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Location Matters. The Role of Belonging and Place-Making among Owner-Occupiers, Tenants, Landlords and Second Homeowners in a Neoliberal Waterfront Area: The Case of Ocean Village, Southampton

by

Yahya Aydin

<u>Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy</u>

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<u>Abstract</u>

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This thesis examines neoliberal urbanism and its impact on people's feelings and attachment to place. All tenure groups are affected by neoliberal urban policies (e.g., developments, privatisation, marketisation). Whereas renters, in particular younger people, are struggling to buy properties, some homeowners are able to buy additional properties for investment within neoliberal urban environments. Community studies of urban life have previously investigated the role of tenure status with respect to people's interests, identities and their participation in daily life. This thesis examines different types of belonging, and place making and place maintenance, and argues that tenure status alone cannot explain people's feelings about, interest in, and attachment to a particular place. It is based on a case study of Ocean Village Southampton which is an example of a redeveloping waterfront area typical of neoliberal urbanism. The thesis compares different tenure groups in Ocean Village Southampton and addresses the following research questions: *What are the significant differences and similarities between tenure groups regarding the decision to move into and the experience of, a waterfront area? How do tenure status and location intersect and how are they different with regard to the decision to move into or buy within, and the experience of, a waterfront area?* Both quantitative data, derived from 177 questionnaire participants, and qualitative data, from semi-structured interviews with 42 participants, were used in this thesis. This project sheds new light on the neglected issue of location and showed that both tenure status and location affect people's feelings about and attachment to a particular place. The study indicates that different tenure groups prefer the same location, rather than attempting to find other, cheaper rented accommodation or looking for other investment options.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name:	Yahya Aydin

Title of thesis:	Location Matters. The Role of Belonging and Place-Making among Owner-Occupiers, Tenants, Landlords and Second Homeowners in a Neoliberal Waterfront Area: The Case of Ocean Village, Southampton.

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

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2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
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7. Parts of this work have been published as:

1) Aydin, Y. (2016). Sense of Place and Belonging in a Redeveloping Waterfront Area, in Newbery, M., Martin, N. F., Gibson, B., Mayon, R. & Westbury, S. (2016). *Sea Lines of Communication: Discovery,* Southampton: University of Southampton, 178-195.

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8. Parts of this work have been presented as oral presentation:

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Signature:		Date:	

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Abbreviations

BSAS – British Social Attitudes Survey

BTL – Buy to Let

DCLG – Department for Communities and Local Government

HCA – Homes and Communities Agency

HTB – Help to Buy

ISAs – Individual Saving Accounts

ONS – Office for National Statistics

SEH – Survey of English Housing

SPSS – Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

RTB – Right to Buy

Chapter 1   Introduction

Homeownership has been increasing globally since the end of the Second World War (Ronald, 2008). Official statistics reported by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG), show that in the UK in 2015 the percentage of owner-occupiers (63.6%) was higher than of tenants, both private and social rented (36.4%), in the UK in 2015. Nevertheless, since the financial crisis in 2008, the percentage of owner occupiers is decreasing and the percentage of renters is rising (see Figure 2.1. below) This graph shows very clearly that in 1981 owner occupiers (57.2%) exceed renters (42.8 percent, of which 31.7% are in social housing and 11.1% rent privately) in the UK. The graph also shows that the percentage of owner occupiers drops in 2008 and is decreasing further in the following years whereas the proportion of renters, especially private renters is increasing (from 11.1% in 1981 to 19% in 2014-2015). The drop in social housing renters has been increasing since 1979 due to privatisation with the Right to Buy (RTB) housing policy in the UK. Here is a similar trend in terms of the percentage of homeowners in the USA (63%) and in other European countries including France (64.9%), the Netherlands (69%), and particularly Spain (77.8%) (The Statistical Portal, 2016). However, there are other countries, such as Germany (51.7% in 2015) and Switzerland (43.4% in 2015), with lower rates of homeowners/higher rates of renters. Thus, in some countries, like the UK, homeownership matters more than in others due to local economic and cultural circumstances.

Existing studies of tenure groups (Saunders, 1990 and 2016, Ronald, 2008, Mallett, 2004) have examined the differences and similarities of tenure groups. These well-known studies focussed particularly on the meaning and role of becoming a homeowner. They have argued that becoming a homeowner is interconnected with social status and political views (Saunders, 1990 and 2016), as well as social class and financial power. Homeownership not only defines social status but also contributes to personal security and happiness, and influences relationships with non-owners (Ronald, 2008). In contrast to Saunders (1990), Ronald (2008) noted that the meaning and distribution of homeownership varies across different countries and cultures, which can be explained by cultural and economic factors. Similarly, neoliberalism is emerging in different countries in different forms (e.g. USA, UK, China or Japan) (Harvey 1989 and 2005), and it is therefore difficult to generalise in terms of one type of neoliberalism in practice (Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010). The existing literature (Saunders, 1990 and 2016, Ronald, 2008, Mallett, 2004) suggests that

such attitudes are influenced by homeowners' ownership status, interest, feelings, experience, and attachment that other people can change. These studies focus on different places in England, such as Manchester (Savage, et al. 2005), London Watt (2009), Derby, Slough and Burnley (Saunders, 1990) and they mainly focus on people's tenure status to explain the similarities or the differences observed when examining their choices of participation in daily life. According to Saunders (1990) the home plays a crucial role in creating a sense of self and identity and social class through consumption rather than through employment. Additionally, Savage *et al.* (2005:207) noted that, "…residential space is a key arena in which people define their social position." Furthermore, Savage et al. (2005) highlighted locals and outsiders as a reason for building up people's connection. While Savage and his co-authors focussed on existing residents' and newcomers' connections in terms of social class differences, Watt (2009) compared how existing residents (coming from the private market and social housing and also belonging to white and non-white backgrounds) were connecting with their living areas. According to Watt (2009), middle-class inhabitants subscribed to a discourse of selective belonging, particularly once they perceived their houses in a positive manner in a specific place as opposed to the wider area and other middle or lower-class people. In other words, there are different approaches in the literature to explaining people's choices and feelings about a specific place and other people with their tenure status, length of stay, or social class. My study considers both tenure status and location to examine people's belonging, feelings and attachment to a particular place.

The following factors influence renters' and buyers' choice of a specific location: proximity to work, availability of leisure facilities, schools, health care, the security of the location and its affordability (Saunders, 1990 and 2016, Ronald, 2008, Watt, 2009), Depending on residential status and location, should these interests be met residents can maintain their connection with a particular place and engage in place-making and place-maintenance activities (Ronald, 2008). However, for example, what if they lose their job and are no longer able to afford to live in a specific place? There might be a number of reasons why people stay (even if they would like to leave) or leave (even if they would like to stay). Tenure groups are interested in, and affected by the associated built environment, the socio-economic environment, accessibility of the area, and personal points of interest regarding a specific location (Sautkina, Bond and Kearns, 2012). Tenure status is a result of being able and willing to buy or to rent, where the choice of a specific location is determined by these four general reasons (built environment, socio-economic environment,

accessibility of the area, and personal points of interest). Therefore, it is important to compare the satisfaction and attachment to a particular location of renters and homeowners because younger generations are less likely to become homeowners in the UK according to official statistics (ONS, 2017). Moreover, my case study (Ocean Village, Southampton) suggests that people seem to prefer to rent in specific locations even though they might be able to buy in others. Thus, both tenure status and location need to be examined simultaneously to properly determine the impact of these factors on people's feelings about and attachment to a particular place.

Saunders' (1990) study "A Nation of Home Owners is a key resource in the field of housing studies. He investigated the reasons for buying or renting in three English towns in the 1980s after the introduction of the Right to Buy (RTB) housing policy. According to Saunders (1990), tenure status rather than place influenced people's decisions, feelings and interactions. I argue that he overlooks the importance of location. Therefore, my thesis is structured in terms of identifying and addressing two key factors, which limit the 'resource model' posited by Saunders (1990): a lack of recognition of the importance of location in terms of tenure groups, and an overemphasis on the role of tenure status itself. Because of this, but without ignoring either of these two aspects, my study will focus on both tenure status and location on the basis of belonging and place making and place maintenance. I ask the following research questions to increase our understanding, and to examine the role of tenure status (e.g. owner-occupiers, tenants, landlords and second homeowners) and location within a neoliberal urban (waterfront) environment:

- *What are the significant differences and similarities between tenure groups regarding the decision to move into or buy within, and the experience of, a waterfront area?*
- *How do tenure status and location intersect and how are they different with regard to the decision to move into or buy within, and the experience of, a waterfront area?*

1.1   Theoretical and conceptual approach

Both tenure status and location are shaped by and influenced by the urban environment and urban policies. Privatisation, housing policies, and developments change the urban environment and can affect the distribution of owners and renters, and indeed the meaning

of home ownership and the locations (e.g. convenience, profit, accessibility). To better understand these processes, my thesis first describes neoliberal urbanism.

