou).

Therefore, the research findings reveal that international students beyond their lecture and studying time are willing to consume in Wudaokou. This is because local business services provide different choices on food consumptions to meet international students' interests, especially the English service reduced the language barrier for international student-consumers (Collins, 2010).

Moreover, businessman plays a key role in the local services economy development, duet to they provide different promotions to attract studentifiers' consumptions (Smith, 2005; Chatterton, 1999; 2010). Research findings interestingly found that some bars and restaurants own by foreigners who were international students studied in universities near Wudaokou, such as two famous international bars 'Lush' and 'Plan

B' (Peking University, 2013). Those business services by foreigners who have experienced on student consumptions behaviours are able to provide more international-student oriented services to meet their demands. It is similar to the economic process of studentification in Nanting village (Guangzhou, China). Some studentifiers directly run the housing rental business. For example, they will rent the whole building from local villagers to restructure into high-quality rooms to cater for student couples (He, 2014). Therefore, some studentifiers using their social networks and cultural consumption experiences can become the role of student-oriented businessman to promote local economy.

International students importantly have encouraged some shops which run by immigrants, and snake shops are much cheaper rather than international bars and restaurants:

“There are lots of food consumption places in Wudaokou, such as snake shops with cheap food. We usually go to those shops. People (who run those shops) are very nice and they are from Shanxi (one of province in China). Even though they are immigrants, they are very welcome to us. For example, yesterday, they said hello to us, I feel very friendly” (WS3, international students living in Wudaokou).

Therefore, immigrants can offer comparative food for international students, which enhance the diverse business. Importantly, this thesis in here claims that some immigrants in Beijing only have low-income to run low-end consumption business (Pow, 2007); international student consumptions therefore can be viewed as an important income for them.

Consideration on the education network within Wudaokou, the increased international students have an advantage on their language abilities, especially students can speak English. The English language training institutions are popular in Wudaokou, which is an important business service into local economy. In Wudaokou, there are two main groups to study English: (a) a number of children who are from privileged families living in gated community intend to learn English language; (b) a large number of Chinese students (from privileged families) studying in universities near Wudaokou are planning to English-speaking countries.

“I have a part-time job and easily to find part-jobs in Wudaokou. I am teaching English and 4 hours per week for local university students.....and the job of teaching English is only 10min by walk from my house” (WS2, international student from UK living in Wudaokou).

“I was teaching English in Wudaokou, ten years old, a Chinese boy, 3 times a week, each time for one hour” (WS3, international student from UK living in Wudaokou).

It is clear that international students associated with language advantage can be considered as “a flexible part-time labour force undertaking seasonal employment” (Smith, 2006:13) to promote English language training institutions development. On the other hand, the service business prefers to recruit English-speaking students in this international student clustered location, in order to save time and cost. On the other hand, international students are not only to improve the local residents and universities Chinese students English language abilities, but also they indirectly enhance local employees’ communication skills which create profits for their companies within global business:

“I am teaching English in an English training institution in Wudaokou. Lots of international students are teaching English for Chinese.....people are not only students, some are working in local high-tech companies and they also need to study English” (WS6, International student from U.S.A living in Wudaokou).

As a result, the language advantage of international student not only provides English language service for local residents and university students; but also they directly improve the development of local companies. This key finding also confirms that the rise of language training institutions is driven by the increased student populations in Auckland in New Zealand (Collins, 2010). In other word, international students can enhance both business and education networks in Wudaokou.

#### **7.4.2 The impacts on social**

Within the UK context, studentification on social aspect possibly is given much more negative effects between students and local residents, due to the expansive studentifiers’ behaviours, such as noise nuisance; anti-social behaviour; increased

levels of crime and so forth (Smith, 2006; Hubbard, 2008; 2009). Similarly, the significant social issue is noise nuisance by expansive lifestyle of students, within gated communities of Wudaokou. Although high-quality apartment within gated community can be viewed as a private and peaceful space for residents, night parties organized by international students in fact have had impacted for other social groups' life:

“I had been other student party, policeman arrived, because neighbours called policeman to deal with our noise nuisance. So, next time, when we hold a party in Friday night, we bought some food to my neighbours to notice them, we will make some noise” (WS1, international student living in gated community of Wudaokou).

International students seek to rent housing off-campus, due to the 'free' living style for socializing. In addition, According to the report of 'Wang Wei: a policewoman management for a hundreds of foreigners' from Beijing Evening Newspaper (2012), a group of South Korean students often made noise during night. Local police forces always had to regulate students' behaviours in the mid-nights and mediate social conflicts between permanent residents and international students. In effect, policewoman who manages housing safety in local community needed to work overtime in Wudaokou (Beijing Evening Newspaper, 2012). Therefore, the rise of social conflicts (especially noise nuisance) by the different lifestyle between local residents and international students has challenged local governance within different gated communities. However, from the interview transcript has shown that international students can comply with the 'rule' to create neighbourly relations with local residents within gated communities. In this sense, it is convinced that studentifiers residing with the gated communities can be seen as the gentrifiers apprentice, by the practice of living with gentrifiers (Smith and Holt, 2007; Hubbard, 2008; 2009).

In addition, international students seem to be 'self-segregated group' to reside within the PBSA of gated communities (Smith and Hubbard, 2014). First, Fincher and Shaw (2009) point out that international student group in Melbourne prefer to reside within high-rise and high-quality apartments to conduct their social life in urban, as a self-segregated group. Practices by the Student Accommodation Centre play the key

roles in the segregation for international students. Similarly, PKU will provide English version website for international students to choose accommodations either UMDs or rent housing off-campus; international student housing administrators provide a number of rented housing information to encourage international student group to rent housing off-campus, due to shortage of university-managed international student housing, such as Peking University English official website, 2013. Therefore, university administrative practices on housing arrangement not only produce 'self-segregated' international student into UMDs by institutional arrangement, but also drive some international students to 'self-segregation' within the gated communities by the shortage of UMDs. Moreover, local housing letting agency focuses on provided high-quality and facilities apartments associated with high rent prices to attract international student-consumers. International students with their friends (usually from same ethnics and national identities) can be viewed as the intensive friendship group (Fincher and Shaw, 2009; Hubbard, 2008; 2009) intends to rent apartments in gated communities:

"You can see lots of housing agencies in Wudaokou.....I like the apartment to share housing with my classmate (also a white from UK), the accommodation fees is 8,000 RMB p/m, so 4,000 RMB for each.....You know, I am very happy to live in this gated community with my friend" (WS2, international student living in Wudaokou).

It is therefore that practices of university housing arrangement and the letting housing agency and the friendship of students produce self-segregated group of international students living within the gated communities.

In addition, international students consider that they are a marginalized group within gated communities, due to lack of communication with local residents:

"I think, sancaitang (gated community), people keep their self, not very open. That is interesting, maybe this is Wudaokou" (WS2, international student living in Wudaokou).

"I only have a few communications with local community, just say hello with my Chinese neighbours. We do not have any social relations and I do not know them. But that does not mean they are not good, they are friendly. I do

not have much more opportunities to make Chinese friends within the building” (WS1, international student living gated communities of Wudaokou).

“I think they (neighbours) do not like to talk with us. Sometime, I will say hello with my neighbours, but they do not have reaction. You know, in UK, when people meet someone, we will say hello and say welcome to our community. But here I feel strange. Because we are foreigners, we feel be cold.....Some people are very nice but most people do not contact with us. Even we can speak Chinese, they do not want to speak with us” (WS3, international student living in gated community of Wudaokou).

It seems likely that local residents are a ‘self-enclosed’ group, which lack of social communications with international students. This key finding confirms that the studentification within gated communities in Wudaokou, in line with the vertical studentification of Spain (Garmendia, *et al.*, 2012) However, within Chinese context, international students consider that language is not a problem for communication, to create two self-segregated groups (local resident and international student) within the gated communities. This contrasts with Collins (2010) findings about language as a problem between local residents and international students. The reasons for the ‘social segregation between two groups is tied to culture and lifestyle differences (Hubbard, 2008; 2009) and the ‘gating’ identity for residents within gated communities (Lees, 2008).

It emphasizes that that the active housing market gives rise to the rent as the valuable profit for landlord and housing agency, the levels of owner-occupation indeed has decreased within gated communities (Smith, 2005). Property owners has transformed into the role of landlords and moving out gated communities. At the same time, affluent international students as the seasonal residents are living in those apartments, namely the population change in gated community:

“They (property owners) just need to give rental information for us and we will help them to rent apartments.....they still keep the property but they do not live in here” (WA1, Housing agent in Wudaokou).

Property owners consider that international student consumption on rental housing is an important income for them, thus they are willing to invest in rental housing market and moving out of gated communities.

#### **7.4.3 The impacts on culture**

Wudaokou was a famous landmark for punk music venue in Beijing (Peng, 2001). Although the processes of redevelopment and the rise of gated communities have changed infrastructure of Wudaokou, this neighbourhood still represents its culture value to create different types of music events to attract young consumptions. It is here to draw two examples for the rise of electronic music and rock music; 'Lush' club is one of important music venues for electronic music fans (see Plate 7.4), it organizes electronic music festive to attract international students (Peking University, 2013); Second, 'D22' is a club to nourish rock music (see Plate 7.5), the club manager does not only organize rock music bands to play in the club, but also provides lots of cheaper alcohol drinks to attract young groups who are interested in rock music (Peking University, 2013). In order to explain the reasons for the rapid music industry in Wudaokou, first of all, the proprietor of 'Lush' club indeed is an international students who was studying near Wudaokou, thus he can understand the ways of international students cultural consumptions and has experienced music culture in Wudaokou. Second, the increased international student groups with their diverse culture capital and demands are able to improve the development of different types of music to enhance music reputation for Wudaokou. It is not surprising that the diverse cultural impacts in Wudaokou are driven by the group of international students associated with their expansive lifestyle (Chattern, 1999; 2000; 2010).





Plate 7.4: Lush Bar (source from <http://www.mygola.com/lush-p104482/nearby-restaurants>)



Plate 7.5: D22 club (source from [http://fiveprime.org/flickr\\_hvmnd.cgi?method=GET&sorting=Interestingness&photo\\_type=100&page=6&search\\_domain=Tags&photo\\_number=50&sort=Interestingness&tag\\_mode=all&textinput=wudaokou&search\\_type=Tags](http://fiveprime.org/flickr_hvmnd.cgi?method=GET&sorting=Interestingness&photo_type=100&page=6&search_domain=Tags&photo_number=50&sort=Interestingness&tag_mode=all&textinput=wudaokou&search_type=Tags))

However, it is important to note that with the growth of western students, some cultural- infrastructural places have been changed. In a case, the 'global bar' was open for Korean students to consume on KTV (Karaoke). But with the increased

students from western countries, 'global bar' was renovated into a music pub to attract more student-consumers. Therefore, this thesis assumes that Wudaokou as known as the 'Korean town' can be transformed into western cultural lifestyle place. This is because in Chapter 5 it has shown that the increased western students are now studying in China, and Beijing is a 'hotspot studying place'.

In addition, according to the report of "the Chinese context of 'universe centre': Wudaokou" by 163 (2014), coffee consumption culture is popular in Wudaokou, and international student is the main consumption group rather than Chinese. Although coffee consumption perhaps is the western cultural consumption product, many South Koreans, who have profoundly influenced by western culture after Second War, prefer to invest coffee business in Wudaokou (Kim, 2010). For example, a coffee bar named 'Beantree' owns by a professional barista from South Korean, which is one of popular leisure place for South Korean students (163 website, 2014).

Meanwhile, Wudaokou traditionally was an active book market and locates lots of private bookstores (Wang, 2001); with the different industries of market competition (e.g. the rise of Language training institutions and restaurants) and changes of consumer behaviours (such reading and shopping on internet), some private bookstores have closed down their businesses (Wang, 2013). However, the rise of new marketing model for bookstore is occurring in Wudaokou. Book stores accompanied with coffee bar to create leisure and study space for students, especially attraction for the growth of international student group. For example, a bookstore opening in 1993 named 'All Sages Bookstore' was a remarkable bookstore to represent culture symbol in Wudaokou. By the increased international student consumers, bookstore had opened a 'think cafe bar' associated with reading space in 2001 to attract international student consumptions (163 website, 2014). It seems likely that international student consumption culture has profoundly changed local infrastructure, to create vibrant and diversity of neighbourhood (Hubbard, 2008, 2009; UniversitiesUK, 2006).

