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Wonderful but uncertain times: youth transitions and the residential strategies of Erasmus students in Lisbon's housing crisis

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ABSTRACT: For the last decade, Lisbon has been an attractive global destination for foreign visitors (including Erasmus students) following significant processes of urban change and gentrification interlinked with the neo-liberal managerialism of the city. The spread of tourism-related activities and the rise of short-term rentals have progressively brought about a significant housing crisis furthermore favoured by the laissez faire policies of local and national government. Erasmus students have simultaneously been the driving force and the victims of these processes; triggering the entrance of various old buildings into the student focused rental housing market, which entailed a general worsening of living conditions coupled with continually rising prices. The current international student housing market in Lisbon is experiencing a steady but remarkable increase in rental prices, creating enormous expectations among investors and owners. Consequently, the anxiety of searching for a place to live is now part of the transition to adulthood process for Erasmus students in Lisbon and thereby broadly embodying the contemporary housing uncertainty prevailing in Southern Europe spanning inequality of access, offer scarcity and temporality. Based on long-term ethnographic fieldwork including in-depth interviews, this chapter provides a portrait of the discourses and practices of resistance, adaptation and belonging with which Erasmus students in Lisbon (and beyond) are resisting the current housing crisis.

1. Introducing Lisbon's housing crisis

Lisbon, with a population of around 500,000 inhabitants (2,800,000 including the surrounding metropolitan region) has been attracting the attention of real estate investors, international students,

tourists and lifestyle migrants for a long period, a process that has accelerated in the last decade. Since 2009, the most important tourism industry awards have continuously distinguished the Portuguese capital with many prizes, including the World's Leading City Break Destination in 2017. However, the city's success and its capacity to attract flows of international visitors, and capital, is far from being some random outcome: the organization and publicity generated by hosting certain major events reflects a repositioning of Lisbon in the landscape of highly visited (and touristified) cities, especially following the accession of Portugal to the European Community in 1986. The rise of Lisbon in the global urban destinations market subsequently stemmed, primarily, from three particular events: the designation of Lisbon as the European Capital of Culture in 1994, the organization of the World Exposition in 1998 and the hosting of the 2004 UEFA European Football Championship (Malet Calvo & Ramos, 2018). Whatever the actual specific extent may be, this trilogy of events served to stimulate the development of a local industry devoted to visitors and services (from hotels to souvenirs) while also providing new infrastructure that made the city more accessible, especially to foreigners. However, first and foremost, these events achieved the founding of a brand: Lisbon was reimagined, represented and finally launched into the global mass tourism market and now able to attract lifestyle migrants and international students (Santos, 2000).

Another turning point arose out of the solution to the 2008 crisis, that took advantage of this urban relevance with a neoliberal agenda based on attracting tourism and policies to attract the interest of global capital investments. Together, tax benefits for investment funds and foreign residents, the liberalization of housing prices, programmes to stimulate rehabilitation of old buildings, facilitating eviction and the reduction of tenant rights, soon brought about not only a housing crisis with hundreds of evictions (and rampant increases in rents) but also success in terms of attracting financial resources to the Portuguese capital (Mendes, 2018). Taking advantage of the brand new Lisbon image, tourism was also boosted by this agenda, especially after the 2011 crisis in Mediterranean North African markets, that diverted many traditional sunny-cheap destination routes back towards Europe. In consequence, many properties entered the housing market either as short-term rental apartments for

holidays, with their owners (whether private landlords or investment funds) earning much more than they would have from putting properties onto the traditional rental market (Cócola-Gant & Gago, 2019). Free of the former public controls, rental prices surged dramatically, leaving a housing crisis that still persists and reflects another other side of Lisbon's success.

The global visibility of Lisbon also attracted other middle and upper class international visitors, including lifestyle migrants and international students, who have played central roles in the transformation of the city's urban economy. In fact, due to growing numbers of international students, many owners and investors are now transferring their apartments from AirBnB to Uniplaces, a web-based platform for student housing rentals. However, even for the transnational European middle-classes enrolled in university degrees, the current housing situation in Lisbon is exclusive and difficult. Considering that arranging a place in state student residences borders on the impossible, the vast majority of students have to enter the private sector, whether in expensive residences or private apartments found through platforms such as Uniplaces. Currently, the average monthly expenses for a private room (including bills) in a Lisbon apartment shared with other students is €607, with variations above or below depending on the respective location and the building and room conditions, according to the Portugal Student Housing report by the housing consultant JLL (2019). In some areas, the student accommodation rental prices have rocketed over the last three years. For example, the São Sebastião area, close to many campuses, experienced an increase of 61 per cent in average rental prices between 2016 and 2017. The high demand for apartments due to the growing size of this sector and owner expectations around hosting international students (some with significant levels of purchasing power), have generated a process of segregation for many Portuguese students arriving from other parts of the country and international students unable to afford the rents in Lisbon, including some Erasmus programme students.