Firstly, classic urbanism (Keynesian era) regulated the development of and public investment in infrastructure and the public (social) housing provided. However, neoliberalism, which in the free market is enabled by minimal state control with regard to social, political and economic life, has been policy since the 1970s as a response to the Keynesian era. Neoliberalism has become the dominant political and ideological form of capitalist globalisation since the 1970s (Brenner and Theodore, 2002), and has taken an active role in effectively governing society. In other words, neoliberalism offers 'political economic practices that propose that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade' (Harvey, 2005: 2).

Cities have become crucial arenas which one can see as an expression of neoliberalism, such as in place-marketing, urban development corporations, public-private partnerships, property redevelopment schemes, etc. (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). Market-based economy and elite consumption are the main purposes of neoliberal cities. Therefore, as a result of these policies, neoliberal urbanism was born and, specifically, the different aspects of neoliberal urbanism can be better understood by tracing the changes in built environments in terms of urban economy and urban planning. As Brenner and Theodore (2002) summarised, how neoliberal policies (re)shape the urban environment is a result of neoliberalism and neoliberal policies, the privatisation of urban public spaces for elite/corporate consumption and the restructuring of traditional neighbourhoods established in cities in favour of megaprojects for the purposes of investment have increased inequality between the members of society through gentrification. In other words, neoliberal urban policies have affected both the physical appearance of cities through new developments, and social structure through inequality and competition.

As a result of urban development schemes, neoliberal urbanism has led to the conversion of urban places to global competition arenas and elite consumption spaces. At the same time, while globalisation is increasing, the mobility of capital and investments are being drawn towards favouring the establishment of large-scale property development projects (e.g. entertainment and leisure centres, residential apartment complexes) rather than small-scale developments. The main aim of these kinds of project is to gain increased profit and rent income within the neoliberal urban environment. To the ends of addressing this same

aim, historical and archaeological sites, green areas and public places are being changed and transformed into housing and leisure areas (e.g. hotels, restaurants, shopping malls) by private companies (Zukin, 1995 and 2009, Kratke, 2014). While this situation illustrates entrepreneurialism within the neoliberal urban environment (Harvey, 1989), urban places have ultimately become a means for people who want to live or invest due to neoliberal urbanism. As noted above, because of privatisation and minimal state control, the competition in urban life has been increasing since the 1970s due to both state and private companies both in the UK and globally. The same relationship can be seen between neoliberalism and housing policies as an expression of neoliberalism in the English urban context. More specifically, after 1979, with the Thatcher era, the privatisation of social housing and subsidisation of new owners started with the Right to Buy (RTB) policy (Disney and Luo, 2017), which is still in place in the UK. Since 1996, with the further introduction of Buy to Let (BTL), small investors and landlords have been encouraged to buy their new home(s) in the UK. More recently, a further policy, referred to as Help to Buy (HTB), was introduced in 2013 to support new homeowners in terms of a deposit or mortgage in the UK (Homes and Communities Agency, 2015). Local and national government in the UK supported these policies; however, they ultimately lost future income despite creating new housing policies since 1979 in the attempt to solve accommodation problems. However, with these housing policies, while privatisation and elite consumption is on the increase, private tenants, especially young private tenants who are aged between 25 and 34, are struggling to buy properties within the current competitive, free market context (ONS: Labour Force Survey: 2015 and Saunders, 2016).

Due to these housing policies, there has been a significant increase in the proportion of housing that is privately owned (by fewer owners) in the UK (from 50% in the 1970s to over 70% at the beginning of the 2000s). Within this context, not only privatisation but also overdevelopment have increased considerably in urban areas in the UK. However, while local and national governors support these housing policies, as a result of which the percentage of homeownership remains at over 60%, the younger generation are struggling to buy properties since 1980s in the UK. The percentage of private tenants has doubled from 10% to approximately 20% since the beginning of the 2000s (ONS: Labour Force Survey: 2015). Due to the costs and increasing proportion of second homeownership and debt because of student fees and the prevalence of lower incomes than in previous generations, generational differences have emerged whereby the younger generation are not able to buy their own properties. In particular, as noted above, people aged between 25

and 34 are struggling to afford to do so, however, and are mostly forced to rent (ONS: Labour Force Survey: 2015 and Saunders, 2016). While Harvey (2005:2) pointed out that neoliberalism offers "strong private property rights", based on the above statistical information, the current situation or recent trend is clearly different to Harvey's expectations. Current housing policies have not offered a solution to the inequalities in the housing market, and the gap between owners and renters is increasing each year in the UK. Both the housing policies and existing community studies of urban life (Saunders, 1990 and 2016, Ronald, 2008, Mallett, 2004) focus on financial differences between owners and tenants through the adoption of a neoliberal perspective, whereby same literature argue that existing owners and middle- or upper-class people are the main beneficiaries of housing policies. The official statistics (ONS and DCLG) indicate that while the proportion of homeowners is decreasing gradually, it is still greater than 60%, and also that the proportion of private renters is increasing and social renters decreasing in the UK.

I examine neoliberalism in this thesis by focussing on two main aspects that influence the decision to move to a specific place as either a buyer or renter, and further the process of connecting to it. The two aspects are tenure status and location, and I examine their impact on people's feelings and attachment. This is important because tenure status is not enough in itself to explain people's feelings and attachment, as existing studies have discussed (Saunders, 1990 and 2016, Ronald, 2008, Watt, 2009 and Savage et al. 2005). Urry (1995) and Massey (2005) indicated changes both in people's feelings about and attachment to a specific place and meaning of same place for them in different time periods. Existing long-term residents and newcomers have different connections to and feelings about a given place, and these feelings will of course change over time (Savage *et al*., 2005). However, as discussed by both Urry (1995) and Massey (2005), a specific time-period (e.g. pre- or post-Second World War era) affects people's choices and feelings about a particular place (Lake District) due to changes (e.g. activities and lifestyle) in the same area. The above two scholars emphasised the importance of location when comparing different groups of people and time periods. At the same time, Saunders (1990) noted that people feel a sense of belonging, regardless of the place, due to the social status derived from their tenure status rather than their occupation. Thus, there are two different perspectives that explain belonging, one of which is connected to tenure status whilst the other is connected to location. I argue that it is important to simultaneously focus on both tenure status and location to better understand belonging, place making, place maintenance, attachment and participation in activities in the neighbourhood where one lives.

Savage's et al. (2005) concept of elective belonging and Watt's (2009) concept of selective belonging provide certain distinct clues about people's choices and feelings. These concepts are important to examine people's reasons for buying or renting and their feelings about a particular place. While elective belonging is shaped by the stage in the life-course and ability to choose a specific place to live (Savage *et al*. 2005 and 2010), selective belonging involves creating barriers between people's selection and others (e.g. people or place) (Watt, 2009). Depending on personal aims and interests, people choose a specific place and then justify this choice, and they will look upon their selection more positively than they assess other issues, such as other places or people; in other words, choosing a place and distancing oneself from other people and places both physically and emotionally. Place is used as a means to illustrate both elective and selective belonging at the same time. These two approaches are essential to the examination of tenure status both before and after connecting with a specific place. In this thesis, I examine these two different senses of belonging to ensure that factors that are important to people's attachment, such as tenure status or location, are properly considered.

Then, in order to examine how people experience a particular place in terms of their tenure status and location, this research focusses on place making and place maintenance to explore tenure groups' experiences of a particular place. In exploring urban life in terms of daily life and social relationships, the meanings of place and belonging have become more complicated than ever, and are clearly not connected to a single place (Savage *et al*., 2005). Place, in this context, has generally been described as local, particular and unique in terms of social and physical aspects (Pierce, Martin and Murphy, 2010). It cannot be thought of as separate from its physical and social context, such as buildings, apartments, and their residents (*ibid.*, 55). As Zukin (1995) noted, new commercial environments are not only different physically, they also create new social environments, such as shopping environments or entertainment facilities that have their own cultures. Therefore, it is necessary to consider each location and specific circumstances on an individual basis. In other words, according to existing studies, people create their connection with a specific place through the surrounding physical context. However, the use of the internet and social media is embedded in everyday life. As existing studies (Wellman, 2005, Hampton, 2007 and Gruzd *et al*. 2016) discuss, online and offline life affect each other, and cannot be considered in isolation. Thus, it is necessary to focus on both online and offline life to create a holistic approach that allows for a more complete understanding of people's

choices, feelings and experiences within a particular place and the contemporary urban context.