On the other hand, expansive culture characteristic and consumption associated with international students are able to make frictions between other social groups—"late night student culture disturbs children and working people" (Smith, 2006:16). In Wudaokou business opening time for some local club runs until mid-night, some

intoxicated international students make noise and conflicts in public places or within gated communities to disturb other groups. A local housing agent who is living in Wudaokou confirms that:

“International students would like to bars and pubs, especially drinking in the bars during night. Sometime, I saw some drunk foreigners were fighting on the street in the mid-nights” (WA1, housing agent living in Wudaokou).

Furthermore, increased international-orientated business services are able to make the culture segregation between international groups and Chinese groups, especially South Korean business services (Peng, 2001 and Kim, 2010). In Wudaokou, there are a number of small-scale shops which have both languages: Chinese and Korean on the shop name to attract for Korean students. Especially, body-care shop and barber shop have recruited employees from South Korean, to provide the expansive services for Korean student consumptions (163 website, 2013). On the other hand, in the eyes of Chinese students see that Wudaokou is a cultural exclusive enclave. A Chinese Ph.D. student who has 5 years social living experiences in PKU describes that:

“There are more and more Korean students studying in Peking University. They are living in Wudaokou.....I would like to have shopping in Zhongguancun shopping mall, and now lots of PKU students are willing to shop and watch film in Zhongguancun rather than Wudaokou. Because I found that there is a change in Wudaokou, there are lots of Korean restaurants and shops opening in Wudaokou than before, thus I do not like to go to Wudaokou where I only eat Korean food and buy Korean stuff” (PC2, Chinese student living in Changchunxinyuan).

It is notable that international orientated culture consumption is able to make culture isolation belt between international group and Chinese group, where make negative effects to challenge community cohesion and communication (Smith, 2006; Hubbard, 2008).

#### **7.4.4 The impacts on physical**

The activities of international students are able to make some dynamic and diversified social and culture spaces in Wudaokou, which improve the local physical

to attract consumptions (Smith 2005; 2006; Collins, 2010). More specifically, some declined spaces have redeveloped into the services space such as clubs and restaurants to attract student consumptions. For example, the business investments for coffee bars and high-levels restaurants are rapidly instead of street snacks to meet international students' interests (Peng, 2001; Lin, 2012). It seems likely that studentification in Wudaokou is upgrading local physical to improve quality and facilities for studentifiers.

In addition, the empirical research found that there is a bicycle/motorcycle transportation network across Wudaokou, which creates by international student. This is because that the group of international student prefer to ride bicycle and motorcycle instead of other transports to connect home and universities. They indeed rely on local transportation network to travel around to other places:

“I ride the bicycle from my home to university (PKU), and this is very convenient for me. I am like to use the bicycle to go around different academic lectures. And after academic lectures, I will ride this to different restaurants in Wudaokou. And, if I go to travel to other places in Beijing, I will choose subway. The No. 13 in Wudaokou is very good for me” (WS2, international student living in Wudaokou).

Especially, an interview from Chinese student describes the transportation for the group of South Korean student as below:

“There are many Korean students studying at Peking University. I can distinguish who are Korean students, because they are like to ride motorcycle from Wudaokou to campus” (PY7, master student living in Yanyuan).

Therefore, studentifiers activities create an active transport network within Wudaokou, which confirms the research finding in the UK context (Universities, UK, 2006).

Furthermore, the large demands on the quality of housing by international students drive landlord and letting housing agency to improve the intra-structure of rented housing, which is able to improve and redevelop physical structure of apartments within gated communities:

“I feel this is a very new apartment building, 3 boys share the apartment. We have each bedroom with a living room. The quality is very good and the facilities are very new. I am very happy to live in here” (WS1, international student living in Wudaokou).

“In my apartment, all the facilities are good. And I only have a special need that is a western toilet. I know the housing rent for westerners that all include the commodes, the landlord will provide for us.

As a result, the demands of international studentifiers on the quality and facilities of housing are able to improve the physical environment within the gated community. The key reason is that international students undertake high rent prices on rental housing. As a result, this thesis points out that the gated community has transformed into PBSA context within Wudaokou (see further discussion on Chapter 8), and the processes of changes will discuss on next section (7.4.5).

#### **7.4.5 A Hotspot of new-built gated community: Huaqingjiayuan**

The empirical research findings found that processes of studentification and gentrification are simultaneously unfolding in a hotspot gated community: ‘Huaqingjiayuan’ (see Plate 7.6). Huaqingjiayuan is a new-built gated community where is located in the centre of Wudaokou, which had developed in December of 2002 with the total GFA 300,000m<sup>2</sup>. In fact, this gated community is the third-phase of the project of ‘Dongshenyuan commodity housing’ which is first real estate apartments building in Wudaokou (see discussion on Section 6.5.3). The development of ‘Huaqingjiayuan’ are better to the first-phase project of ‘Dongshenyuan’ gated community in Wudaokou. For example, in ‘Huaqingjiayuan’ there are total of 2392 apartments with the GFA of 300,000m<sup>2</sup>, compare with 800 apartments and 115,000m<sup>2</sup> in ‘Dongshenyuan’ (Beijing Real Estate Network, 2013). It is notable that ‘Huaqingjiayuan’ provides a bilingual kindergarten and a primary school within gated community for residents, as known as the school district housing in Wudaokou (see Plate 7.7).



Plate 7.6: Huaqingjiayuan (Source: Author)



Plate 7.7: School district in gated community (source from [http://huaqingjiayuan.fang.com/photo/d\\_other\\_120820352.htm](http://huaqingjiayuan.fang.com/photo/d_other_120820352.htm))

To understand local context and urban change in Wudaokou, this section explores three types of population changes within 'Huaqingjiayuan' and relations between studentification and gentrification. More specifically, new-build gentrification is first wave of population change in Wudaokou. Track history, 'Huaqingjiayuan' was an abandoned land which is a collective property by local villagers. The real estate developer had transferred land into the commodity housing:

“10 years ago, 'Huaqingjiayuan' is an abandoned land. The real estate had developed this place.....No. 8, No.9 and No.10 buildings in 'Huaqingjiayuan' provide for local villagers who lost their land in Wudaokou” (WA1, housing agent living in Wudaokou).

Therefore, the first wave of population change indeed drives by government planning and real estate investment. The new-built gated community associated with quality of apartments and facilities are able to attract more and more middle and upper social-classes groups to live in Wudaokou, as the type of prestige community (Wu, 2010; Yip, 2012). It is important to note that local villagers still have housing property to live in 'Huaqingjiayuan', who have not been replaced by the privileged housing purchasers. The family groups of local villagers who are living in 'Huaqingjiayuan' do not only have one apartment, they have more than one apartment to reside in the gated community. An interview from geographical scholar in Tsinghua University (where close to Wudaokou) describes that:

“The role of Beijing government is more 'human and care' for villagers on the housing development policy. Government forces local villagers to leave their villages and land while government will give some compensations and new-housing for them. Most villagers have two housing. For example, if you have more than one child who is aged over 18 years, you could get more apartments from government, based on household policy in China” (A11)

In addition, a letting housing agent also confirms that:

“Lots of homeowners in 'Huaqingjiayuan' they have over 2 apartments. And they will find us in order to let one of apartments in housing rental market” (WA2, housing agent in Wudaokou).

It is important that villagers have availability and housing resources to rent/sell housing in market, which can be seen as key factor to promote the second-wave and of gentrification and studentification in 'Huaqingjiayuan'.

Understanding the second-wave of new-built gentrification, first of all, the geographical location of 'school district housing' is the key factor that improves the population replacement in 'Huaqingjiayuan'. The primary school named 'Zhongguancun second primary school' is located within the 'Huaqingjiayuan', which is one of best primary school in Beijing (Beijing Real Estate Network, 2013). Residents who are living in the 'Huaqingjiayuan' have quotas to send their children to educate in this primary school:

“Importantly, some parents want to buy housing in this place because of their children. Children are studying in 'Zhongguancun second primary school' for the quality education” (WS2, housing agent living in Wudaokou).

Therefore, privileged families are willing to purchase apartments in 'Huaqingjiayuan', which is an important factor for the second wave of gentrification. At the same time, due to Wudaokou is a high-tech cluster location, there are lots of white-collar classes working in Wudaokou. This group prefer to rent housing in Wudaokou, as an important group for the second-wave of gentrification in 'Huaqingjiayuan'.

Importantly, with the expansion of internationalized education, international students are residing within the gated community of 'Huaqingjiayuan', as the processes of studentification:

“A lot of international students are renting housing in 'Huaqingjiayuan', over 50% residents are students such as South Korean and French. Most students are from Beijing Language and Culture University and Tsinghua University.” (WA1, letting housing agent in Wudaokou).

It is clear that gated community can be seen as the PBSA in Wudaokou now. In addition, the high demand of studentifiers displaces gentrifiers (second-wave) within the gated community. In a case, a while-collar with the income about 8,000 RMB p/m rented an apartment (one bedroom and one living room) with 3,500 RMB p/m in 'Huaqingjiayuan' in 2009. However, in, 2013, when she needed to pay the rent for 5,500 RMB p/m with the same income of 8,000 RMB p/m. She had moved out of



'Huaqingjiayuan' (163 website, 2013). As a result, studentification in Wudaokou has displaced the gentrifiers' apartment, which can be understood as the PBSA for international students.

## **7.5 Summary**

Students associated with their capitals (social, economic and cultural) not only consume on different forms of student housing (the forms of UMD and HMO and PBSA), but also have changed local contexts (University and Haidianlu and Wudaokou neighbourhood) into four aspects: economics, social, culture and physical.

Regulations by the Ministry of Education (2004, 2005 and 2007) allow all students to concentrate within university-managed dormitories; therefore PKU sought to (re)develop land to build dorms on and off-campus. In addition, PKU issued regulations aim to manage students' behaviours and lifestyles. Consideration on student housing arrangement, PKU has different assignments for different types of students (e.g. undergraduate, postgraduate and international students). Chinese students have already been arranged by each school/department before they enrolled into PKU, especially undergraduate students. In addition, based on the regulations by the Ministry of Education do not allow housing arrangement by socio-economic classes of students, new-enrolled students (from same courses) have allocated by the unit of class into different types of dorms. In this way, it seems to meet the concept of 'social mix' for student community. In the side of postgraduate, students have more flexible to decide whether they live in UMDs or rental housing off-campus. The key reason is that the expansion of postgraduate populations has challenged the housing provision by PKU. Therefore, university allows postgraduate students to rent housing off-campus. On the other hand, PKU employs the basis of 'first come, first serve' for international students who are able to apply different types of rooms via on-line system. Importantly, PKU is willing to provide rental housing information (off-campus) for international students to address the housing provision pressure from the increased international student numbers. Indeed, the expansion of student numbers (Chinese postgraduates and international students) has challenged the housing provision for PKU (see Chapter 5).

It is noted that university applies gated management for all students who are living in UMDs on and off-campus, in order to enhance the sense of security for students.

Especially, university employs dorm managers to enhance the sense of security. This thesis in here discusses that the role of dorm manager in fact builds up a 'communication channel' between students and university. However, most dorm managers, in interview replies, have non-higher educated background, which could be a 'potential risk' for communication between students and dorm managers. Moreover, intended segregations are unfolding within the dorms on and off-campus. More specifically, consideration on different lifestyles, nationality segregation by housing arrangement segregates communications and socializing between Chinese students and international students, especially international students consider that layout and facilities of rooms/apartments is the key factor to segregate two groups. Second, gender segregation in UMDs only employed for Chinese students, which is able to protect their private spaces and security to reduce social conflicts between two groups. Meanwhile, with the growth of international student numbers, unintended segregation by practice of culture consumptions on university amenities has segregated Chinese students and international students. Indeed, coffee bars provide high priced food to serve international-consumers, which can be seen as one of key reason to segregate Chinese students. Therefore, the unintended segregation on-campus caused by three factors: economic, social and cultural.