2. A methodological approach to the Erasmus student households of Lisbon

The highest profile human mobility within many European cities is the circulation of university students under the Erasmus framework; the most successful and renowned programme ever launched by the European Commission. More than three million Erasmus students have circulated across 33 countries since 1987 and, from 2014 onwards, the programme has been extended to embrace a broader range of training and learning action that involve European mobility in Erasmus+. Exchange students undertake medium term stays of between three and twelve months (with an average of six months) within a relatively homogeneous cultural area: the 28 EU member states in addition to associate countries in the region. The sojourns of these students (average age 22.5) is based on bilateral agreements between university faculties which have, as their backdrop, a programme of equivalences and grants funded by the European Commission. However, the social lives of Erasmus students have been hidden for decades behind an institutional perspective on the programme based on various studies, some funded by the Commission, to evaluate the effects and outcomes of the EU's 'flagship programme' (see, e.g. Maiworm, 2001; Teichler and Janson, 2007). Thus, the subjective experiences of Erasmus students remain deeply buried under quantitative statistical analysis that tends to overlook their own agency, providing no clues as to the nature of their lives abroad.

Outside EU funded studies, 'student migration' literature has begun to look at the role of international students as social agents and their complex relationships with other societal processes (see, e.g. King and Raghuram, 2013; Carlson, 2013). The work of Murphy-Lejeune (2002) highlights the condition of students as 'strangers' (following a characterization made by the German philosopher Georg Simmel) and draws on their cross-cultural transitional processes of arrival, adaptation and negotiation in a new, foreign environment. Furthermore, their position as young, middle-class temporary strangers in university cities makes them some sort of new class of transnational urban consumers (Malet Calvo, 2018), who participate in different urban processes and transformations. This view is supported by Collins (2010), whose study of South Korean international students in Auckland (New Zealand) reveals how student-related identities and economies overlap with the city's broader transformations. It is important to stress how their presence simultaneously attracts tourist

flows (visiting families and friends) and that they often return to the city or country they have visited in the subsequent years, transforming these students into tourists. In fact, some authors consider the international student experience itself as ‘academic tourism’ (Rodrigues et al., 2012), using the label ‘educational travel’ (Van’t Klooster et al., 2008) since destination choice often involves evaluating the attractions and global image of the urban destination rather than the quality of the respective university (see also Van Mol & Ekamper, 2016). In addition to the leisure and night-time economies stimulated by their presence (Chatterton, 1999, 2010), the most obvious processes in capitalizing student lives stems from the emergence of a housing market targeting international students, opening up the opportunity for powerful economic actors, homeowners and low-capital investors to earn money from the stays of these foreign students. However, in spite of their potential vulnerability as young foreigners, international students have proven capable of organizing their own individual and collective housing strategies; as social actors thereby affirming their subjectivity and lifestyles in a transition to adulthood process that takes place abroad.

This issue was explored during the course of interviews conducted between 2015 and 2017 with 37 Erasmus students as part of fieldwork in a research project on Erasmus students and their assorted relationships in the city of Lisbon^{1.1}. Contact with these students ranged from those approached on social networks such as Facebook, for example, when students posted complaints about housing related problems, to face-to-face contact at student events such as parties and reunions. Country of origin, gender and youth lifestyles were considered in order to represent the characteristics of the universe under study. Additionally, every interview included the students talking about the housing experiences of friends in similar situations, which contributed to reinforcing arguments. The study additionally applied the Holton and Riley methodology to some students (2014), consisting of walking with them through different urban areas to elicit their feelings and understandings of liveability in the buildings we passed along our way.