Lastly, it is essential to note the importance of the relationship between place and belonging. Benson (2014: 3101) stated, "…the relationships that people have with their places of residence are often framed through the language of belonging". Similarly, in the same study, Benson also noted that belonging emerges within a specific kind of residential environment and place. Place is important as a reflection of personal belonging in a particular area (Savage *et al*., 2005). In addition, attachment to a physical place represents a sense of belonging with regard to people's traditions, cultures, needs, aspirations and futures (Torabi and Sima, 2013). In other words, different places, such as slums, ghettos and suburbs, represent different types of belonging (Relph, 1976). Belonging is a product of the emotional attachments formed due to the physical context, and the intensity and type of belonging changes from one place to another (Rodger and Herbert, 2007). Hence, it is difficult to analyse belonging without addressing different aspects of the location of interest. While the above studies highlight the importance of location as an influencing factor in explaining types of belonging, it is undeniable that location can explain tenure groups' choices and practices in daily life after accounting for certain assumptions about the differences between the financial power of owners and renters. While different places result in different attachments and feelings, people will have different types of belonging throughout their life (Relph, 1976 and Savage *et al.,* 2005). For instance, elective belonging depends on the personal stage of the individual's life course and their views before connecting with a specific place. This thesis brings together both tenure groups' attachment/feelings (elective and selective belonging) and activities (place making and place maintenance) to explain the role of tenure status and location (waterfront environment).

The research questions in this thesis will be addressed using quantitative and qualitative research methods. There were 177 participants in my online questionnaire and 42 participants in my semi-structured interviews, the participants in which belonged to different age groups, genders/sexualities, nationalities and tenure groups (e.g. second homeowners, landlords, tenants, and owner-occupiers).

1.2 Introduction to Ocean Village, Southampton

The rise of neoliberalism not only restructured the economy and economic relationships, but also affected urban policies and urban places. As discussed in the previous section (section 1.1), cities are, in effect, 'arenas' that illustrate neoliberalism in practice through the example of property and land development (Brenner and Theodore, 2002 and Sager, 2011). Redeveloped waterfront areas are one of the most important 'expressions' of neoliberalism which include missing public spaces, privatisation, property and developments intended for elite consumption (Brenner and Theodore, 2002 and Rubin, 2011). The waterfront area of Ocean Village, Southampton, therefore allows me in this instance to pursue my research questions in terms of different tenure groups, location and neoliberal urban developments. This vibrant waterfront area has not yet been studied and includes different tenure groups (e.g. student tenants or professional tenants, professional owner-occupiers, retired owner-occupiers, landlords, second homeowners, etc.) and different types of developments (e.g. residential, leisure and work). As a redeveloping waterfront area, Ocean Village provides the opportunity to examine the different reasons and feelings (elective or selective belonging) and attachment (place making/maintenance) of different tenure groups at the same time.

The area in which Ocean Village is located was historically used for different purposes (e.g. residential, leisure or work). "The history of Southampton as a modern port starts here, with the construction of the 16 acre Outer Dock (now Ocean Village Marina) in August 1842" (Groombridge, 2014:9). In 1838, the Southampton Dock Company was formed by Parliament. The first dock in Southampton, now called the Outer Dock, opened in 1842. Subsequently, the Inner Dock, with an area of 10 acres and with 2,575 feet of quayage, officially opened in 1851. Queen Victoria subsequently opened the Itchen Quays (1876) and Empress Dock (1890) (Groombridge, 2014; Legg, 2010). From the beginning of the twentieth century until the Second World War, there was an increasing amount of shipping and passengers during which time the railway companies played a significant role (Moody, 1998). Because of improvements in trade, new docks opened in Southampton between 1900 and 1945 (e.g. Ocean Dock in 1911, New Docks in 1930, and Dry Dock in 1933) (Roussel, 2009). The railway contributed to the considerable increase in transatlantic passengers and goods traffic. In turn, this resulted in the requirement for increased dock accommodation and the construction of new docks (Groombridge, 2014). There was an increasing trend in the development of docks in Southampton.

Ocean Village is located at the mouth of the River Itchen in Southampton and is close to the city centre and other significant parts of the city, (e.g. Oxford Street, which has a number of restaurants and pubs, and docks). The figure below (Figure 1.1) gives a sense as to the extent of Ocean Village in the 1980s. Ocean Village used to be an important port, which provided ferry business to France and the Channel Islands from the Second World War until the 1980s (Legg, 2010). However, the transformation of the Outer Dock, now called Ocean Village, began in the latter half of the 1980s. In the first steps of the redevelopment, the developers wanted to create 150 new jobs and a new food hall in Ocean Village (Wow in Soton, 1986). The majority of the old warehouses and buildings were demolished, and £75m was spent on the completion of the first phase of the redevelopment (Rood, 1986). The redevelopment itself began in 1986 with the construction of Canute's Pavilion Shopping Centre. Forty-nine shops with galleries for exhibitions were also completed during the first years of the redevelopment (Wright, 1987), though the redevelopment included houses, restaurants, cafes, cinemas, a 450-berth leisure marina, and the Royal Southampton Yacht Club (JTP Architecture, 2016; Russel, 2009). The new developments changed the physical structure of Ocean Village with its retail, leisure and office facilities in the 1980s (Pinch, 2002). The above changes took place between 1986 and 1987 in particular (Groombridge, 2014), where Ocean Village became a mixed, redeveloping waterfront area that was attracting various different types of people (e.g. dwellers, visitors and workers) with each of its different types of development.

The diversity of Ocean Village increased the popularity of the area, and its transformation continued through the 1990s into the beginning of the 2000s. The luxury and modern apartment blocks, completed in 2003, transformed Ocean Village area into a trendy and fashionable location with an entirely new atmosphere (Legg, 2010). Warehouses were converted to offices and a cinema complex (Southampton City Council: City Characterisation Project, 2009: 254). Additional restaurants and ground floor bars were established on the north side of the marina (*ibid*, 260).

Figure 1.1 Ocean Village in the 1980s
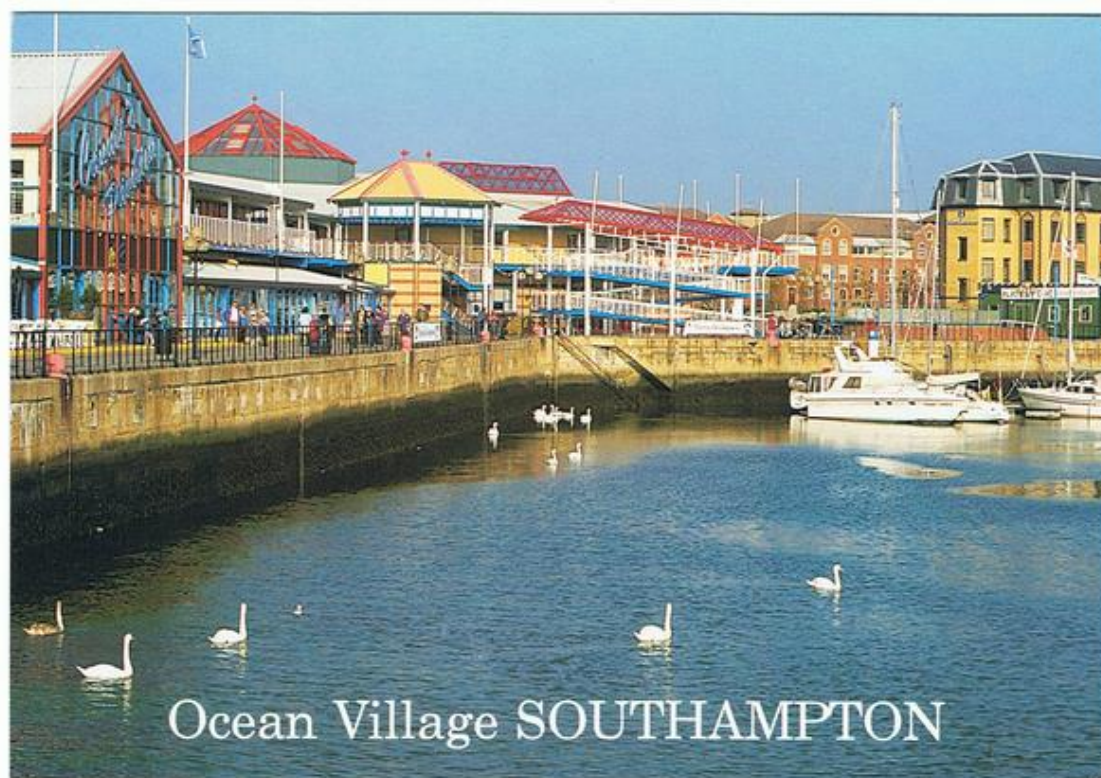
Source: http://www.hotelroomsearch.net/im/hotels/gb/ocean-village-marina-apartment-17.jpg [Accessed 01.07.2017]

However, this transformational trend slowed down in 2008 and 2009 due to the global financial crisis in the UK (Groombridge, 2014). Since then, however, Ocean Village has seen continuous development. Many businesses, including businesses such as PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC), established their offices in this neighbourhood. Admiral's Quay in Ocean Village officially opened in mid-February 2015, and offers Southampton's residents a variety of new cafes, restaurants and flats. In 2015, Nicholas Roach, the chair of the Nicolas James Group announced the establishment of a five-star hotel and a luxury apartment complex in Ocean Village (a total investment of £33m). (Groombridge, 2014). The construction of the new hotel and apartment complex was completed in 2017. The hotel (Southampton Harbour Hotel) is the only five-star hotel in Southampton.