In addition, students residing in different types of UMDs on and off-campus campus have different living experiences, due to different layouts and facilities and amenities. Most students complain on small space and shared facilities within crowded space of washing rooms and toilets on the type A of Yanyuan. This is because that the type A was built in 1956, as the product by first-wave of HE expansion in China (see Figure 6.2 and discussion on Chapter 5 about higher education in China). PKU lacks of improvement on quality and facilities within this type of dorm in Yanyuan over last 50 years, therefore the old building without improvement impacted on students' living experiences (Kinton, 2013). Other types of dorms on and off-campus can be viewed as the products by the third wave of expansion of HE system since 1999. PKU has improved space and facilities within the dorms. For example, university has improved use area of room to enlarge shared space for students. However, students still complain on shared facilities of bathroom and toilets. It is clear that the demands of students concern on private space and personal using facilities. It is refer to most students are from one child policy families and have experienced in high-quality

apartments for urban life. The lack of private space and shared facilities can be viewed as 'problems' for their living experiences within UMDs.

Most students are satisfied university canteen service. Especially, Chinese students only need to pay low-cost food meals in university canteen, due to the subsidy by government. The role of work-unit system of PKU provides social welfare for their recruited students. On the other hand, university provides carter service for international student dorms, as the food cost including within the high-priced accommodation fees. It is clear that PKU focuses on the international student as the key consumers to make profits for university income, but the argument in here indicates that some international students can be funded by governmental scholarship to cover their accommodation fees and food consumptions (see as below).

As discussion above, although university students have right to rent housing off-campus, students (especially Chinese students) prefer to concentrate within UMDs. First, accommodation fee plays a key role in the UMDs. Chinese student dorms is tied to social housing by work-unit system, providing the low-prices rooms. Although the accommodation fee in Wanliu is higher than other dorms, students still need to pay a reasonable price. International students are able to fund and support to cover accommodation fees by university and government scholarships by the largest government funds to support the expansion of internationalization of HE system in national-key university of PKU (see discussion on chapter 4); second, the advantage of locations of University accommodations is important to student to spend their social life within UMDs. Third, Chinese students focus on learning knowledge and studying by traditional value of confusion, they consider that living with classmates within room is able to improve their studying; finally, the gated management enhance the sense of security to protect students living in UMDs.

However, some students are willing to rent housing off-campus to meet their interests. Student couples and student married couples seek to private spaces off-campus to meet their interests; although university regulations on UMDs provide couple rooms for PKU student couples, the increased student populations have challenged this regulations. In addition, some students seek to find private space to prepare their exams. Consideration on facilities such as air conditioning, some

students need to a quality of life to maintain their interest. At last, some students especially final-year undergraduates and postgraduates have internship jobs to rent housing near their workplaces. In the side of international student, some international students who could not be funded by Chinese government scholarship are willing to rent housing off-campus, due to the comparative accommodation fees. 'Freedom lifestyle' is most important factor for students to escape gated management by university, they need social space and free time to spend their social life. In addition, international students consider that cross-cultural experience is able to enhance their life to study in China, especially some international students seek for part-time jobs off-campus. It is concluded that international student rental housing off-campus can be viewed as studentifiers who are from privileged families.

Furthermore, the rise of student-oriented business of Food Street can be examined as students' social-culture capitals that have impacted into local context. While student-oriented business also has enhanced social experiences for students. It is not surprising that some social conflicts between local business services and students. This thesis in here indicates that students with their social-cultural capitals are able to enhance urban renewal (Chatterton, 1999; 2010), but expansive lifestyles have challenged local governance (Smith, 2005; 2006).

This thesis indicates that the processes of studentification have unfolded within Haidianlu community, as a studentifying community by three types of Chinese studentifiers groups (e.g. full-time PKU students and Kaoyanzu and 'ant tribe'). Local housing agents in 'Haidianlu' not only improve the increased rent while they create an active housing market to produce different types of rental rooms to meet different types of studentifiers' interests. In addition, full-time PKU students spend their consumptions on-campus; however, Kaoyanzu and 'ant tribe' are able to benefit from gated campus, which have spent consumption into Haidianlu to enhance local business services. In addition, influx of studentifiers has changed local population structure; local residents intend to move out of community to transform housing to rent for studentifier-consumers. Especially, the empirical findings found that there are more elder local residents living in Haidianlu, the population structure has polarized by young and old two social groups. Seasonal movements of studentifiers associated with short-term of housing contract are able to challenge community cohesion, and the pattern of life and lifestyle of studentifiers are able to challenge

local governance. Importantly, this thesis concludes that noise nuisance still is a key social issue between local residents and studentifiers. In addition, studentifiers play the limited culture effects to change local infrastructure, this is because that the small space of Haidianlu cannot provide culture facilities; and Food Street is close to Haidianlu to meet their cultural interests. Consideration on the effects of physical focuses on physical structure of rental housing and physical environment. Although collective rooms and single rooms are able to meet studentifier's interests, the facilities and social space have reduced by the changes of layouts of apartment. Studentifiers associated with their expansive lifestyle causes that increased refuses without public order to make negative effects on local physical environment. It is concluded that studentifiers within living in the form of HMO in Haidianlu have different effects to produce studentification into local contexts, based on the types of studentifiers and rental rooms, to compare with studentification in the UK context (see further discussion on Chapter 8).

International students associated with expansive lifestyles indeed lead the processes of studentification to engage the dynamic Wudaokou neighbourhood. Although there is no official data to reveal the population change in Wudaokou, based on a large secondary data and empirical findings indicate that processes of studentification is unfolding in this hotspot location. More specifically, the role of letting housing agent improves local rental housing market, which allocates rental apartment resources from property-owners and sells rental information for housing consumers, especially some agents produce rental housing products on-line to attract student-consumers. Importantly, this thesis considers that student rental high-quality apartment within gated communities can be viewed as the PBSA in Chinese context; this is because that: (1) letting housing agent produces student-oriented rental housing via on-line to attract student-consumers (e.g. 'ziru' product); (2) apartment associated with high-cost provide the high-quality (e.g. new-build and private bedroom space) and superb facilities (e.g. Internet, western toilet, gated management by securities, and property management) for international student-consumers (see further discussion on Chapter 8).

In addition, student-oriented business services such as restaurants and clubs attract international students, especially club and bars to meet the expansive lifestyle of international students. Importantly, this thesis points out that English-spoken

students associated with their languages advantages promote local language training education services, while they are the important part-time labour forces to develop local economy. Of course, the high-cost rent produces the 'threshold' to segregate other social groups (e.g. Kaoyanzu) to rent housing in quality-apartments to achieve their objectives. In the side of social impacts, noise nuisance still is key social issue between local residents and international students both residing within gated communities. Therefore, local government has to reinforce police forces to maintain social stability in Wudaokou. In addition, unintended social segregation by international student group rented housing is unfolding in gated communities, international students only are willing to call their friends (from same areas and language) to clustered reside in gated communities. On the other hand, consideration on the type of gated community, lack of communications between local residents and international students has challenged community cohesion, due to different cultures and lifestyle.

It is important to note that some international students become to student-oriented businessmen to run business in Wudaokou, due to the student consumption experiences. Therefore, engaging social living and consumption experiences by studentifiers can be seen as an important resource to improve local economic and cultural infrastructure. Importantly, the cafe culture (as western lifestyle) is embodied into local context to attract more and more international students to spend their social life in Wudaokou, this is rapidly changed local business service, which only fact international student-consumers. As last, international student-led business services indeed are upgrading local physical. It is notably that there is an invisible transportation network to enhance local networks, namely bicycle and motorcycle transportation network by international students. They are willing to take the flexible transports to connect campus and home, which possibly has reduced local traffics. The demands of international student housing drive letting housing agents to improve qualities and facilities of apartments in gated communities, which enhances modern social-life experiences for international students.

Based on the empirical findings and analysis case of a hotspot gated community, research finding indicates that studentification and gentrification both have unfolded within gated community in Wudaokou. 'Huaqingjiayuan' is gated community where had built upon an abandoned land (collective land for local villagers), as new-built

gentrification in Wudaokou. It is notable that local villagers have right to own more than one apartment within gated community. Therefore, some villagers seek to rent/sell their apartments into housing market. Meanwhile, 'Huaqingjiayuan' is known at the famous school district housing in Beijing, where attracts privileged families to purchase/rent housing for their children to study in local schools; the white-collar workers who are working in local high-tech companies are willing to rent housing in this gated community. Within this mind, the new-built gentrification by factors (school housing district and white-collar workers) has changed gated communities. On the other hand, the interview transcript indicates that there are over 50 % of international students rented apartments within 'Huaqingjiayuan', which is clearly a studentifying community. As a result, this thesis points out that two-wave of population changes have unfolded within the gated community. However, with the high demand of apartments by international students, some gentrifiers have moving out of gated communities. Therefore, the role of studentifiers has displaced gentrifiers within Chinese contexts (see further discussion on Chapter 8).

## **Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion**

### **8.1 Introduction**

The aims of this chapter are three fold, and the chapter is thus structured into three sections. Section 8.2 revisits the main aim and three objectives of thesis, and highlights the key original contributions to academic knowledge. This shows how knowledge of processes and outcomes of studentification in a wider global context (i.e. Beijing, China) have been advanced. Section 8.3 considers some potential avenues for future research on studentification in China, building upon the main findings of the thesis. Section 8.4 provides some reflective statements about the overall research processes that were adopted in this thesis, before making some concluding remarks. Section 8.5 is a final conclusion for this thesis.

### **8.2 The key findings of the thesis**

The main aim of the thesis was to pin down the salience of studentification, a concept which originates from the UK, for understanding urban change in the Chinese context, which has been stimulated by the emergence of growing concentrations of university students. The thesis has shown that the post-1999 state-led expansion of HE has been a necessary condition for the unfolding of studentification in the case study of Beijing. The concept of studentification has, without doubt, many merits for grappling with the multiple expressions and outcomes of studentification within Beijing. This includes the different social, cultural, economic and physical consequences of studentification on the urban landscape(s).

However, it can be argued that the pre-existing, rigid, UK-originated definition of studentification does not fully capture the diversity of expressions of studentification within Beijing. Instead, it can be asserted that a more all-encompassing definition of studentification would be beneficial. The diverse geographies of studentification that have been identified by the thesis reveal the co-existence of both HMO-, UMD-, and PBSA-dominated studentified areas. Arguably, in line with a possible critique that current (UK-based) definitions of studentification do not effectively conceptualise PBSA-led processes of urban transformation (Hubbard, 2008, 2009), it is clear that the definitions do not fully relate to PBSA-dominated studentified areas within Beijing.



Indeed, the first objective of the thesis sought to provide a mapping and spatial analysis of the geographies of student housing in Beijing. What the research process identified here was a set of diverse geographies of student housing, and follow-up research revealed that processes of studentification were transforming these areas with relatively high concentrations of student housing and students. By contrast to UK-based studies of studentification it was not possible to gain access to student term-time records (see Chapter 4), and to undertake some mapping of such addresses using GIS. Rather, the internal patterns of student housing with Beijing were identified via a range of sources, including the PKU website, and follow-up interviews with students. This process for identifying the main concentrations of student housing for PKU students revealed four main areas of student housing: on-campus, university-managed dormitories (Yanyuan and Shaoyuan by PKU); off-campus, university-managed dormitories (Wanliu, Changchunyuán/Changchunxinyuan, and Global Village by PKU); off-campus, Housing in Multiple Occupation (Haidianlu), and; off-campus, purpose-built student accommodation (Wudaokou). However, and importantly, this thesis reveals that two international student dorms (Shaoyuan and Global Village) and one Chinese student-dominated dorm (Wanliu) can be represented as university-managed PBSA. This is tied to the dorms providing relatively high-cost and high-quality facilities within student apartment to meet the discernible demands of some students. Student-consumers residing within these PBSA are clearly the important income revenue for the university and university enterprises. This is also confirms that university enterprise is important to university financial income by the post-1999 expansion of HE (see discussion on Chapter 5). On the other hand, Yanyuan and Changchunyuán/Changchunxinyuan continue to be a form of 'social housing' for students, and which seek to eliminate homelessness by the role of work-unit system and state regulations on student housing (see discussion on Chapter 6)

In addition, it was not possible to comprehensively quantify in an accurate the total number of students residing in these student areas. Nonetheless, interviews with students and institutional actors, as well as media discourses, substantiated that the number of students within these areas was inherently tied to the transformation of these areas, and the transformation that were described and reported are in alignment with the definitional hallmarks of studentification.