The majority of the interviews (22) took place individually with the remainder stemming from focus groups on housing problems (15), while always adopting the theoretical framework of interviewing as one facet of ethnographic inquiry in anthropology (Skinner, 2013). In this sense, the interviews represented the culmination of relationships established between the researcher and the students, with the majority held in student homes with the researcher correspondingly able to observe and inquire about the household conditions and the problems of liveability, and meet some of their flatmates. The selection of some excerpts of these 37 interviews in the following analysis aims to present the voices of these foreign students on the housing conditions that prevail in an irregular and uneven housing market.

3. Looking for a home: online and offline individual anxiety

The journey of Erasmus students begins online, several months before their departure: checking up on accommodation prices, watching videos and pictures about Lisbon and joining specific foreign student groups on social networks such as Facebook. Within these groups, they may start building a network of friends among future foreign students in Lisbon, while simultaneously framing their imaginaries about the city (Beech, 2014). This is how Paula, for example, got to know Javier and why, based on their common youth lifestyle affinities (music tastes, political ideologies), they decided to start searching for a home in Lisbon together even before meeting personally.

We found a flat in Benfica and we did everything via the internet: we made the reservation, we paid the deposit, and we signed a contract and scanned it because the owner told us that she had problems with the former tenant. It was the cheapest place we found. In spite of being far from the city centre, there were good public transport links to the faculty. Of course, afterwards, we had tons of problems in the flat (Paula, Spain, 22).

There are two main strategies deployed by Erasmus students to find accommodation in Lisbon: booking a room before travelling to Lisbon (through on-line platforms and social networks) or personally visiting several rooms to find an appropriate place to live. Booking online represents the first option among students: holding a reservation endows them with a sense of safety, seeing off any potential further problems that might appear in the process of searching alone in a city where you are unable to understand the language:

Ten days prior to my arrival, I was so worried that I just booked a place on the internet. It was my first time living on my own and I wanted a final place where I could arrive at straight from the airport. Even with my parents going with me I changed the plans, which were visiting places while staying in a hostel. However, the problems started right at the beginning: the girl who was supposed to open the house did not appear (Erika, Germany, 21).

The second option is accomplished by going to Lisbon either in the summer or at the beginning of the semester, usually a few days before starting classes, and staying in a hostel while searching for a room. In this case, students may be accompanied by family or friends to support them in this process even though this is still always conveyed as an unsettling experience. The case of Aneta is paradigmatic of those visiting places from a hostel. She arrived in Lisbon with a friend from her faculty with whom she planned to share a room and they stayed at a hostel while looking for a flat.

It was a horrible experience. Everything was so expensive or in ruins... and when we refused a room we felt like maybe we could run out of rooms in the city. After three days, I don't know how many flats we visited, the hostel guy tell us that we had two more days and then we should leave because they had other reservations. So, we just picked the next flat we visited (Aneta, Czech Republic, 23).

The very first source of the anxiety that leads to such poor housing decisions is the structure of property, housing supply scarcity and the laissez-faire policy implemented by local and national authorities against the backdrop of Lisbon's growing success as a tourist and student destination. According to JLL (2019), the student housing market in Lisbon can be divided into three main models: (1) Private landlords who advertise around 6,000 rooms not only on specialised booking platforms such as Uniplaces but also through either digital or traditional methods such as adverts on Facebook, notices in college lobbies and word of mouth; (2) Public and private universities offering their own student accommodation in large purpose-built buildings with around 1,800 rooms; (3) Professional apartment and housing operators offering renovated or purpose-built rooms, studios and apartments (some of them sited in high-quality and luxury facilities) that have around 2,190 rooms. Therefore, there are only around 10,000 rooms publicly available for students, which represents a huge shortfall considering that 59,000 students were enrolled in Lisbon's universities with home addresses outside of the city (with 17,900 international students). This situation becomes understandable considering that the majority of students (Portuguese from elsewhere in the country, Brazilians, Chinese or Cape Verdeans) are accommodated by networks of friends and family already living in the city. However, Erasmus students (arriving from other European countries) lack the option of relying on their own networks and hence have to access the housing market directly and experience urgency over finding a home as soon as possible:

At the beginning, you go wherever you can because you are overwhelmed and you pick the first secure option to have a place to stay. You know how it is: you arrive here in a house and after some months you change to another, better house because you realise that you are paying too much and other people are living in cheaper flats (José Luis, Spain, 22).