Table 1.1. below describes the distribution of the population of Ocean Village, which is provided for a better understanding of the current situation in this redeveloping waterfront area.

Table 1.1 Total Households and Population in Ocean Village in 2017

	Owner-Occupiers	Social Rented	Private Rented	Living Rent Free	Total
Total Households	43.1% (330)	8.1% (62)	47.7% (365)	1.1% (9)	100.0% (766)
Total Population	42.0% (537)	7.8% (100)	49.4% (633)	0.8% (11)	100.0% (1281)

According to the estimated ONS 2017 data, there are a total of 766 households in Ocean Village. These properties are not evenly distributed between the tenure groups: 43.1% (330) households are owned, 8.1% (62) are socially rented, and 47.7% (365) are privately rented. In addition, there are nine properties where people reside in rent-free properties. If we compare these statistics with the national average in terms of the distribution of owner-occupiers and tenants, in Ocean Village, while the percentage of owner-occupiers is lower, the percentage of tenants is higher. Around 50% of owners rented out their properties in Ocean Village.

Currently, there are seven restaurants and bars in Ocean Village, four of which are on the waterside while the remaining three are located towards the back of the area. Additionally, there are new restaurants and cafes located in the new hotel. In addition, there were two cinemas, the Harbour Lights Picture House Southampton and the Cineworld Cinema, until summer 2018 when the latter was demolished to make way for another residential development. The residents of Ocean Village use these facilities not only to watch movies but also as meeting places and venues for various activities. There are limited public spaces (e.g. gardens, marina area, and parking areas) available to Ocean Village residents. Figure 1.2 demonstrates the current situation within Ocean Village, including its Yacht Club (on the right side), residential buildings, restaurants (on the ground floor of each buildings) and the new five-star hotel (on the left side). Comparing Figure 1.1 and 1.2 perhaps perfectly illustrates the enormous changes Ocean Village has undergone in the course of the last three decades.

Figure 1.2 Ocean Village in 2018

Sources: *Photo taken by author 04.08.2018.*

Lastly, it is important to consider property prices, in terms of both sales and rental costs, in Ocean Village. This data is crucial to the realisation that Ocean Village is an up-market residential area of Southampton.

Table 1.2 Rental prices for properties in Southampton and Ocean Village in July 2019

	1 bedroom	2 bedroom	3 bedroom	4 bedroom
Average rent in Southampton	£640 pcm	£853 pcm	£1076 pcm	£1392 pcm
Average rent in Ocean Village	From £800 to £950 pcm	From £900 to £1900 pcm	From £1300 to £2400 pcm	£1850 pcm

Sources: The data produced from the websites: https://www.rightmove.co.uk/, https://www.zoopla.co.uk/ and https://www.home.co.uk/.

Tables 1.2 and 1.3 demonstrate that Ocean Village is a more expensive area in which to buy or rent compared with average sale and rental prices in Southampton as a whole. The flat's rental price is start from £800 and go up to £1850. The same is true for property

prices, which start from £160,000 and go up to £675,000. There are a few properties that are close to the lower end of the average rental and sales prices in Ocean Village. However, most properties' rental and sales prices are close to the upper bounds of the average prices for Southampton. Nevertheless, if we consider table 1.1 and tables 1.2 and 1.3 together, Ocean Village is clearly attractive to both renters and homeowners, regardless of the prices of the properties. In other words, participants ranked where they lived relative to their choice of tenure type.

Table 1.3 The sale prices of properties in Southampton and Ocean Village in July 2019

	1 bedroom	2 bedroom	3 bedroom	4 bedroom
Average sales in Southampton	£134,288	£213,503	£288,963	£424,710
Average sales in Ocean Village	From £160,000 to £189,000	From £220,000 to £700,000	From £310,000 to £675,000	£735,000

Sources: The data above was taken from the following websites: https://www.rightmove.co.uk/, https://www.zoopla.co.uk/ and https://www.home.co.uk/.

The above tables (1.1, 1.2, and 1.3), describe the profile of Ocean Village's population and the prices of properties (both rented and for sale) and suggest that people are influenced by where they live regardless of their tenure status. According to these statistics, Ocean Village has as a mixed population, which includes both a significant number of owner-occupiers and tenants at the same time.

It is important to note that tenants in Ocean Village pay higher rents than those in other areas of Southampton. This amount of rent might give them the option to buy properties within other less desirable places in the same city after saving a deposit. Therefore, it is necessary to consider place and tenure status simultaneously in order to determine the exact reasons for people's choices and feelings in this regard. The place of Ocean Village is an interesting example in terms of its location (e.g. next to water, water view, close to local facilities, close to main roads and transportation (train, airport, bus), proximity to the city centre and ease of access to other parts of the city and close cities, prestige area). Its distinctive location makes Ocean Village an interesting case study through which to evaluate the importance of tenure status and location as an influencing factor in the decision to move into or buy within a certain place, and the experience of a certain place.

1.3   Thesis Overview and Chapter Outline

This thesis consists of six chapters. In this chapter, I have introduced the main motivation of my thesis, research aims and questions. In addition, I introduced the case study area to illustrate how it is important to my study. In chapter 2, I focus on different contexts as part of this research and provide a review of the existing literature. The main focus of my discussion is on neoliberalism and neoliberal urbanism in waterfront areas using housing policy examples from the UK. These examples are discussed in terms of residential status to understand the condition of tenure groups within a neoliberal era. I then discuss elective and selective belonging, place making and place maintenance to evaluate the impact of tenure status and location on people's decisions and experiences. While these concepts consider place as a basis for creating belonging and personal attachment, they neglect to consider tenure status. These concepts help me to create a holistic approach to understand and compare tenure status and location. Lastly, I complete this chapter with an examination of online life (internet and Facebook social media groups) and offline life with their connections.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology used in this thesis. I start with a general overview of the existing literature, and then note the research aims, objectives and questions, and introduce the concepts underlying and/or relating to the data collection tools, sample participants and data analysis. Next, I address the reliability, validity and reflexivity of my research. Lastly, I point out the ethical considerations and my role in the research as a researcher.

Chapter 4 is the first analysis chapter in which the research findings are presented. I address my research questions in terms of the decision to move into or buy within (elective and selective belonging) a specific place. I emphasise the importance of tenure status in Ocean Village as a representative of tenure groups' decisions, with location being an important contributor.

In chapter 5, I focus on an understanding of the role of tenure status and location in Ocean Village by exploring residents' experiences of place making and place maintenance in daily life, both in an online and offline context. I argue that in the case of Ocean Village, tenure status plays a significant role in the types of place making and place maintenance activities. Location was identified as another important factor for people with different backgrounds (e.g. the stage of the life-course or occupation).

Finally, in chapter 6, I conclude the thesis by considering the wider implications of the findings. I reflect on the implications of this thesis for research, policy and community studies of urban life to illustrate the importance of, and its contribution to the area of study. Herein, I also discuss the limitations of the present study and potential future areas of research.

Chapter 2   Theoretical Framework and Context

This chapter first introduces the concepts of neoliberalism and neoliberal urbanism to help our understanding of the current urban environment and urban place. The rise of homeownership is then analysed with respect to neoliberal urbanism. This order of the research is important to the realisation of housing policies (Right to Buy (RTB), Buy to Let (BTL), and Help to Buy (HTB)) in specific areas and their implications in daily life in light of neoliberal urbanism. Later on, to understand the meaning of homeownership for different tenure groups (landlords, second homeowners, owner-occupiers and tenants) in terms of the differences and similarities and importance of location, I will focus on elective and selective belonging, and place making and place maintenance. These concepts will help understand and compare tenure status and location in terms of attachment and feelings. Finally, I will highlight these concepts (elective/selective belonging and place making/maintenance) within both online (Facebook social media groups) and offline (waterfront area) life. This chapter is important to the consideration of different examples of both theory and practice as exemplified by focussing on different cases.