Objective 2 focussed on identifying different types of studentifier based on their social-living experiences, and exploring possible connections between different expressions of studentification (i.e. two types of UMDs-led or HMO-led or PBSA-led). Thus, it is possible to pose the question: Are there any differences (and similarities) between students residing within on- and off-campus locations? Are there any differences (and similarities) between students residing off-campus within HMO and PBSA? Are there any differences (and similarities) between students residing off-campus within different forms of PBSA? This thesis has undoubtedly shown that there are major differences, as well as some similarities between studentifiers residing in different forms of student housing, and within and between different types of student area. First, it has been shown that the vast majority of Chinese PKU students reside on- and off-campus, within UMDs, in line with state regulations that Chinese students must reside UMDs for all their years of study. There is also a state regulation on the university to provide accommodation (either on- or off-campus) for their students. Historically, relatively high-density UMDs have been developed by PKU, in line with the work-unit system model, as discussed in Chapter 6. Thus, the vast majority of students are shown to reside within dorm-like accommodation, and university regulations often stipulate four or more students per bedroom. This is tied to a broader orientation towards a collective lifestyle for students and student residence (He, 2014), which is a normative social-life experience for Chinese students. Clearly, the physical layout of student accommodation within UMDs is a key factor in the (re)production of the collective social-life experiences of Chinese students.

The empirical findings of this thesis serve to demonstrate that there are three main social factors to enhance the collective life experiences of students, including:(1) collective life experiences within previous educated stages; (2) classmate(s) social relationship forged by collective activities, and: (3) the practices of gated management by the university. First, the thesis has revealed that some undergraduate Chinese students have experienced collective lifestyles in their previous education in high school, and during the phase of Kaoyanzu (entrance exams).

Second, the thesis has exposed the importance of institutional student housing arrangement as a key factor in the (re)production of the collective lifestyle, with the

state regulation specifying the work-unit model for classrooms. The collective lifestyles are maintained and perpetuated via Chinese student activities and the consumption practices within on-campus and local infrastructures within close proximity to the university campus, such as the student-oriented business of Food Street.

Third, the imposition of gated management practices by the university is a key factor in the regulation of students' behaviours on-campus and within student accommodation (i.e. dorms), which further creates environments that sustain and foster the collective lifestyle model. Students have to regulate their behaviours and activities within the shared spaces, and adhere to a collective consciousness such as curfews within some campus dorms (e.g. turning off power at 11pm and regulations for no noise after 11pm).

It is important here to stress that the normative dominance of the collective lifestyle is being challenged by the consequences of the 'one-child policy', and privileged families leading different 'more individualised' lifestyles (Chatterton 1999; 2010) to the collective lifestyles. Children within these families often have their own private bedroom space within their family home (whilst attending primary/high school), and this would appear to be filtering into demands for university accommodation. For instance, Peking University TV describes how some privileged students have requested to exchange rooms or move into off-campus accommodation (1,957 requests between 2012-2013). In this sense, it would appear that some privileged students are contesting the collective lifestyle model of studenthood within the UMD dorms. Equally, some other types of students seek private, off-campus space (as single room), in a similar way to students seeking shared HMO within the UK (e.g. student couples and individual students demands on private space). For example, some student couples seek private space to escape the rigid regulations and control by the university. Other students seek private space to prepare for their examinations to avoid the university curfew, and the noise that can be evident within shared spaces and facilities within UMD dorms. Postgraduate student policy within China requires the majority of (undergraduate) students to undertake entrance examinations, and this group of students (Kaoyanzu) will often rent (albeit for a short term) housing in close proximity to the university campus, to obtain familiarity with the university environment and have the opportunity to study for their entrance

examinations. This further reinforces the collective lifestyle model. The thesis has identified that most of these Kaoyanzu students, in conjunction with student couples, reside within Haidianlu community, which is on the 'door step' of PKU. Of course, given most Kaoyanzu are final year undergraduates, they will have previously experienced the collective student lifestyle within UMD. However, it is important to stress that Chinese students that seek to reside within off-campus accommodation will have to absorb much higher rental-costs (when compared to the rental costs of UMDs).

In the Chinese context, most of the international students that reside within Beijing would appear to be seeking to reside within Wudaokou neighbourhood, which has a growing reputation as one of leading internationalized locations within Beijing. As Chapter 7 revealed, some international students choose to reside within on- and off-campus, PBSA, which is managed by the university, yet in a less regulated way when compared to UMDs for Chinese students. This provides many benefits for the international students, including close proximity to their place of study and some students may obtain relatively lower rental costs (if they are granted a scholarship, see Chapter 5).

Nevertheless, the vast majority of international students will undertake their social and leisure activities within the international-student oriented business services in Wudaokou. Indeed, most international students reside within the new-built gated communities (with high-quality and superb facilities) in Wudaokou, in order to consume relatively higher quality accommodation and perceived social living experiences. This argument concurs with general research finding in the UK context about international students tending to demand high-cost and high-quality PBSA (Smith, 2006, 2012; Hubbard, 2008, 2009). By contrast to the collective lifestyles of most Chinese students, international students signify more independent student lifestyles, and encounter more cross-cultural experiences in the off-campus spaces. Empirical findings reveal that international studentifiers are mainly from Korea and western places of origin, and they have more 'expansive lifestyles', in a similar way to the traditional students within the UK context. The consumption practices and lifestyles of these international students have changed the local contexts of Wudaokou, with the international students usually gravitating to Korean-oriented

business services (restaurant and barber shop), western theme clubs and pubs within an area often known as 'Korean town' within Beijing.

The third objective of this thesis was to evaluate the major similarities and differences between conceptualisations and outcomes of studentification in China and UK. The thesis argues that the expansion of HE systems can be viewed as a common trigger for the global geographical phenomenon of studentification within UK and China. At the same time, private sector actors and organisations (e.g. housing agency, property owner and private housing developer) are a key mediator in the production of different types of student housing, and enlarging the local student housing markets (Sage *et al.*, 2012; Kinton, 2013). However, this shows that understanding local national contexts underpins many differences within and between processes of studentification and the different forms of student housing in China and the UK. Perhaps most strikingly, Chinese universities have a legal state-stipulated responsibility to provide accommodation for their student populations (especially Chinese students) within UMDs.

Interestingly, the policies for the expansion of higher education in China and the UK has places pressures on official institutions to consider the establishment of a more mature student housing system to meet the increased demands from student populations for accommodation. For example, prior to the 1992 expansion of the HE system in the UK, Hubbard (2008: 325) notes that:

“traditionally, demand for term-time student accommodation in the UK has been met by institutionally managed ‘halls of residence’ in campus-type environments, with smaller numbers lodging with families or renting in the private sectors.”

In this way, universities have been a key accommodation provider to cater for the growing student population in both China and the UK. Yet, as student populations have continued to increase during the last three decades, universities may not been able to keep pace with the development of more and more student accommodation. This gap in supply of student accommodation has been plugged in both the UK and China by private capital, and has often entailed collaboration agreements between commercial providers and universities (e.g. University Partnership Programme) to meet the accommodation needs from an enlarged student population. This has

given rise to the proliferation of so-called self-contained, 'student villages' in the UK (Smith and Hubbard, 2014), and, to some extent, Shao Yuan, Wanliu, the global village (university-managed PBSA) and gated communities in Wudaokou, and can be viewed in this way.

A major difference between China and the UK is the endurance of UMDs in China. In the UK context, student expectations for on-campus accommodation have been enhanced, and many UK universities have relinquished land assets to private commercial actors to develop higher-quality student apartments and/or the refurbishment of university halls of residence (Kinton, 2013). Of course, students are often charged relatively higher rental costs to live in this new-build student accommodation. By contrast, UMDs continue to be supplied to students by PKU, and are an important source of accommodation for increasing numbers of students in China and PKU's responsibility to provide low-cost accommodation for its student population, underpinned by the collective lifestyle and 'work-unit' model (He, 2014; Wu, 2006).

However, in a similar vein to the UK, some collaboration between university student accommodation centre and university enterprises has been identified, to develop modern student apartments, such as Wanliu student apartment off-campus. It is perhaps not surprising that Chinese students living in Wanliu generally describe that they have enhanced their social living experiences via better services (e.g. cleaning and canteen) and quality-facilities (e.g. air conditioning and water heater), when compared to on-campus UMDs. One of key factors here is that PKU charged 3,600 RMB per/year accommodation fees, compared to 750-1,200 RMB per/year accommodation fees for UMD. Similarly, Shao Yuan and Global Village are two independent-operation international student dorms under university-managed control; providing a range of different types of rooms/apartments associated with different-levels of accommodation fees to attract international student-consumers. Therefore, this thesis argues that these university-managed dorms indeed have transformed into PBSA by university control.

In the UK context, letting agencies are an important chain the student housing market (Kinton, 2013). Letting agents are professional organisation with shop premises and a key provider of housing, legal and rental information via on-line

websites to attract student-consumers. Housing agencies in the Chinese context are very different to the UK context. First, housing agencies that let HMOs can be viewed as 'semi-professional housing agencies' or informal housing agencies (local business services who do not run the housing agency business), who provide housing rented information and low/comparative housing prices for Chinese student housing consumers. In addition, housing agents in HMO play a key role in the rented housing as an information exchanger rather than the manager (He, 2014), with HMO seemingly presenting an 'immature stage' for the local housing market. However, housing agencies in the form of apartments within gated communities play a key influential role within processes of studentification.

This is exemplified by the gated community within Wudaokou, with one of housing agencies named 'Homelink' collecting a number of high-quality apartment information and resources – repackaged in a product named 'Ziru' (self-satisfaction on housing) on their website. The product of 'Ziru' is aimed at young groups (especially international student), and provides young consumption facilities to attract international students. Therefore, the formal housing agency is able to expand the housing market around the gated community. However, this thesis found that the formal housing agency is not only the student housing agency, which cannot be viewed as 'professional student housing agency' in student housing market. It is therefore contended that the role of letting student housing agencies in Beijing is in an 'infancy stage', when compared to the UK context. A key difference between China and UK is the role of the individual student, with students in China often finding their own HMO accommodation, such as looking for adverts on boards.

A major similarity between this thesis and studies of studentification in the UK is the identification of the displacement effects of studentification. This is in contrast to He's (2014) study of studentification in Guangzhou. Therefore, processes of studentification in the case study of Beijing are more in alignment with the original concept of studentification in the UK (Smith, 2005). For example, studentifiers have clearly displaced (elder) local residents from Haidianlu, and international students residing within the gated communities of Wudaokou have displaced local residents.

In addition, it would appear that like the UK, studentification in China gives rise to lower levels of attachment for local places and communities. This is typified by

studentifiers residing in Haidianlu, who predominantly consider HMOs as a 'place of sleep', as opposed to a 'place for social living'. Studentifiers often orientate their social activities on the university campus, even when residing off-campus. By contrast, international students residing within off-campus gated communities have limited interactions with local residents, underpinned, to some degree, by the lack of shared language and customs. This thesis confirms that international students can be viewed as a 'self-segregated' social group residing within the gated communities of Wudaokou, and who do not establish long-term attachments to Wudaokou. This key contribution shows that international student in the high-rise PBSA intend to be 'self-segregated' social groups across global contexts, such as Melbourne (Fincher and Shaw, 2009); Auckland (Collins, 2010); Loughborough (Hubbard, 2008; 2009). Cultural differences are a key factor to produce the segregation within student housing.

In addition, noise nuisance can be viewed as a common signal of social conflict across the global studentification. In the UK, local residents often oppose noise nuisance by the expansive lifestyle of students during night-time. In a similar way, international students living in Wudaokou also produce noise nuisance to local residents and family groups. Clearly, this is not the case for Chinese students residing in the regulated spaces of UMDs.

Another common factor between the UK and China is that studentifiers represent high degrees of cultural capital(s) (e.g. young and fashion), and expressive practices lead to the transformation of local infrastructures (Chatterton, 1999, 2010). These dimensions of studentification stimulate and sustain student-oriented business (e.g. local bars, pubs, cafe and gym) and cultural events (e.g. live concert and festive) within studentified locations. This is the case in the Wudaokou neighbourhood, where, for instance, local book shops now cater for the coffee-led consumption practices of international students, as well the rise of Korean bars and other student oriented services. As a result, there is now a lack of Chinese restaurants and shops to serve local people in the Wudaokou neighbourhood. Therefore, different cultural consumption practices and service have led to socio-cultural segregation between international students and Chinese students. At the same time, Chinese studentifiers focus their cultural consumption practice both on-campus and within the businesses



of 'Food Street'; giving rise to another axes of segregation between Chinese and international students.