In addition, such housing uncertainty is especially felt by Erasmus students in keeping with their young ages as well as the fact that they are travelling to an unknown, foreign country for six to twelve months, staying far from their families often for the first time in their lives. Studying abroad is often considered a project of personal and family investment in education aimed at maintaining or improving future working opportunities and the cultural capital of children, in particular from middle- to upper-class families (Windle and Nogueira, 2015). However, from the students' own perspectives staying abroad is often grasped as an emotional adventure characterized by intense and meaningful processes of adult self-affirmation and personal individuation that are not only full of wonder and new experiences but also troubled by stages of anguish and sorrow. Thus, it is no coincidence that the current situation of housing uncertainty in Southern Europe (forced evictions, gentrification, high rental prices and exclusivity) is embodied by these students in their processes of transition to adulthood, thereby contributing to broadening their sense of affliction.

4. Making a liveable home: power and sociability in Erasmus households

According to student narratives, there are three sources of housing anguish during their stays in Lisbon: (1) the liveability conditions of their accommodation, (2) problems with power, control and abuse by landlords and (3) the sociability and sense of belonging in the housing environment. Due to the recent growth in the number of affluent students in Lisbon, some small companies and private landlords have begun accommodating students in old downtown flats, sometimes without contracts or even providing basic living conditions. As a consequence, the most prominent problems about accommodation conditions centre on the house itself: no heating, bad insulation, water leaks and damp, which become particularly problematic during winter rain. In my interviews, 18 out of 37 students stated significant liveability problems in their houses.

The house had a central heating system but the landlord said, 'You don't switch this on because otherwise you have to pay a lot more.' So, we bought electric heaters for each room and we

used them secretly every day. At the end of January, the owner came in and said ‘Oh my God! The bill is three times bigger than usual!’ and we said, ‘This is because we were fucking freezing!’ Finally, he accepted the situation and we didn’t pay a thing. (Martina, Italy, 23)

Various students made specific complaints about such situations, including insulation problems and water infiltrations that made it impossible to establish liveable conditions, and furthermore, made them susceptible to health problems as was the case with two of my interviewees. Some landlords even sought to profit from this situation by charging an extra daily fee to students for using heaters, which was the case for ten of my interviewees. However, the cold and damp are not the only problems students face in terms of liveability:

As you’ve just seen, the stairway to access the flat is shit, eaten away by damp. And so it is with the entire house. If you go to the bathroom, you’ll see. Also, at the beginning, the beds were supported by a pallet and they were full of bugs. You could even see them running! One of my flatmates told the owner that there were fleas in the beds and he replied: ‘Maybe you brought them. Think about the places you went because there were no fleas before in this house’. After complaining a lot he went to IKEA to buy new beds (Larissa, Greece, 22).

Erasmus students are always negotiating their precarious situation and the extent of the rules imposed by the owner’s (or housekeeper’s) authority. We have just seen how some landlords require special payments during winter even when the rent agreement already includes the bills. Moreover, some students suffer further economic abuse from their landlords with requirements for additional security deposit payments (equal to two months’ rent in advance) in order to repair any damage or cover the non-payment of rent should the student leave unexpectedly. In some houses, the organized struggle of flatmates to get the conditions essential to liveability, including proper beds, usable chairs or proper kitchenware represents the only way to ensure a decent life in material terms. However, the

most significant conflicts confronting owners and students relate to guests spending the night in the house, which is in some places forbidden or incurs an additional charge.

In our house, we have to inform about visitors and pay 10 euros for an extra bed (that they bring out from a closed, dirty room) and 10 euros per person per night. We always pay because we have a housekeeper and it is impossible to avoid, but in our owner's other house there are no controls and a Spanish guy was evicted because he was caught hosting five friends who spent four days in the house. Finally, the owner allowed him to stay but after paying for all this. Imagine the amount he had to pay! (Giuseppe, Italy, 22)

This control over visitors is maintained either by cleaning ladies, housekeepers or unexpected landlord visits, which creates an atmosphere of continuous distrust in these students' lives. Consequently, they feel controlled and dispossessed in their own environments, a situation involving a lack of intimacy impossible to imagine in the case of adult tenants.