2.1   Neoliberalism

According to Peck and Tickell (2002), while "the new religion of neoliberalism" supports the extension of markets and competitiveness, there is a profound difference between neoliberalism and Keynesian strategies. From the Second World War to the 1970s, Keynesian social collectivist and welfare institutions had been dominant within the Western countries, especially in the United States of America, the United Kingdom and other Western European countries (Blanco, Griggs and Sullivan, 2014). In addition, the establishment of a bureaucratic and patriarchal state is another key point (Mayer, 2013). In neoliberal systems, the state attempts to minimise its role, though it does not completely remove it. As Beck (2000) stated, the welfare state fosters individualism, making individuals less dependent on families and communities since they can rely on the state rather than their families when they are not able to support themselves. The welfare state represents a kind of solidarity, providing services for those who are less well off in terms of financial power. Welfare states do not have the capacity to unite citizens in terms of equal financial power and social status (Crow, 2002). According to Esping-Andersen (1996), the market is an important aspect of economic and social life, but it has not allowed for the possibility of social solidarity since the 1970s or 1980s. Because of the welfare

system, people can solve their own problems and find solutions to their requirements without asking for help from other people or their families (Crow, 2002). Indeed, because of welfare state policies, people have become more dependent on the state, a situation that increases the state's role in daily life.

Neoliberalism emerged as a response to the global recession and is associated with welfare state retrenchment/privatisation during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The underlying idea is based on open, competitive, and unregulated markets. Neoliberalism refers to the reorganisation of capitalism according to the doctrines of the free market (Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010). Harvey (2005) states that neoliberalism is related to political and economic practices and liberating freedoms and personal skills created by strong private rights, free markets and free trade. However, there are different views about the impact of neoliberalism in social and economic life. The idea of free markets somewhat resembles a utopian ideal and, because of state roles, market rules effectively represent a new authority through which to control social and economic life (Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010). Peck (2004) states two significant points about the state's role in neoliberalism: neoliberalism results in a restructuring and reorganisation of the state, though state power is still important. Neoliberalism cannot be equated to the shrinking of state power. Privatised and deregulated markets still need to be managed and policed because spontaneously occurring self-regulation is not possible for them.

Thus, while neoliberalism represents an attack on the welfare state, the state still takes an active role in daily life. The state guarantees property rights and provides infrastructure and security. Neoliberalism is a process, and this process is not a complete or fixed situation and, moreover, does not take a single approach (Davies, 2017). In this thesis, I focus on the UK in terms of neoliberal urban policies (e.g. privatisation, urban regeneration and transformation, using urban space for consumption and make urban spaces attractive to elites, both locally and universally), as this will allow me to identify the implications of neoliberalism in practice within an urban context with the help of different housing policies such as Right to Buy (RTB), Help to Buy (HTB) and Buy to Let (BTL). These housing policies are important for understanding neoliberalism and its different meanings and effects on tenure groups and place.

2.2   Neoliberal Urbanism

As I stated in chapter 1.1, neoliberal urbanism is one of the more significant and obvious aspects of neoliberalism. In contrast to neoliberal urbanism, classic urbanism (Keynesian era) regulated development and public investment in infrastructure and provided public (social) housing. Neoliberalism shifted development into the private sector or to public-private partnerships and social housing accordingly became privatized. Cities have become crucial arenas by which to observe neoliberalism in practice such as through place marketing, urban development corporations, public-private partnerships, property redevelopment schemes, etc. (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). Elite consumption and the market-based economy are the main goals of neoliberal cities. In other words, neoliberalism not only affects the associated politics and economic life, but urbanisation itself is also influenced due to deregulation of markets, privatisation, trade liberalisation, and enhanced capital mobility. Within this neoliberal context (e.g. result of megaprojects, redevelopments and privatisation), neoliberal urbanism was born. As Brenner and Theodore (2002) summarised, how neoliberal policies (re)shape the urban environment, and urban public spaces privatised for elite/corporate consumption and restructuring the traditional neighbourhoods established in cities with megaprojects, which is undertaken for the purpose of investment but also has the effect of increasing the inequality between members of society via gentrification.

Consumption is an indicator of neoliberalism in practice within the neoliberalised urban environment. Neoliberalism creates urban space as a field for profit and market-oriented economic growth, and it creates an environment for elite consumption practices around the world (Sager, 2011). Cities are centres of capitalism and consumption (Harvey 1989). In contemporary capitalism, and after the 2008 worldwide economic crisis, the role of estate, sectoral mixed economy and standardisation of the consumption culture (e.g. McDonald's, Starbucks) (Kratke, 2014), as well as the entertainment culture (e.g. Disney World) (Zukin, 1995), has increased within the urban environment. With this standardisation of the entertainment culture and indeed other facilities, people have preferences in contemporary life which are affected by location in terms of creating a connection with these standardisation factors.

Neoliberalism increased global competition and inequalities within urban environments. For instance, historical and archaeological sites, green areas and public places are changed and transformed to housing and leisure areas (e.g. hotels, restaurants, shopping malls) by

private companies. These kinds of neoliberal urban policies exemplify both the competition and inequalities within the urban environment. For example, building unique sites with displacing existing population and allowing same group of people (e.g. affluent, high class people) to live or buy within the same area. Neoliberalism thus affects both homeowners and tenants and dictates whether they are able to purchase their own homes (or otherwise), or indeed whether they will be able to live in a particular place (Harvey 1989). After 1979, with the Thatcher era, the privatisation of social housing and subsidising of new owners started with the Right to Buy (RTB) policy (Disney and Luo, 2017), which is still in place in the UK. Since 1996, with the introduction of the Buy to Let (BTL) policy, small investors and landlords were encouraged to buy their new home(s) in the UK. More recently, a further policy, Help to Buy (HTB), was introduced in 2013 to support new homeowners in the UK in terms of a deposit or mortgage (Homes and Communities Agency, 2015). Local and national government in the UK supported these policies; however, they ultimately lost future income despite creating new housing policies since 1979 in the attempt to solve accommodation problems. At the beginning of the 21st century, the younger generation (age 25-34) is struggling to buy their property, while existing homeowners are able to buy their second or third properties for the purposes of investment (ONS: Labour Force Survey: 2015 and Saunders, 2016). Second homeownership increases competition both universally and globally (Paris, 2009) Therefore, the proportion of renters is expected to increase (Saunders, 2016), and it is therefore important to understand how the sense of belonging and attachment varies between different tenure groups.

Lastly, as discussed earlier, it is difficult to generalise one example to all places, and for this reason we need to note the differences in terms of place. Neoliberalism in "political-economic practices and thinking" has emerged in different places since the 1970s, and privatisation, deregulation, and removal or change of the state have become common (e.g. USA, UK, South Africa, China, New Zealand, Sweden) (Harvey, 2005). Robinson (2013) noted that different countries are representative of different neoliberal pathways, and within which neoliberalism may serve different functions (e.g. class power or state policy). For example, the role of the state is different in the USA than it is in China. In other words, while the state is more liberal and allows the free market in the USA, in China the state has more power over the economic and social lives of its populace. Furthermore, different tenure groups might also be affected differently and react differently to these developments. Because of the influencing role of the USA, Margaret Thatcher set the UK

on the path to neoliberalism on becoming Prime Minister in 1979 (Harvey, 2005). Thatcher privatised social housing, along with a significant number of public services and public utilities (*ibid*: 88). The aim of Thatcher's neoliberal policies was to privatise public stocks and eliminate the role of the state in terms of finding solutions to housing needs (Hodkinson *et al*., 2012). Nevertheless, state subsidies of the housing market still continue in the UK. Therefore, in the following section (section 2.2.2), I will focus on homeownership and housing policies in the UK to illustrate the differences/similarities between different tenure groups in the attempt to understand the effects of neoliberal housing policies on daily life. Before that, I will briefly illustrate the importance of waterfront areas in light of neoliberal urban policies with different examples from around the world.

2.2.1   Neoliberal Urbanism in Waterfront Areas

Waterfront regions have always been an important element of urban environments, and the development of a large number of cities has been closely related to bodies of water such as rivers, lakes or oceans. Indeed, waterfront areas were the birthplace of human culture and economy (Huang and Kao, 2014) and thus historically important for urban development. This section focusses on a waterfront development and reviews the literature on various waterfront developments around the world to determine the connection between waterfront developments and neoliberalism. This review is important to our understanding of the general trends and limitations to waterfront studies within the context of neoliberal urbanism. Neoliberal urbanism is characterized by privatisation, overdevelopment, missing green areas and public places. Thus, profit and consumption-based developments are the main motivations behind waterfront developments.