Overall, this thesis therefore presents some empirical findings that concur with UK-originated definitions of studentification, in particular the growth of HMO-dominated studentified neighbourhoods in Haidianlu. Urban transformations within Haidianlu which have been fuelled by processes of studentification are clearly well captured by Smith's (2005:74-75) definition of studentification:

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

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

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

*Physical:* associated with an initial upgrading of the external physical environment as properties are converted to HMO. This can subsequently lead to a downgrading of the physical environment, depending on the local context.

However, it can be argued that this, arguably narrow, and rigid definition of studentification does not effectively embrace the urban transformations which are tied to PBSA-related developments, or within the spaces of UMDs. With this in mind, a more encompassing definition of studentification is proposed, which will include the diverse geographies of studentification that this thesis has identified within Beijing, and which are also evident in UK contexts:

*Economic:* student housing prices are inflated by concentrations of studentifiers residing within HMO and gated PBSA, in conjunction with the

availability of low-cost UMD student housing. This leads to decreasing levels of homeownership.

*Social:* studentifiers replace local residents within off-campus, gated, PBSA, and HMO areas leading to higher levels of social segregation within some local contexts. There are no forms of direct displacement from UMDs and university-controlled PBSA (on-and off-campus).

*Cultural:* different types of studentifier living within HMO, UMD and PBSA generate cultural segregation between different types of student housing. The young consumption practices of studentifiers promote higher levels of diverse and the growth of international student service infrastructures within local contexts.

*Physical:* the (re)development of PBSA contributes to local urban regeneration, and meets increasing demands for student housing.

Another major original contribution to academic knowledge here is the exposition that diverse geographies of studentification give rise to different effects. Tables 8.1 and 8.2 show the different effects of studentification connected to the diverse patterns of studentification within Beijing. It can be seen that these differentials are tied to the different social-life experiences of studentifiers in different forms of student housing, and in different locations within Beijing. Therefore, it can be argued that a one-size fits all representation of the impacts of studentification is inappropriate, and studies of studentification must consider the effects of geographic contingencies on the effects of the processes. Key here is the major distinction between the cultural consumption practices and studenthood lifestyles of Chinese students and international students, and the influence of different regulatory regimes on- and off-campus, and for different groups of students. Nevertheless, Tables 8.1 and 8.2 show that there are commonalities between the different geographies' of studentification, irrespective of the type of studentifier, form of student housing or geographic location.

Within this mind, 4 further Tables (Table 8.3-8.6) are outlined below to express the different effects of studentification within the four main student housing areas in Beijing.

Table 8.1 – The effects of studentification within Beijing

	<b>Geographies of student housing in Beijing</b>			
	Student housing on-campus (Peking University)	Student housing off-campus (Peking University)	Haidianlu (HMO)	Wudaokou (PBSA)
<b>Effects in UK contexts</b>				
Social				
Student volunteering makes an important contribution of many aspects of social life	Y	N	N	N
Student housing needs prevent serious depopulation in many inner-city areas	N	N	N	N
Increases the range of goods, services and attractions available to the town/city's population	N	N	Y	Y
Student communities can also support nurseries and multi faith centres	N	N	N	N
A critical mass of students can ensure transport links to the benefit of the whole community	N	N	N	Y
Cultural				
Create a critical mass and demand for diverse range of cultural events	Y	N	N	Y
Enhances reputation of city/town as vibrant, dynamic location and as an attractive destination for e.g. night-clubbing, evening economy, or tourism	N	N	N	Y
Creates an international/cosmopolitan feel/outlook	Y	Y	N	N
Physical				
Higher/rising property prices provide a level of incentive for upgrading properties which might otherwise remain empty, languish in a neglected state or be generally unfit for habitation	N	N	Y	Y

Many older properties receive considerable investment by private landlords which extends their life	N	N	Y	Y
The existence of large numbers of young people help to make city centres attractive to social and retail spaces	N	N	N	N
Changes in types of retail and entertainment services available- e.g. local shops becoming cafes, bookshops, live music venues	N	N	N	Y
Economic				
High demand for student housing and the stimulus to private rented sector leads to rising house prices	N	N	Y	Y
Growth in buy-to-let market and private investment opportunities	N	N	N	Y
Students constitute a flexible part-time labour force undertaking seasonal employment	N	N	N	Y
Student presence can help stimulate urban regeneration	N	N	N	Y
Goods purchased locally by students make a significant contribution to the local economy	N	N	Y	Y
Student presence ensures the viability of some retail businesses	N	N	Y	Y
Repairs, renovations and extensions to student properties the construction and service sector of the economy	N	N	Y	Y
Availability of a graduate workforce	N	N	N	Y
Y: the effects evident in this location; N: the effects absent in this location				
Note: Table 1 cited from the 'Studentification': a guide to opportunities, challenges and practice by Universities UK (2005:13)				

Table 8.2: Communities of students – Challenges in Beijing

	<b>Geographies of student housing in Beijing</b>			
	Student housing on-campus (Peking University)	Student housing off-campus (Peking University)	Haidianlu (HMO)	Wudaokou (PBSA)
<b>Challenges in UK contexts</b>				
Social				
Increase in low-level anti-social behaviour	N	N	N	N
Concentration of vulnerable young people with low awareness of security and highly attractive possessions leading to increased levels of crime. This can result in higher insurance premiums(i.e. House, contents, vehicle)	N	N	Y	Y
Decreased demand for some local services leading to closure-particularly educational services	N	N	N	N
Residents feel pressure to move to avoid becoming marginalised and isolated as permanent residents. This can lead to the demoralisation of established residents	N	N	Y	Y
Increased competition for private rented houses	N	N	Y	Y
Pressure for greater provision of established catering for night time entertainment and consequent detrimental impact on residential amenity	N	N	N	Y
Seasonal availability of some retail and service provision-development of a 'resort economy'	N	N	Y	Y
Cultural				
Expansion of HMOs in traditional owner-occupied, family areas can lead to change in nature of communities	N	N	Y	Y

Gradually self-reinforcing unpopularity of area for families wishing to bring up children	N	N	N	N
Conversion of houses into student residences, often make difficult transformation back into family homes	N	N	Y	Y
Transient occupation engenders a lack of community integration and cohesion and less commitment to maintain the quality of local environment	N	N	Y	Y
Turnover and short stay are disincentive and barrier to self-policing and aversion to crime	N	N	N	N
Different perceptions of what is considered acceptable behaviour and communal obligations by different social groups	N	N	Y	Y
Lifestyle frictions-late night student culture disturbs children and working people	N	N	N	Y
Physical				
Reduction in quality of housing stock and neglect of external appearance to properties including gardens, due to lack of investment by absentee landlords	N	N	N	N
Turnover of properties and preponderance of property letting boards-recurring annually-detract from streetscape	N	N	N	N
Increased population density and increased pressures on services (policing, cleansing, highways, planning, public transport)	N	N	Y	Y
Increased on-street parking pressures arising from shared households and seasonal traffic congestion (e.g. at graduations, end of term)	N	N	N	N

Increase of squalor (litter/refuse), as infrastructure is designed for lower density usage, low awareness of refuse collection arrangements and different conceptions of what is tolerable	N	N	Y	N
Noise between dwellings at all times especially music and at night-parties and gatherings and late night street noise disturbance	N	N	N	Y
Economic				
High demand for student housing and the stimulus to private rented sector leads to a rise in house prices, deterring access to housing ladder for other sections of community	N	N	Y	Y
A rising concentration of students in particular streets acts as a strong inducement to own-occupiers of non-student properties to take advantage of a lucrative sale to private student landlords	N	N	N	N
Changes in type of retail and entertainment services available- e.g. local shops becoming take-aways and cafes, and re-orientation of stock	N	N	N	Y
Fluctuating demand for private rented housing	N	N	Y	Y
Seasonal employment (in shops, pubs) and provision of retail and leisure services	N	N	N	Y
Y: the effects evident in this location; N: the effects absent in this location				
Note: Table 1 cited from the 'Studentification': a guide to opportunities, challenges and practice by Universities UK (2005:16)				

Table 8.3: studentification in university-managed student accommodations on-campus: Yanyuan (social housing) and Shaoyuan (PBSA)

<p><b>Social:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Students from different countries associated with their diverse socio-cultural capitals via student unions and student societies create a range of social and cultural events to enhance a vibrant and international campus.</li> <li>(b) Student housing located within the gated campus can be viewed as an 'isolated society' to segregate with other established communities.</li> <li>(c) Institutional social segregations (e.g. international segregation and gender segregation) within both Chinese and international student housing has challenged the sense of social mix by the role of university.</li> <li>(d) Chinese students have a reinforced relationship by collective lifestyle within dorms.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Cultural:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) The presence of university-managed student accommodations has shown how the outstanding students are living and studying, to enhance the famous attraction in China.</li> <li>(b) Reinforced studying atmosphere improves the knowledge for students.</li> <li>(c) Cultural segregation between international students and Chinese students by cultural consumptions and lifestyle.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Economic:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Increased goods and facilities are benefit for students-consumptions, especially the rise of international student-oriented services. Some facilities also serve for local residents (especially Kaoyanzu) to meet their demands.</li> <li>(b) The high-demands of international student housing cause the rise of accommodation fees.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Physical:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Residential segregation between Chinese students and international students.</li> <li>(b) Upgrading the quality and facilities for international student apartments while lack of facilities and space development on Chinese student accommodations.</li> </ul>



Table 8.4: Studentification in university-managed accommodations off-campus: Chuangchunyuan/Chuangchunxinyuan (social housing); Wanliu (PBSA); and Global Village (PBSA)

<p><b>Social:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Three off-campus dorms can be viewed as gated residential enclaves to segregate with other established communities.</li> <li>(b) Chinese students as a self-segregated group are willing to reside in the gated student accommodations while international students seek for free lifestyle to escape the gated management.</li> <li>(c) Collective lifestyle in Chinese student dorms has reinforced the relationship between each other.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Cultural:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Students associated with cultural capitals have enhanced local contexts (e.g. Chuangchunyuan/Chuangchunxinyuan for Food Street; Global Village for Wudaokou).</li> </ul>
<p><b>Economic:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Two PBSAs have increased accommodation fees to provide a high-quality and facilities.</li> <li>(b) Student housing off-campus encourages local business, to maintain the active and dynamic infrastructure (e.g. Chuangchunyuan/Chuangchunxinyuan student to enhance the Food Street; Wanliu could improve the Wanliu shopping mall and local shops; and Global Village promotes the Wudaokou).</li> </ul>
<p><b>Physical:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Residential segregations have unfolded within three university-managed student accommodations, and segregating with local communities.</li> <li>(b) Three off-campus student accommodations are the important urban planning projects to enhance urban regeneration, to produce a diversity identity in Beijing.</li> <li>(c) New-built Chinese student accommodations have improved room space rather than on-campus.</li> </ul>

Table 8.5: Studentification in private student housing off-campus: Haidianlu (HMO)

<p><b>Social:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Some residents have been displaced by studentifiers to produce a socio-demographic change in Haidianlu community. Especially the polarised social-demographic structure (young group and elder group) in Haidianlu.</li> <li>(b) Studentifiers represent a highly-seasonal movement group.</li> <li>(c) Population density have challenged local public services (e.g. policing and cleansing), especially the increase refuse and the low awareness of refuse collection not only destroy the quality of environment, but also make conflicts between local residents and studentifiers.</li> <li>(d) Social segregation emerges between local residents and studentifiers, and reduces community attachment and cohesion; studentifiers can be viewed as a self-segregated group lack of social participations within community.</li> <li>(e) The social relations between three types of studentifiers with the HMO apartment are lax.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Cultural:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) The afflux of student populations has transformed the nature of community (from family community to studentifying community), which take place the fashion and young cultural lifestyle.</li> <li>(b) The rise of street-food/fast-food meets young group consumption practices.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Economic:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) The increased goods and services provide benefits for community residents, and Chinese studentifiers' activities have encouraged the development of local business (such as Food Street).</li> <li>(b) The floating population residing in Haidianlu creates an active rental housing market, with an increased value of housing property. The active student housing market in Haidianlu can be viewed as 'informal rental market' is operated and managed by landlord and informal housing agents (migrants from outside of community).</li> </ul>
<p><b>Physical:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) The housing structure of apartment has been restructured into two types of rooms (single room/collective room).</li> <li>(b) The increased studentifiers have challenged the quality of local environment.</li> <li>(c) Reduced space and quality of apartment have resulted in the life experiences for studentifiers.</li> </ul>