Our owner went to the house to receive the rent in person. If you claimed to be out he said, 'No problem, leave the money in your room and I'll pick it up' and we said, 'No, no.' But, anyway, he showed up all the time without telling us, to control the situation and stuff. The house had no life at all. A month later, a friend of mine moved to another house, just with Portuguese students and I finally decided to go with her. There's no comparison! In this house people are always spending the night or leaving their luggage or coming to have lunch, without the owner controlling what we do all the time. We finally feel like we have a house with life (Hélène, France, 22).

This leads us to the third concern pointed out by students, relating to sociability in the apartment. The lack of a common space (usually because the landlord has converted it into another

bedroom) is mentioned as a central issue in preventing (or complicating) the formation of a community of friends among flatmates that they often refer to as ‘family.’

The owner has two flats in the same building, that’s 12 or 13 students altogether. When I arrived, they already knew each other and used to spend some time together. I’m lucky about my flatmates: they accepted me immediately into their family. There is also an older Italian couple living with us and we call them our ‘mom’ and ‘dad’ (Lukas, Germany, 21).

This emphasis on recognizing their flatmates as particular members of a household is repeated continuously in student narratives but there are other patterns of social household organization. Among many other examples of how students organize their ways of dwelling, there is a house with an absent owner which students took control of, converting it into some sort of commune for alternative Erasmus students (Casa Dona Clara). The sense of belonging to the community, the events organized in the house, and the sharing and circulation of everyday objects and goods substantiate the existence and the attraction of this place where Erasmus students circulate year after year on the recommendation of former inhabitants.

5. Strategies of resistance and adaptation to student housing

In order to (re)produce their desires, as in the previous case of Casa Dona Clara, students engage in some forms of resistance while living, learning and acquiring experiences within unfavourable housing market conditions. It should be recalled that Erasmus students are relatively defenceless compared with their local peers: they lack the networks and support of family and friends, their Portuguese language competences may be limited and they are generally unaware of local practices and legal regulations on housing. However, this alleged position of high vulnerability is often contested through creativity in the ways they inhabit their homes, and build solid friendships and support structures, as well as through making recourse to new technology and social networks to

denounce problem landlords and housing scams. The ability to book a room through platforms and social networks before arriving might be perceived as dangerous for students, who could easily be deceived due to the distance but this also enables students to disseminate complaints, bad reviews and warnings about housing frauds and bad places to students coming to Lisbon for the next semester. This has been the case for several private residencies installed in old buildings without the appropriate conditions for liveability, leading many to warn incoming students by posting warnings on Facebook Erasmus groups:

DO NOT RENT WITH LISBON MANSION!!!. Hi everyone, I'm writing this because I want to warn you about a problem I faced during my Erasmus, I decided to rent a room with the very infamous lisbonmansion... I already knew that some people had trouble with them but decided to do it anyway because I was in a hurry to find a place to live (...) (Alexandre, July 27th 2015).

Thank you, buddy, it's always good to hear this kind of stuff as early as possible. I have heard some similar problems that people had with LisbonResidences (unfriendly staff, charging €25 for overnight visitors, etc.). So probably it's best to just rent a flat with other students and don't throw money at those organisations that only make problems... Anyway, everybody enjoy your stay and see you around (Clara, July 27th 2015)

In addition to warning peers, Erasmus students are capable of organising their own individual and collective strategies for housing in a complex and multifaceted process of resistance and mutual support. For instance, another common circumstance among Erasmus students which is often turned against them stems from their unregulated status in some houses (with neither real contracts nor bills), that leaves them in a defenceless and exposed position. However, students often make the most of these non-formal, written and verbal agreements (systematically disrespected by the owner): whether

to abandon the house mid-semester or challenge the landlord's authority without any major consequences.

Other students tell us that the landlord never returned the deposit we made at the beginning, using excuses such as we damaged the furniture or we broke some dishes, taking advantage of the fact that we have no time to argue, because usually we take a plane the day after leaving the house. So, since we have one of these fake contracts, we decided that we will not pay the last month to compensate for this scam and the many problems we had in the house. If we are evicted we can spend the last month at a friend's house (Marc, Spain, 22).