A waterfront is defined as the area between an urban development and the water itself (Yassin *et al*., 2010). The function of waterfronts has changed throughout history. For example, the domination of shipping in waterfront areas contributed to the flow and storage of goods and local and international trade (Rubin, 2011). New waterfront development schemes are based on new facilities intended for tourism, including leisure, retail and housing, all of which have economic benefits (McCarthy, 2007).

Shaw (2001) recognised three eras of post-modern waterfront development. The first era comprises early North American experiences that concentrated on building retail and commercial centres/marketplaces, as characterised by the Baltimore waterfront before 1980. The second era took place globally during the 1980s, and it included the

considerable development of public-private partnerships and mainly private investments. Some well-known cases are the London Docklands, Sydney, and Toronto. Finally, the third era took the components created from the initial two eras as standard practice for improvement from small to large urban areas of waterfront. Vancouver and a variety of examples in Asia, including Shanghai, are examples of this era.

According to Malone (1996), the literature regarding waterfront redevelopment (e.g. Hoyle *et al.*, 1988, Hall, 1991) in the late 1980s was concerned with describing changes in terms of city-port relationships, the reasons for the decline of old ports, and new projects on waterfronts. Waterfront revitalisation became well established in America in the 1970s, which was followed by widespread reports of such in the architectural, planning, and urban design literature (Hoyle, 1989). Baltimore's Inner Harbour was the first example of redevelopment in North America during the mid-1970s (Timur, 2013), and it is one of the most recognised examples of an urban waterfront development (Rigby, 1994). It succeeded through the contributions of both public authorities and private organisations (de Jong, 1991). By 1984, a total investment of $180 million had been realised, 80% of which had originated from the private sector in Baltimore (Millspaugh, 2001). According to Jones (1998), the revitalisation of waterfronts in the USA involved two main factors: increase in the number of recreational areas and the amount of leisure time, and the need to conserve the waterfront's historical and architectural heritage. In this context, Quiny Market, Boston, The Pierhead Building, New York, and Pier 63, San Francisco, may also be noted as other examples from America (Jones, 1998).

In addition to these pioneering examples from the USA, there are various examples from around the world area that represent waterfront developments and the general intentions of the researcher about these developments. For instance, the London Docklands redevelopment project is crucial to see the general purposes of the researcher at both the local and international level. The development of the Docklands in London, which is the largest urban regeneration plan ever undertaken in Europe, took place in the 1980s and 1990s. It is spread over an area of eight square miles (2,226 hectares) and extends approximately thirteen kilometres along the River Thames (Brownill, 1997). It is central to various aspects such as the economy, finance and daily life (Brownill, 1990, Bentley, 1997). The renewal of the Docklands has contributed to dramatic changes in the physical appearance, economy and transportation around this particular waterfront area, such as through new buildings designed for financial purposes that have attractive appearances and new transport facilities (e.g. the DLR, City Airport) (Brownill, 1990). While there has been

a significant increase in the number of jobs at both the local and international levels, the new developments in the London Docklands area saw existing residents increasingly displaced and marginalised (Lane, 2009). This new environment led to significant differences in lifestyle and economy, such as the availability of new jobs for high-skill, middle- and upper-class individuals, though not for the working class Bangladeshi people already established in the Docklands (*ibid.*). Lane's study highlighted the different meanings of elective and selective belonging (e.g. job opportunities, leisure and tourism) and the impact of the Docklands for different people (e.g. skilled and unskilled workers). However, it did not provide explicit information as to how this redevelopment might affect existing residents in terms of both skilled and unskilled workers. This is an example of neoliberal urbanism in which existing local residents were not considered when developers created this new and attractive living and working environment. Gaining profit and influencing newcomers were more important than displacing existing residents and changing their current living environment.

In the same vein, Portsmouth, as a smaller and historical city, is an interesting example of waterfront development. Cook (2004) analysed the redevelopment project in Portsmouth, Gunwharf Quays (a multi-million pound festival marketplace in Portsmouth harbour), in terms of the effects of this redevelopment on the local economy and politics. Since the redevelopment of this area, the economy of Portsmouth has changed from that of a navy and military town to one of commercialism (*ibid.* 20-21). There was a considerable increase in the economic competition in this area, such as the number of new job opportunities, while the number of unskilled jobs (more than 3500) decreased. This ultimately gave rise to financial problems for existing residents (*ibid.* 28). Portsmouth is not a large financial hub, unlike the London Docklands; nevertheless, this redevelopment project can only be analysed from an economic perspective.

In this context, it may be helpful to focus on European studies. The following examples from European cities are representative of developments in waterfront areas similar to the above examples from the UK. For instance, the case of The Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam demonstrates the implications of flagship projects, megaprojects, and waterfront regeneration to members of a specific European city (Doucet, Kempen and Weesep, 2010). People coming from "rich" and "poor" neighbourhoods saw the development as being positive for their city although they perceived different benefits from this development. Poorer residents emphasised opportunities to earn money, whereas richer residents stated that they enjoyed access to the new facilities and luxury environments (*ibid.*). However, it

is difficult to compare these neighbourhoods in any real depth using only the survey method without additional supporting interviews. Furthermore, although this study provides information about the attitudes of both rich and poor residents to new developments around their neighbourhoods, it does not address the issues of their daily lives and social relationships.

Oakley (2014) examined the case of the disused docklands of Port Adelaide in Australia. This study has focussed on designing a waterfront area. This paper was based on a textual analysis of policy, media, government reports and twenty interviews with key personnel from both state and local government between 2004 and 2009, and focussed on the planning of new waterfront areas, the importance of public opinion, and the relationships between construction companies (private companies), governors (state and local governors), and the people who live nearby and who might be affected by the development (*ibid.*, 172). She identified two important findings: (i) global financial crises and globalisation had a significant impact on the housing and construction industry, e.g. establishment of big apartments to overcome financial problems; and (ii) she included certain insights into the alternative ways of revitalisation that can take place, e.g. establishment of more restaurants, and the impact of the relationships between state, local councillors, developers and local communities (*ibid*: 184). Oakley described the importance of planning from both local and global perspectives, as well as highlighting the importance of cooperation between different actors and stakeholders in the development of a waterfront area. While the financial situation can affect the decisions made by developers in terms of project design, at the same time they include local people, the local governor and developers in terms of creating a project that benefits everybody.

The competition between increasing economic situations and other social relationships and culture are still important in terms of waterfront development. Another example comes from Melbourne from Australia, as explored by Shaw (2013), in relation to the consequences of social, cultural and economic sustainability. This study aims to understand the connection between sociocultural life and economy in a redeveloping waterfront area. However, this waterfront redevelopment project focussed mainly on economic aspects from a neoliberal perspective. Similarly, in Singapore, waterfront redevelopment projects were concerned with economic and leisure aspects, such as with the development of hotels and tourism, while ignoring the existing multicultural and local-international environment (Chang and Huang, 2011). These studies highlight the importance of the culture required for a sustainable urban waterfront development, even

though they focus on economic analyses of the underlying situations. This is important in terms of understanding the impact of neoliberalism on the commodification of culture in urban life in which the new project does not aim to protect the local culture, but rather aims to allow increased access to more people from different countries, especially Far-Eastern countries.

The above studies are primarily concerned with economic issues (e.g. finance, investments, transnational corporations, planning, architecture, design and tourism) and to a lesser extent with culture to social relationships, and thus they usually ignore the daily lives of residents of waterfront areas. Indeed, these studies uncover very little about users' preferences and practices within these redeveloped waterfront areas. It is not thoroughly understood how a waterfront location can affect people's decisions (elective and selective belonging) and daily practices (place making and place maintenance). Therefore, it is also important to consider different residential groups to understand the different meanings and functions of the waterfront for each group when evaluating the role of tenure status.

These examples from around the world illustrate that it is important to consider location when examining neoliberalism in practice. The different case studies and redevelopment projects are mainly focussed on increasing profit and establishing new developments which are more suitable for elite consumption, and in destroying or minimising the number of green/park areas and public places. In particular, waterfront developments which include leisure, entertainment and housing have become increasingly popular and provide opportunities for elite consumption. This subcategory of neoliberal urbanism affects all tenure groups, whether directly or indirectly. Neoliberal urbanism and waterfront development involves policy makers and local government, as well as private investors, in decision-making processes. Their decision(s) affected the above developments, such as housing policies playing a role (e.g. privatisation, over-development) in the context of neoliberal urbanism. The following section will focus on homeownership and neoliberal housing policies in the UK to clarify this role.