Table 8.6: Studentification in private student housing: Wudaokou (gated PBSA)

<p><b>Social:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) International studentifiers have displaced gentrifiers within gated community.</li> <li>(b) The social conflicts (e.g. noise nuisance and refuse) are occurring between local residents and international studentifiers</li> <li>(c) The enhanced policing secures local safety in order to avoid the crime.</li> <li>(d) International studentifier is a 'self-segregated' and margined group residing in the gated community.</li> <li>(e) The community attachment and cohesion have reduced by the afflux of international studentifiers.</li> <li>(f) Social segregation with university campus and other established communities.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Cultural:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Cultural differentiation within gated community produces the barriers between international students and local residents group.</li> <li>(b) The diversity cultural events and music venues have enhanced the landmark of Wudaokou.</li> <li>(c) International student cultural consumptions have transformed local infrastructure (e.g. traditional book shop becoming the 'cafe-book' shop).</li> <li>(d) International students residing in the new-built gated community could gain the modern urban experiences and practice, to becoming the future gentrifiers.</li> <li>(e) The diverse cultural capitals by different types of international students have promoted the sense of international outlook for Beijing city.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Economic:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) The rental housing demands by international students have encouraged the housing prices and rents, which creates the active student housing market.</li> <li>(b) The increasing international-oriented goods and services stimulate local socio-economic development, especially on the nigh-economy (pub and KTV).</li> <li>(c) The international labours are important to local language training institutions to train language skills for local residents (e.g. white-collar worker and students)</li> </ul>
<p><b>Physical:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Housing agency provides a range of student-housing products to attract international student-consumers, which has changed the form of family apartment into purpose-built student apartments.</li> <li>(b) Family apartments have converted into student facilities-oriented apartment.</li> <li>(c) The mass of students create an active transport links to benefit the local communities.</li> </ul>

### **8.3 Future avenues for research**

This thesis has focussed on a set of questions about studentification in China, and provides an important starting point for subsequent studies of studentification in China and beyond. Moving forward, there is much potential for this study to engage in a more explicit way with various institutional actors (e.g. HEIs, urban policy maker, housing agency, housing developer and local authority) to enhance the understanding of the processes of studentification for each stakeholder, and to have a more direct focus on informing policy on student housing within China. Key here could be providing evidence-based recommendations for national and local government to consider ways to mitigate the some of the negative effects of studentification upon local communities in China, especially the high-density population residing in the collective rooms within HMO and the emergence of social conflicts/exclusion between local residents and international students within gated communities. One dimension could be investigations of more or less regulations on the (in)formal housing agencies that are the letting HMO to Chinese studentifiers, for example perhaps employing the regulations of HMO from the UK context to Chinese HMO such as housing deposits and housing maintenance fees for rental housing management. Within this context, it would be beneficial to more fully examine the links between urban planning and student housing (e.g. location, high-rise, and facilities) in the Chinese context.

It may also be fruitful to undertake joined-up collaborations with HEIs in China, to perhaps survey the demands and preferences of students for accommodation, if collaborations and partnership working with HEIs can be forged. This may related to all the forms of student housing, both on- and off-campus. Other future research strands could usefully evaluate the fixed housing costs for Chinese student dorms and more fully consider the financial affordability of this student accommodation for Chinese students, perhaps considering if Chinese students could / would be willing to pay higher rental costs if different forms of student housing could be supplied on campus. Important questions could be addressed which include enhancing student experience by democratically electing student committee members to develop a 'student voice' and implementing postgraduate student welfare officers who are specifically trained for mental health, support and wellbeing scenarios. Indeed, future research is essential to explore the impacts of student volunteering activities

for local communities to enhance student-resident relations. Of course, these issues could be usefully explored within other Chinese contexts to further understand the connections between geographic contingencies and processes of studentification in China, as well as perhaps exploring these issues in Beijing, to build upon the findings of this thesis.

#### **8.4 A reflective statement**

On reflection, and with the benefits of hindsight, this thesis has involved a research process that has included many constraints and logistical barriers. Looking back on the process, perhaps it would have been advantageous to have sought to obtain an official permit to access more official data (e.g. the population changes in Haidianlu, Wudaokou and Beijing HE student numbers), and to interview housing managers and policy-makers at an earlier stage of the research process within the first year of study. If access had been granted and a permit could have been acquired, it may have been possible to use on a questionnaire survey on-campus, and this may have allowed the collection of more quantitative data. This would have been useful to analyse the social backgrounds of students (family, financial support), for example, in more detail. Nevertheless, given the experiences of this thesis, it is unlikely that a permit would have been acquired irrespective of when communication was first made with the institutions. Given more time and resources, the study could have been widened to include other non-national key universities in Beijing. To ensure that the research was achievable and practical the focus was placed on PKU, but other non-national key universities in Beijing may attract more local student. For instance, it would have been useful to enlarge the interview samples in Wudaokou, given there is more than one university (e.g. Tsinghua University is another national-leading and world-class university in Wudaokou, which attracts international and Chinese students studying and living in campus and Wudaokou). I could have also sought to collect more data from local housing agencies to more fully capture changes in the local housing market (family housing to rental HMO), if these agencies had been willing to share their data. Equally, I could have collected more data from local residents, in order to analyse the relationship between studentifiers and local residents (in HMO and PBSA), and to evaluate the community cohesion, although efforts to capture this data are difficult in the Chinese context

## 8.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this thesis provides empirical evidence that processes of studentification have unfolded in the Chinese context. In this way, this thesis confirms, and supports other academic representations, that processes of studentification are a global phenomenon; which are not specific to the UK context. Furthermore, evidence has been presented to show that the UK-based theoretical idea of distinct two waves of studentification are also pertinent to the Chinese context. This thesis has shown that the increasing production and consumption of three main forms of student housing (UMD, HMO and PBSA) have significantly changed local contexts. It has been shown that the influx of students into some distinct neighbourhoods has displaced local residents to produce the population changes.

The thesis confirms that the expansion of the HE system since 1999 was the key trigger for the growth of student populations and posed numerous challenges the increased demands on student housing. The effects of the additional expansion of postgraduate students also put pressures on the university to build up their stock of new student apartments, and produced other pressures from a group of Kaoyanzu. At the same time, the internationalization of the HE system has produced a growth of international students to reside in UMDs and/or new-built gated communities off-campus.

The thesis therefore raises crucial pressing questions about the role of university housing provision, internationalisation, and the connections to state regulations and expectations. These linkages have led to socio-spatial concentrations of Chinese students within UMDs, often viewed as a form of 'social housing' for the benefit of low-income students and which seek to eliminate homelessness. However, the growth of postgraduate students and international students has widened the student housing market beyond UMDs, with students living off-campus and within PBSA, particularly international students, across a range of locations within the global city of Beijing. As a result, this thesis concludes that there is a distinct lack of effective 'social mixing' and 'cultural interactions' between different types of student within Beijing. Current university housing arrangements and gated management practices, which are delivered in different ways for Chinese and international students, are

producing entrenched residential and social segregation within Beijing, which is epitomised by the unfolding of diverse geographies of studentification.

## Bibliography

Aldous, T. (1992) *Urban village: A Concept for Creating Mixed-use Urban Developments on A Sustainable Scale*. London: Urban Village Group.

Andersson, J., Sadgrove, J., Valentine, G. (2012) Consuming campus: geographies of encounter at a British university. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 13 (5), 501-515.

Atkinson, R., Flint, J. (2004) Fortress UK? gated communities, the spatial revolt of the elites and time-space trajectories of segregation. *Housing Studies*, 19(6), 875-892.

Atkinson, R. (2006) Padding the bunker: strategies of middle-class disaffiliation and colonisation in the city. *Urban Studies*, 43(4), 819-832.

Atkinson, R. (2012) Book Review: Gated Communities in China: Glass, Privilege and the Moral Politics of the Good Life. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 36(1), 196-197.

Atkinson, P., Silverman, D. (1997) Kundera's immortality: the interview society and the invention of the self, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 3, 3, 304-325.

Baumbusch, J. (2010) Scientific inquiry semi-structured interviewing in practice-close research. *Journal for Specialists in Paediatric Nursing*, 15(3), 255-258.

Beijing Haidian district government. (2012) Beijing Haidian district government website. <http://www.bjhd.gov.cn/> [last accessed 30/04/2012]. (in Chinese)

Beijing Real Estate Network. (2013) Beijing Real Estate Network website. Available at: <http://beijing.anjuke.com/community/view/80898> [last accessed 05/05/2013]. (in Chinese)

Blakely, E.J., Snyder, M.G. (1997) *Fortress America: Gated communities in the United States*. Washington D. C: Brookings Institution Press.

Bonnin, C. (2010) Navigating fieldwork politics, practicalities and ethics in the upland borderlands of northern Vietnam. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 51(2), 179-192.



- Brenner, N., Theodore, N. (2002) Cities and the geographies of 'actually existing neoliberalism'. *Antipode*, 34(3), 349-379.
- Britung, W. (2012) Enclave urbanism in China: attitudes towards gated communities in Guangzhou. *Urban Geography*, 33(2), 278-294.
- Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chan, K. W., Zhang, L. (1999) The hukou system and rural-urban migration in China: processes and changes. *China Quarterly*, 160, 18-55.
- Cheng, L.P. (2008) a major event in the history of education of China: expansion of enrolment for university in 1999. *China Net*, 16<sup>th</sup> December 2008. Available at: [http://www.china.com.cn/economic/zhuanti/ggkf30/2008-12/16/content\\_16956359.htm](http://www.china.com.cn/economic/zhuanti/ggkf30/2008-12/16/content_16956359.htm) [last accessed 06/05/2013] (*in Chinese*)
- Chih Hoong Sin. (2003) Interviewing in 'place': the socio-spatial construction of interview data. *Area* 35 (3), 305–312.
- Chatterton, P. (1999) University students and city centres-the formation of exclusive geographies: the case of Bristol, UK. *Geoforum*, 30, 117-133.
- Chatterton, P. (2000) The cultural role of universities in the communities: revisiting the university-community debate. *Environment and Planning A*, 32(1), 165-181.
- Chatterton, P. (2010) Commentary: the student city: an ongoing story of neoliberalism, gentrification, and commodification. *Environment and Planning A*, 42 (3), 509-514.
- Chacko, E. (2004) Positionality and praxis: fieldwork experiences in rural India. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 25 (1), 51–63.
- Cloke, J. (2004) *Practising Human Geography*, London: Sage.
- Clifford, N. (2009) *Key Concepts in Geography*. London: Sage.
- Clifford, N., French, S., Valentine, G. (2010) *Key Methods in Geography*. London: Sage.