As foreign students in an unknown country, Erasmus students in all likelihood will fall victim to all kinds of deceptions and misunderstandings. However, their social networks in the new context prove to be strong and reliable sources of information, resources and mutual support, which enables students to be adaptable and strike back when facing conditions of abuse abroad (Smith et al, 2014). Switching to other houses in the middle of their stays or for the second semester constitutes a very common practice among these students and is truly feared by landlords who then need to find another student quickly to keep receiving their monthly rental payments. These situations however arise out of the consequences of Erasmus facing really poor student housing conditions in Lisbon and their organized responses are leveraged by recourse to the strong ties developed with other students in the same situation:

After two months of disrespecting the contract (we were supposed to pay for a weekly cleaning service that never appeared) the final straw was the landlord's violent reaction when he discovered we had a night visitor. He even threatened us by saying he'd call his rough, crazy friend to get rid of us. We kept on living in the house for a few weeks and promised to pay for that visitor and, when it was the time to pay, we all just disappeared from the house at

the same time (four students) and we are currently accommodated in friends' houses while looking for a new place. (Camila, Spain, 23)

Following the lessons learned from the previous examples, there comes the need to refute three interlinked prejudices about the capacities of international students to deal with the housing market even while considering their disadvantaged starting point: students as uninformed consumers, students as unaware strangers and students as reckless youth. Furthermore, this victimization often derives from an adultist perspective (Bell, 2018) that disregards student agency and the many ways deployed by young people to contest the student housing market structure in Lisbon. Ultimately, the current housing situation in Southern Europe seems to be at least as equally unfair and problematic for informed, responsible local adults as for foreign, inexperienced young students.

6. Concluding remarks

The aim of this chapter was to expound on the strategies and adaptations of a particular group of international students participating in Erasmus when confronting the troubled conditions of student accommodation in Lisbon, taking into account their relatively defenceless position (as young, foreign, non-Portuguese speakers). However, as pointed out by Smith et al. (2014), young migrants such as students have manifold competences in resisting the overwhelming power of institutions and markets in urban contexts, beginning with their ability to build their own social worlds while abroad. Following this line of thought, we then presented some examples of student housing practices, their strategies for resisting and fighting back against the deceptions of some landlords; for example, the sudden switching of accommodation mid-stay and the building of supportive groups of flatmates and friends in the visited city.

Lisbon has increasingly become an exclusive destination, not only for local and international students, such as those on the Erasmus programme, but also for local inhabitants. The close

relationship between the pressures of real estate capital over rental prices, the tax-free policies enacted by the government to attract investment and the city's success as a tourist destination explains the current situation. In Lisbon, Erasmus students participate in several overlapping urban economies: the travel and tourist economy (as temporary international visitors), the leisure and nightlife economy (as young people) and the knowledge and education economy (as university students). However, the most relevant economy in which they participate is housing and real estate, a very profitable sector that also causes the vast majority of their anguish from the beginning to the end of their stays. In this sense, this article adopted the form of a sequential journey through the lives of some Erasmus students, from their first contacts with the student housing market to the strategies and resistances they apply to dealing with landlord abuses and scams, which are themselves indirectly caused by the lack of regulation and the centrality of real estate capitalism to contemporary urban development, including the student housing market. In February 2019, the Portuguese government approved the Student Housing National Plan under which 4,720 new beds will be provided for the next four years in Lisbon (plus 2,097 when including the metropolitan area). However, it remains dubious whether the introduction of this insufficient supply at controlled prices will contribute to improving the conditions experienced by the bulk of students. A bolder measure accompanying this provision of public accommodation would involve some sort of rent control over student housing, which represents a central sector targeted by owners and investors when speculating and establishing their market expectations and thereby contributing to the general rise in Lisbon rental prices.

Whatever the case may be, the housing uncertainties of Erasmus students (that will certainly continue into the future) represent the embodiment by the young transnational middle classes of these contemporary features of housing, contributing to a normalizing of a situation of great vulnerability coupled with an overall lack of rights. More specifically, their experiences as international students might be considered within the scope of a deep, unexpected, non-formal education process consisting of the learning about the uncertain conditions of contemporary housing during their transitions to adulthood. In this sense, accessing and maintaining a rented home in Southern Europe has gradually

become an experience packed with uncertainty and anguish in which the temporary ties (whether formal or informal) between the landlord and the tenant are increasingly characterized by mutual distrust. The experiences lived out by these mobile students during their transition to adulthood may thus be considered a non-formal process, recognizing newly prevalent conditions facing their generation within the context of renewed, gentrified and exclusive European cities.

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