2.2.2 Homeownership and Neoliberal Housing Policies in the UK

As neoliberalism can emerge in different ways in different countries due to their particular circumstances (e.g. the role of the state, location), we need to think of each case in terms of its own circumstances, such as economic life, state role, location (countryside, city centre). Urban life and urbanisation are amongst the principal areas affected by neoliberal policies. Herein, I focus on the UK to understand the connection between neoliberal urbanism and

daily life. As a result of Thatcher's policies, and further, following policies (Buy to Let and Help to Buy) introduced in the UK since the 1970s, the UK has become a prime example for observing neoliberalism in different spheres ranging from privatisation to the free market or housing market. In this section, I focus on the meaning of homeownership and the rise of homeownership in the UK, and also on the following housing policies in particular: the Right to Buy, Buy to Let and Help to Buy. These English housing policies are important for not only an understanding of the rise and change of tenure groups in the UK, but also in that, they allow us to observe neoliberal urbanism in practice in terms their effects on owners and renters.

2.2.2.1 Rise of Homeownership in the UK

Changes in housing polices have resulted in changes in the distribution of tenure groups. Initially, after 1979 with Right to Buy (RTB) (which I will discuss below, see section 2.2.2.2), government subsidies have also contributed to the increasing number of homeowners in the UK. There have been significant changes, such as the recession in 1991-1992, the BTL housing policy in 1996 (see section 2.2.2.3), the financial crisis in 2008-2009, and the HTB housing policy since 2013 (see section 2.2.2.4) as factors influencing the English housing market. Recently published official statistics (Figure 2.1) illustrate that from the 1980s to the first five years of the 2000s, the number of homeowners has increased from 65% to 70%; however, the percentage of owner-occupiers was more stable at 70% at the beginning of the 2000s. In particular, after 2008, there has been a significant decrease in the percentage of owner-occupiers in the UK. Furthermore, the percentage of renters, particularly private renters, have increased since 2000. This situation illustrates a certain parallel with privatisation policies as a result of neoliberal urbanism in the English housing market, such as with the RTB policy in 1979. After this date, while the number of homeowners increased, the percentage of people renting, especially in social housing steadily declined until the 2000s. Additionally, as a result of increasing housing prices, existing renters and new generations struggled to buy their own properties, and the gap between owners and renters widened. I will discuss this fact in more detail in the following subsections.

Figure 2.1 The percentage of owner-occupiers and renters (both social and private) in the UK from 1918 to 2015
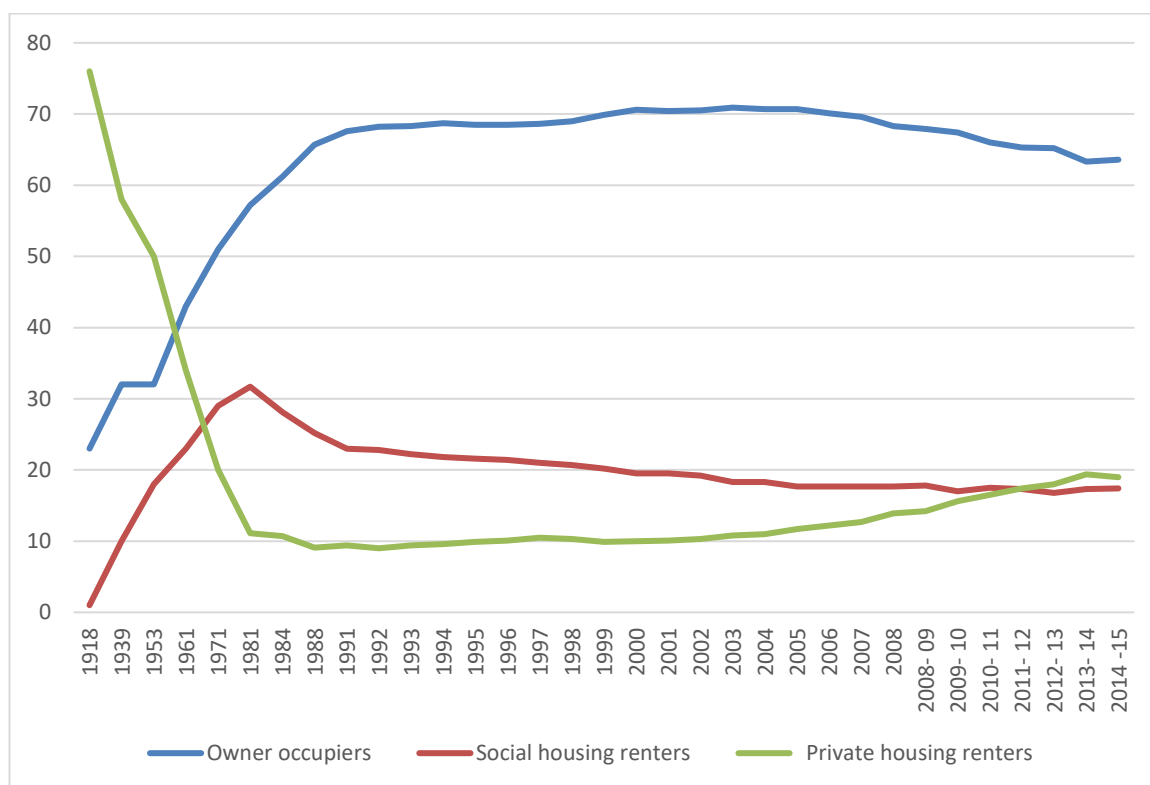
Source: Department for Communities and Local Government: Tenure trends and cross tenure analysis: Table FT1101 (S101): Trends in Tenure (Last updates, 21 July 2016).

According to Figure 2.1, the percentage of owner-occupiers (63.6%) in 2014-2015 has declined to the same levels as those seen in the 1980s. In the meantime, the percentage of renters in 2014-2015, especially private renters (19%), has increased to the same level as those seen in the 1970s. The number of homeowners is still significant; however, there has been a declining trend in ownership post-2008, particularly after the most recent financial crisis. Furthermore**,** Figure 2.1 reflects three different tenure groups (e.g. owner-occupiers, social housing renters and private housing renters) and three important milestones (e.g. before 1979 - First and Second World Wars – after 1979 with the Thatcher era to the financial crisis in 2008 and, finally, after the financial crisis). While analysing these three eras of tenure of recent history, it is difficult to ignore these key dates due to the strong relationships between them and the proportions of each of the tenure groups.

After the First World War, people in the UK began to buy their homes due to the opportunities that had arisen from the availability of new land, the improvement of transport links, and the opening up of the commuter belt around London and other main cities, all factors which provided private builders the opportunity to develop good quality

homes on inexpensive land (Saunders, 2016). This increase in homeownership continued after the Second World War in the UK. This trend influenced changes in terms of the proportion of owner-occupiers, social housing renters and private market renters. In addition, there was an increase in the number of social housing renters in the UK. Finally, the last homeownership boom started in 1979 with the introduction of the Thatcherite housing policy, which, after 1980, contributed to an increase in the proportion of homeownership by 10% in the UK (Saunders, 2016). This significantly changed the situation regarding homeownership and renters, both in social housing and in the private market. In addition, the recent policy of HTB and the trend of BTL has influenced the distribution of homeowners and renters in the UK. I will focus on these three housing policies to understand the trend of homeownership in the UK and to illustrate the connection between these policies and neoliberal urbanism, mainly because they represent the expression of neoliberal urbanism in the UK. In other words, these housing policies (e.g. privatisation, state subsidies) and the general trends (e.g. housing boom from 1979 to the beginning of the 2000s or the significant decrease in 2008 and 2009) in the housing market are an expression of neoliberalism. In the following section, I will introduce different housing policies and thus clarify the relationship between these housing policies and neoliberal urbanism.

2.2.2.2 Right to Buy

The Right to Buy (RTB) housing policy is important in terms of being an expression of neoliberal urbanism in the UK. The aim of this housing policy was to reduce inequality between members of communities from different social classes by allowing lower-class people to buy their properties with the support of local or national government. Because of this housing policy, the Thatcher era housing policy showed an increasing trend towards homeownership. This situation arose as a direct result of the RTB in the late 1970s. RTB permitted council tenants to buy their [council] housing (constructed by local government) and rented accommodation at greatly subsidised prices (Disney and Luo, 2017). As a result of this support, RTB contributed to a dramatic increase in the number of homeowners among English householders, with the relevant proportions rising from 55% in 1979 to 70% in the early 2000s (*ibid*: 2). The RTB housing policy has directly, and dramatically, affected the proportion of homeowners in the UK since 1979.