- Collins, F.L. (2010) International students as urban agents: International education and urban transformation in Auckland, New Zealand. *Geoforum*, 41, 940-950.
- Crang, M. (2002) Qualitative methods: the new orthodoxy? *Progress in Human Geography*, 26 (5), 647-655.
- Deng, F., Huang, Y. (2004) Uneven land reform and urban sprawl in China: the case of Beijing. *Progress in planning*, 61, 211-236.
- Feng, J., Wang, Y. (2008) The characteristics and their mechanisms of social space in the peripheral communities of campus in Zhongguancun. *Geographical research*, 27(5), 1003-1016. (in Chinese)
- Feng, J., Zhou, Y., Wu, F. (2008) New trends of suburbanisation in Beijing since 1990: from government-led to market-oriented. *Regional studies*, 42(1), 83-99.
- Feng, Y. (2011) University of Nottingham Ningbo China and Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University: globalization of higher education in China. *Higher Education*, 65, 471-485. DOI 10.1007/s10734-012-9558-8.
- Fincher, R., Shaw, K. (2009) The unintended segregation of transnational students in central Melbourne. *Environment and Planning A*, 41, 1884-1902.
- Fox, M. (2008) Near-Campus Student Housing and the Growth of the Town and Gown Movement in Canada. *Towngownonline* web-site. Available at: [http://towngownonline.com/images/town\\_and\\_gown\\_movement\\_in\\_canada.pdf](http://towngownonline.com/images/town_and_gown_movement_in_canada.pdf).
- Forrest, R., Kearns, A. (2001) Social cohesion, social capital and the neighbourhood. *Urban Studies*, 38(12), 2125-2143.
- Friedmann, J. (2005) *China's urban transition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Gao (2010) 'Migrant village' within a city ignite debate. *The New York Times*. October, 2010. Available at: [http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/04/world/asia/04beijing.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/04/world/asia/04beijing.html?_r=0)

- Giroir, G. (2007) Space of leisure: Gated golf communities in China, in Wu, F (ed.) *China's Emerging Cities: the making of new urbanism*. London: Routledge. pp. 235-255.
- Glaser, B., Strauss, A. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Goix, R. (2005) Gated communities: sprawl and social segregation in Southern California. *Housing studies*, 20(2), 345-359.
- Graham, E. (2004) Breaking out: the opportunities and challenges of multi-method research in population geography. *Professional Geographer*, 51(1), 76-89.
- Greenbaum, T. (2000) *Moderating focus group: a practical guide for group facilitation*. California: Sage.
- Gu, C. (2001) Social polarization and segregation in Beijing. *Chinese Geographical Science*, 11(1), 17-26.
- Gu, C., Shen, J. (2003) Transformation of urban socio-spatial structure in socialist market economies: the case of Beijing. *Habitat International*, 27, 107-122.
- Hamnett, C. (2003) Gentrification and the middle-class remaking of Inner London, 1961-2001. *Urban Studies*, 40(12), 2401-2426.
- Hanassab, S. (2006) Diversity, international students, and perceived discrimination: implications for educators and counsellors. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 10(2), 157-172.
- He, S. (2007) State-sponsored gentrification under market transition the case of Shanghai. *Urban Affairs Review*, 43(2), 171-198.
- He, S., Wu, F. (2009) China's emerging neo-liberal urbanism, perspectives from urban redevelopment. *Antipode*, 41, 282-304.
- He, S., Wu, F., Webster, C., Liu, Y. (2009) Property rights redistribution, entitlement failure and the impoverishment of landless farmers in China. *Urban Studies*, 46 (9), 1925-1949.

- He, S. (2010) New-build gentrification in central Shanghai: demographic changes and socioeconomic Implications. *Population, Space and Place*, 16, 345-361.
- He, S., Liu, Y., Wu, L., Webster, C. (2010) Social group and housing differentiation in China's urban villages: an institutional interpretation. *Housing Studies*, 25(5), 671-691.
- He, S., Wu, F., Webster, C., Liu, Y. (2010) Poverty concentration and determinants in China's urban low-income neighbourhoods and social groups. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34 (2), 328-349.
- He, S., Qian, J., Wu, M. (2011) Studentification in urban village: A case study of Xiadu Village, Guangzhou. *Geographical Research*, 30(8), 1508-1519. (in Chinese)
- He, S. (2012) Two waves of gentrification and emerging rights issues in Guangzhou, China. *Environment and Planning A*, 44 (12), 2817-2833.
- He, S. (2014) Consuming urban living in 'villages in the city': Studentification in Guangzhou, China *Urban studies*, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0042098014543703>.
- Hoggart, K., Lees, L. and Davies, A. (2001) *Researching human geography*. London: Arnold.
- Hopkins, P. (2007) Thinking critically and creatively about focus groups. *Area*, 39, 528-535.
- Holloway, S.L., Hubbard, P.J., Jons, H., Pimlott-Wilson, H. (2010) 'Geographies of education and the importance of children, youth and families'. *Progress in Human Geography*, 34(5), 583-600.
- Holton, H., Riley, M. (2014) Talking on the move: place-based interviewing with undergraduate students. *Area*, 46(1), 59-65.
- Hsing, Y. T. (2006) land and territorial politics in urban China. *The China Quarterly*, 187, 575-591.
- Huang, Y., Clark, W. (2002) Housing tenure choice in transitional urban China: a multi-level analysis. *Urban studies*, 39(1), 7-32.

- Huang, F.T. (2003) Policy and practice of the internationalization of higher education in China. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 7(3), 225-240.
- Hubbard, P. (2008) Regulating the social impacts of studentification: a Loughborough case study. *Environment and Planning A*, 40, 323-341.
- Hubbard, P. (2009) Geographies of studentification and purpose-built student accommodation: leading separate lives? *Environment and Planning A*, 41, 1903-1923.
- Jeong, J. (2011) From illegal migrant settlements to central business and residential districts: restructuring of urban space in Beijing's migrant enclaves. *Habitat International*, 35, 508-513.
- Jiang, S.Q. (2002) Enlarging enrolment and securing quality of higher education. *Heilongjiang Researches on Higher Education*, 1(105), 121-123. (in Chinese)
- Katz, C. (1994) 'Playing the field: questions of fieldwork in geography'. *Professional Geographer*, 46(1), 67-72.
- Ken, T. (2011) Studentification in Ireland? analysing the impacts of students and student accommodation on Cork City, *Irish Geography*, 44, 191-213.
- Krueger, R., Casey, M. (2009) *Focus group: a practical guide for applied research*. London: Sage.
- Kim, H. (2010) International Ethnic networks and intra-ethnic conflict: Koreans in China. Palgrave Macmillan Press. Available at: [http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=af1cAQAAQBAJ&pg=PT145&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=af1cAQAAQBAJ&pg=PT145&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false) (last accessed 25/02/2014).
- Kinton, K. (2013) *Processes of destudentification and studentification in Loughborough*. PhD thesis, Loughborough University.
- Lee, J. (2000) From welfare housing to home ownership: the dilemma of China's housing reform. *Housing studies*, 15(1), 61-76.

- Lian, S. (2009) *Ant Tribe: A Report of Inhabited Village of University Graduates*. Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press. (in Chinese)
- Lin, J. (2012) Wang Wei: a policewoman management for a hundreds of foreigners. *Beijing Evening Newspaper web-site version*, July 2012. Available at: [http://bjwb.bjd.com.cn/html/2012-07/09/content\\_108846.htm](http://bjwb.bjd.com.cn/html/2012-07/09/content_108846.htm) (in Chinese)
- Liu, Y., He, S., Wu, F., Webster, C. (2010) Urban villages under China's rapid urbanisation: unregulated assets and transitional neighbourhoods. *Habitat International*, 34, 135-144.
- Liu, J. and Wang, X.Y. (2011) China's higher education expansion and the task of economic revitalization. *Higher Education*, 62(2), 213-229.
- Lin, Y., Meulder, B., Wang, S. (2011) Understanding the 'Village in the city' in Guangzhou: economic integration and development issue and their implications for the urban migrant. *Urban Studies*, 48(16), 3583-3598.
- Lim, M. (2014) The other voices of international higher education: an empirical study of students' perceptions of British university education in China. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2014.959476>.
- Luo, X. L., Shen, J.F. (2008) Urban growth coalition and anti-coalition in China's social exclusion: a case study of Nanjing. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 30(1), 2673-2694.
- Lo, K., Wang, M. (2013) The development and localisation of a foreign gated community in Beijing. *Cities*, 30, 186-192.
- Magnaghi, A. (translation by Kerr, D) (2005) *The urban village: A charter for democracy and local self-sustainable development*. Malta: Gutenberg Press.
- McCracken, G. (1988) *The long interview*, Sage: London.
- McDowell, L. (1992) Doing Gender: feminism, feminists and research methods in human geography. *Transactions of the institute of British Geographer*, 17, 4, 399-416.
- Miao, P. (2003) Deserted streets in a jammed town: the gated community in Chinese cities and its solution. *Journal of Urban Design*, 8, 45-66.

Ministry of Education. (1999) 21st century education revitalization action plan. *Chinese Higher Education*, 6, 3-7. (in Chinese)

Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. (2014) 'The note on strengthening management of university-managed dormitories in 20054' on the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China web-site. Available at: [http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe\\_162/200408/3556.html](http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_162/200408/3556.html) [28/03/2014]. (in Chinese)

Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. (2014) 'The note on further strengthening management of university-managed dormitories in 2005' on the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China web-site. Available at: [http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/more/more\\_1079/200608/17045.html](http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/more/more_1079/200608/17045.html) [28/03/2014] (in Chinese)

Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. (2014) 'The notice on the improving the management of university-managed dormitories in 2007' on the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China web-site. Available at: <http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s7060/201411/178437.html> [last accessed 28/03/2014]. (in Chinese)

Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. (2014) Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China web-site. Available at: <http://www.moe.edu.cn/> [last accessed 30/04/2014] (in Chinese)

Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the People's Republic of China (2015). Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the People's Republic of China web-site. Available at: <http://www.mohurd.gov.cn/zfggyfz/index.html>.

Mullings, B. (1999) Insider or outsider, both or neither: some dilemmas of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting, *Geoforum*, 30, 337-350.

Munro, M., Livingston, M. (2012) Student impacts on urban neighbourhoods: policy approaches, discourses and dilemmas. *Urban Studies*, 49(8), 1679-1694.

Peking University. (2012) Peking University web-site. Available at: <http://www.pku.edu.cn/> (last accessed 30/04/2014) (in Chinese)

Peng, X.X. (2001) Farewell Wudaokou. *Huaxia Human geography*, 15 (10), 50-55. (in Chinese).

Pow, C.P. (2007) Securing the 'civilised' enclaves: gated communities and the moral geographies of exclusion in (post-) socialist Shanghai. *Urban Studies*, 44(8), 1539-1558.

Pow, C. P. (2009) *Gated community in China: class, privilege and the moral politics of the good life*. Routledge: New York.

Po, L. (2011) Property rights reforms and changing grassroots governance in China's urban-rural peripheries: The case of Changping district in Beijing. *Urban Studies*, 48(3), 509-528.

Qiao, J. J., Xu, J. W., Li, X, J. (2009) Spatial-temporal evolution of village-level commercial activity near newly developed campus: A case study of Jinming Campus, Henan University. *Geographical Research*, 28(6), 1537-1549. (in Chinese)

Qian, J., He, S. (2012) Rethinking social power and the right to the city amidst China's emerging urbanism. *Environment and Planning A*, 44(12), 2801-2816.

Qian, J., He, S., Lin, L. (2013) Aestheticisation, rent-seeking, and rural gentrification amidst China's rapid urbanisation: The case of Xiaozhou village, Guangzhou, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 32, 331-345.

Rose, G. (1997) "Situating knowledge: positionality, reflexivity and other tactics", *Progress in Human Geography*, 21, 305-320.

Rugg, J., Rhodes, D., Jones, A. (2002) Studying a niche market: UK students and the private rented sector, *Housing Studies*, 17, 2, 289-303.

Samer, B., Uduku, O. (eds.) (2010) *Gated Communities: Social Sustainability in Contemporary and Historical Gated Developments*. London: Earthscan.



Sage, J., Smith, D., Hubbard, P. (2012) The rapidity of Studentification and population change: There Goes the (student)hood. *Population, Space and Place*, 18(5), 597-613.

Sage, J., Smith, D.P., Hubbard, P. (2012) The diverse geographies of Studentification: living alongside people not like us, *Housing Studies*, 27(8), 1057-1078.

Sage, J. Smith, D.P., Hubbard, P. (2013) New-build Studentification: A panacea for balanced communities? *Urban Studies*, 50(13), 2623-2641.

Savage, M., Bagnall, G., Longhurst, B. (2005) *Globalisation and Belonging*, Sage: London.

Seybolt, P.J. (1974) Higher Education in China. *Higher Education*, 3, 265-284.

Shurmer-Smith, P. (2001) *Doing cultural geography*. London: Sage.

Shin, H. B. (2007) Residential redevelopment and social impacts in Beijing, in Wu, F (ed.) *China's Emerging Cities: the making of new urbanism*. London: Routledge. pp. 163-194.

Shen, J. (2012) Changing Patterns and Determinants of Interprovincial Migration in China 1985-2000. *Population, Space and Place*, 18, 284-402.

Silverman, D. (2006) *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analyzing Talk, Text and Interaction* (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition). London: Sage.

Silverman, D. (2010) *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*. California: Sage.

Sina. (2012) Sina web-site. Available at: <http://www.sina.com.cn/> (last accessed 30/04/2013). (in Chinese)

Slater, T. (2005) *Gentrification in Canada's cities: from social mix to 'social tectonics'*, in Atkinson, R and Bridge, G (eds.) *Gentrification in a Global Context*. London: Routledge. pp. 39-56.

- Smith, N. (2002) New globalism, new urbanism: gentrification as global urban strategy. *Antipode*, 34, 427-450.
- Smith, D.P. (2002) Patterns and processes of 'studentification' in Leeds. *Regional Review*, 12(1), 15-16.
- Smith, D.P. (2005) 'Studentification': the gentrification factory? In: R. Atkinson and G. Bridge (Eds) *Gentrification in a Global context*, pp. 72-89. London: Routledge.
- Smith, D.P. (2007) The vulnerability of student populations and a new wave of studentification? Paper presented at the Forth International Population Geographies Conference, Chinese University of Hong Kong, July.
- Smith, D.P., Holt, L. (2007) Studentification and 'apprentice' gentrifiers within Britain's Provincial towns and cities: extending the meaning of gentrification?. *Environment and Planning A*, 39(1), 142-161.
- Smith, D.P. (2008) The Politics of Studentification and '(Un)balanced' Urban Populations: Lessons for Gentrification and Sustainable Communities? *Urban Studies*, 45(12), 2541-2564.
- Smith, D.P. (2009a) Student geographies, urban restructuring and the expansion of higher education. *Environment and Planning A*, 41(8), 1795-1804.
- Smith, D.P. (2009b) Urban regeneration, Purpose-Built Student Accommodation and studentification: 'for better for worse, for richer for poor'? *International Journal of Neighbourhood Renewal*, 1(2).
- Smith, D.P. (2011a) Book Review: *Gated Communities: Social Sustainability in Contemporary and Historical Gated Developments*. *Urban Studies*, 48(6), 1299-1301.
- Smith, D.P. (2011b) Geographies of long-distance family migration: moving to a 'spatial turn', *Progress in Human Geography*, 35(5), 652-668.
- Smith, D.P. (2012) The social and economic consequences of housing in multiple occupation (HMO) in UK coastal towns: Geographies of segregation, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37(3), 461-476.

Smith, D.P., Hubbard, P. (2014) The segregation of educated youth and dynamic geographies of studentification, *Area*, 46(10), 92-100.

Song, Y., Zenou, Y., Ding, C. (2008) Let's not throw the baby out with the bath water: The role of urban villages in housing rural migrants in China. *Urban studies*, 45(2), 313-330.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. (2012) The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China web-site. Available at: <http://www.gov.cn/> [last accessed 22/08/2012].

The China Youth Daily. (2012) The China Youth Daily official website, April, 15. Available at: [http://zqb.cyol.com/html/2014-03/27/nbs.D110000zgqnb\\_01.htm](http://zqb.cyol.com/html/2014-03/27/nbs.D110000zgqnb_01.htm) [last accessed 05/04/2013].

The Chinese details of 'universe centre': Wudaokou. (2014) Money 163 web-site. Available at: [http://money.163.com/special/wudaokou4\\_davos2013summer/](http://money.163.com/special/wudaokou4_davos2013summer/) [last accessed 06/04/2013] (*in Chinese*)

The Ministry of Education. (1999) 21st Century Education Revitalization Action Plan. *Chinese Higher Education*, 6, 3-7. (*in Chinese*)

Tsinghua University. (2012) Tsinghua University web-site. Available at: <http://www.tsinghua.edu.cn> [last accessed 06/04/2013] (*in Chinese*)

Trow, M. (1972) The expansion and transformation of higher education. *International Review of Education*, 18, 61-84.

Universities UK. (2006) *Studentification: a guide to challenges, opportunities and good practice*. London: Universities UK.

Wang, Y.P. (2001) Urban housing reform and finance in China: a case study of Beijing. *Urban Affairs Review*, 36(5), 620-645.

Wang, Y.P., Wang, Y., Bramley, G. (2005) Chinese Housing Reform in State-owned enterprises and its impacts on different social group. *Urban Studies*, 42(10), 1859-1978.

- Wang, Y. P., Murie, A. (2011) The new affordable and social housing provision system in China: implications for comparative housing studies. *International Journal of Housing policy*, 11(3), 237-254.
- Wang, B. and Zhang, B.L. (2009) Consideration of Chinese higher education expansion within last ten years. *Journal of Southwest Petroleum University (Social Sciences Edition)*, 2(1), 116-119. (in Chinese)
- Wang, X. (2010) A policy analysis of the financing of higher education in China: two decades reviewed. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 23(2), 205-217
- Wang, H.X. (2011) Access to higher education in China: differences in opportunity. *Frontiers of Education in China*, 6(2), 227-247.
- Wang, X., Liu, J. (2011) China's higher education expansion and the task of economic revitalization. *Higher Education*, 62(2), 213-229.
- Wang, L. (2011) Social exclusion and inequality in higher education in China: A capability perspective. *International Journal of Education Development*, 31, 277-286.
- Wang, X. (2013) Shop record on Wudaokou. *The Founder*, 01, 42-43 (in Chinese)
- Wang, M.Y., Kee, P., Gao, J. (2014) *Transforming Chinese cities*. Routledge: New York.
- Webster, C. (2001) Gated cities of tomorrow. *Town Planning Review*, 72, 149-169.
- Webster. (2002) *gated community*, in D. Gregory, R. Johnston, G. Pratt, M. Watts and S. Whatmore (eds.) *the dictionary of Human Geography* (5<sup>th</sup> Ed). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. pp. 267-268.
- Webster, C., Glasze, G., Frantz, K. (2002) The global spread of gated communities. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 29, 315-320.
- Wen, M., Wang, G. (2009) Demographic, psychological, and social environmental factors of loneliness and satisfaction among rural-to-urban migrants in Shanghai, China. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 50(2), 155-182.

- Winchester, H.P.M. (1999) Interviews and questionnaires as mixed methods in population geography: the case of lone fathers in Newcastle, Australia, *Professional Geographer*, 51(1), 60-67.
- Wu, W. P. (2002) migrant housing in urban China-choice and constraints. *Urban affairs Review*, 38(1), 90-119
- Wu, F. (1996) Changes in the structure of public housing provision in urban China. *Urban studies*, 33, 1601-1627.
- Wu, F. (2002) China's changing urban governance in the transition towards a more market-economy. *Urban Studies*, 39, 1071-1093.
- Wu, F. (2005) Rediscovering the 'gate' under market transition: from work-unit compounds to commodity housing enclaves. *Housing Studies*, 20(2), 235-254.
- Wu, F. (2009) *China's Emerging Cities: the making of new urbanism*. London: Routledge.
- Wu, F. (2010) Gated and packaged suburbia: packaging and branding Chinese suburban residential development. *Cities*, 27. 385-396.
- Wu, F. (2012) Neighbourhood attachment, social participation, and willingness to stay in China's low-income communities. *Urban Affairs Review*, 48(4), 547-570.
- Wu, F., Zhang, F., Webster, C. (2013) Informality and the development and demolition of urban villages in the Chinese peri-urban area. *Urban studies*, 50(10), 1919-1934.
- Wu, Y. and Yang, Z. (2011) Influence of the changes of the hierarchical structure of higher education on graduate employment under the background of enrolment expansion of colleges and universities. *Journal of Higher Education Management*, 5(6), 81-85.
- Xiang, B., Wei, S. (2009) International student migration and social stratification in China. *International Journal of Education Development*, 29, 513-522.

Xu, F. (2008) Gated communities and migrant enclaves: the conundrum for building 'harmonious community/she qu'. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 17(57), 633-651.

Yang, R. (2002) *Third Delight: The Internationalization of Higher Education in China*. London: The Routledge Press. Available at: <http://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=tvrl5S1hdfcC&oi=fnd&pg=PR10&dq=internationalization+higher+education+china&ots=BGICPpUP5O&sig=o4vSEKjFLcxYNsSH6OjV3NTd7d8#v=onepage&q=internationalization%20higher%20education%20china&f=false> [last accessed 08/08/2013].

Yang, R., Welch, A. (2012) A world class university in China? The case of Tsinghua. *Higher Education*, 63, 645-666.

Yao, S.J., Wu, B., Su, F., Wang, J.L. (2010) The Impact of Higher Education Expansion on Social Justice in China: a spatial and inter-temporal analysis. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 19 (67), 837-854.

Ye, L. (2011) Demographic Transition, Developmentalism and Social Security in China. *Social policy and Administration*, 45(6), 678-693.

Yeo, K. (2012) A Transnational community and Its Impact on local Power Relations in Urban China: The case of Beijing's "Koreatown" in the Early 2000s. in Haines, D.W., Yamanaka, K., Yamashita. (eds) (2012) *Wind over Water: Migration in an East Asian Context*. *Asia Pacific Studies* (2). Available at: [http://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=hxK6SyEdFZMC&oi=fnd&pg=PA78&dq=Wudaokou+housing&ots=qam7DVPWp8&sig=alxP78YEYSN\\_X-p06YrabevYYrE#v=onepage&q=Wudaokou%20housing&f=false](http://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=hxK6SyEdFZMC&oi=fnd&pg=PA78&dq=Wudaokou+housing&ots=qam7DVPWp8&sig=alxP78YEYSN_X-p06YrabevYYrE#v=onepage&q=Wudaokou%20housing&f=false) [last access 24/02/2014].

Yu, Z. (2006) Heterogeneity and dynamics in China's emerging urban housing market: two sides of a success story from late 1990s. *Habitat International*, 30(2), 277-304.

Yip, N, M. (2012) Walled without gates: gated communities in Shanghai. *Urban Geography*, 33(2), 221-236.

Zha, Q. (2011) China's move to mass higher education in a comparative perspective. *Compare*, 41 (6), 751-768.

Zhang, L. (2011) The political economy of informal settlements in post-socialist China: The case of chengzhongcun(s). *Geoforum*, 42, 473-483.

Zhang, C., Chai, Y (2014) Un-gated and integrated work united communities in post-socialist urban China: a case study from Beijing. *Habitat International*, 43, 19-89.

Zheng, S., Long, F., Fan, C., Gu, Y. (2009) Urban villages in China: a 2008 survey of migrant desettlements in Beijing. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 50(4), 425-446.

Zheng, W., Resnik, D. (2010) Research integrity in China: problems and prospects. *Developing World Bioethics*, 10(3), 164-171.

Zhu, J. M. (2004) Local development state and order in China's urban development during transition. *International Journal of Urban and Regional research*, 28(2), 424-447.

## **Appendix 1**

### **Abbreviation**

CPC: Communist Party of China

GFA: gross floor area

GER: gross enrolment rate

HE: higher education

HEI: higher education institution

HMO: houses in multiple occupation

PRC: People's Republic of China

P/M: per/month

P/Y: per/year

P/W: per/week

PKU: Peking University

PBSA: purpose-built student accommodation

RMB: Renminbin (Chinese Currency Unit)

UMA: university-managed Accommodation

UMD: university-managed dormitory



## Appendix 2

### Qualitative Interview Samples List

<b>Focus group</b> (3 samples; total time: 2h37m49s)	<b>Semi-structured interview</b> (42 samples; 42 interviewees Time: 28h30m28s)
International students in PKU (3 male participants; Time: 30m)	PKU (on-and off- campus) (20 samples; 20 interviewees; Time: 12h 26m 38s)
Postgraduates in PKU (6 female participants; Time: 37m49s)	Haidianlu (3 samples; 3 interviewees; Time: 1h34s)
Students from human geography of PKU (2 male participants and 2 female participants; Time: 1h 30m)	Wudaokou (9 samples; 9 interviewees; Time: 4h38m19s)
	Student-oriented businessman (2 samples; 2 interviewees; Time: 30m)
	Academics (8 samples, 8 interviewee; Time: 9h54m57s)

## **Appendix 3**

### **Research Questions**

#### **Example: Semi-structure interview: academics**

##### Student Housing:

1 Based on your experiences, how do you think about the student housing on campus in Peking University?

2 Where is the popular location for international student renting housing off-campus?

##### Campus (especially for academic who is staff in Peking University and/or who was studying in Peking University):

1 Do you think campus of Peking University is a gated community?

2 How about the relations between Peking University and local community?

3 What were your students' experiences in Peking University? And what are the main changes during past year in Peking University?

##### Social life:

1 How do you think about the Chinese student social life?

2 What are the differences between Chinese students and international students?

##### Community:

1 How do you think about the location of Wuddaokou?

2 What is the type of housing in Wudaokou?

3 Who are living in Wudaokou?

4 How do you think about the location of Haidianlu?

5 What is the type of housing in Haidianlu?

6 Who are living in Haidianlu?

7 How do you think about the processes of globalisation and internationalization in the city of Beijing?