In the 1980s, renters had a clear preference to buy their accommodation because of the then prevalent low interest rates. Sales were also mutually beneficial for local government,

as the sale of council houses became an important stream of revenue for them during these periods (Disney and Luo, 2017). This only increased the income of local councils in the short term, however, who then subsequently faced a loss of income after the council houses were sold due to the associated loss in rent income. At the same time, the local governments were increasingly unable to provide accommodation for other people in need of social housing. To privatise the housing market, national government forced the local governments to reduce the number of council houses (Hodkinson *et al*., 2012). Within this context, while local governments lost future income, it also negatively affected other people, mostly the younger generation (25-34) and lower-class people wanting to buy their own property, with this housing policy supporting an increase (or preventing a reduction) in the number of social houses being sold. For example, to prevent a decrease in the number of houses sold in the 2000s, there was a significant discount for London tenants, and outside London for two- to five-year tenants, renting from their local council. However, in 2004, the last Labour government reduced the rate of this discount and increased the renting time to three to five years and restricted the resale of council houses to prevent abuse of the RTB system (Murie, 2015). This policy, and the financial crisis of 2008, dramatically decreased the number of RTB sales in the UK (*ibid*). It should be noted here that while this housing policy preserved the right of existing tenants to buy their property at a discounted price, new tenants were excluded from similar benefits.

Aalbers (2012) pointed out that affluent tenants actually benefitted from the privatisation of council houses and noted that the best and most attractive properties (e.g. houses with gardens) were sold within a few years of the inception of the RTB policy, the purchasers being the most affluent tenants. This situation illustrated that, as Hodkinson *et al*. (2012) noted, one of the RTB housing policy's most important aims was to negate the role of the state in terms of its obligation to find appropriate solutions to housing needs. In other words, with the RTB as an expression of neoliberal urban policies, tenants living in council houses did not receive the same benefits because RTB did not apply equally to all council house renters. Though enacted without sufficient consideration for lower-class people or people who need to buy their accommodation, or indeed the local or national government's revenue, the main purpose of this housing policy was to reduce the role of the state in the housing market and support privatisation as a popular trend to finding simple and short-term solutions to existing problems. Despite the intention of this policy, there were still lower-class and younger people struggling to buy properties while relatively affluent people were able to buy second or third properties.

Figure 2.2 New builds and Right to Buy sales of public housing 1980-1981 to 2012-2013 in the UK
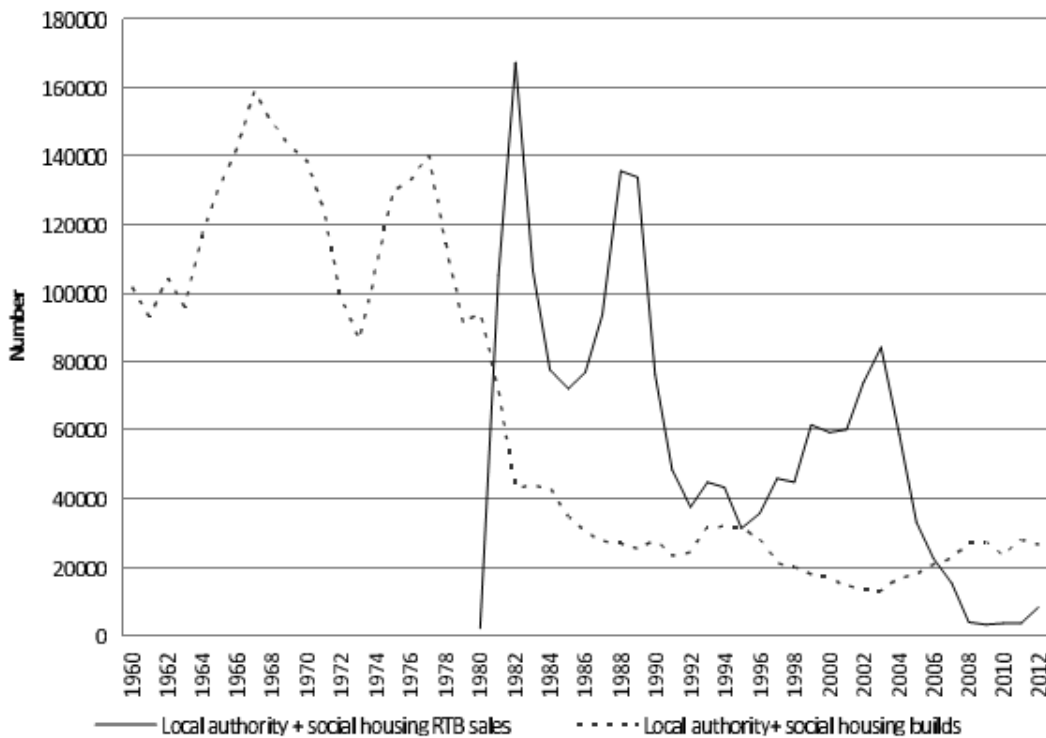
Source: Department of Communities and Local Government Housing Statistics Tables 244,678.

After the financial crisis in 2008, the proportion of RTB house sales decreased significantly as a result of the financial situation and the number of houses being established for sale under the RTB scheme. According to Figure 2.2, public housing has been sold to tenants since 1979. In addition, while a considerable amount of RTB housing has been sold, this has surpassed the number of new houses constructed for public sector rental. The decline in the amount of available social housing owners cannot be explained purely by the financial crisis, as Figure 2.2 illustrates a decrease in the amount of newly built social housing in the UK. Moreover, the decline in homeownership runs in parallel with the sales of public housing in the UK since 2004. In addition to this, RTB policy has made less public housing available to renters. In other words, because of the RTB housing policies, renters have been forced to rent on the private market. This policy not only decreased the government's role in the housing market, but with privatisation, the housing market became increasingly privatised for both owners and renters. This situation clearly represents the effects of neoliberal urbanism in the English housing market.

In 2012, the government increased the available discount in London, and indeed the rest of the UK. This recent policy effected an increase in RTB sales in the UK. Furthermore, "the volume of sales doubled in 2012-13 from below 3,000 each year (between 2008-9 and

2011-12) and but they remained lower than in any year between 1981 and 2007" (Murie, 2015: 2). This trend indicated a significant increase in 2015 and 2016, but it was still lower than that in the period between 1981 and 2007.

Figure 2.3 Quarterly Right to Buy Sales by Local Authority Type, the UK, 2006-2007 Q1 to 2016-17 Q1
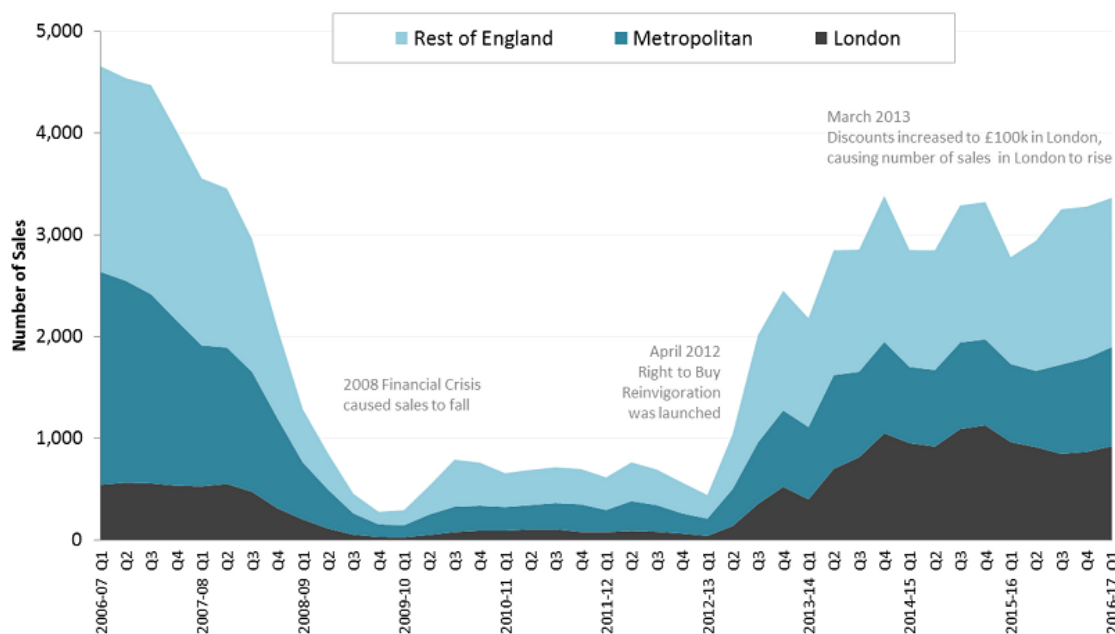
Source: Department of Communities and Local Government Housing Statistical Release (22 September 2016).

Finally, 1.8 million homes were sold under RTB between 1980 and 2014. Further to this amount, the UK government wants to build one million new homes for RTB between 2015 and 2020 (DCLG, 2016: 4). Because of this, homeownership is anticipated to remain a significant tenure group in the UK. The UK's RTB policy is a significant expression of neoliberal urban policies in practice. While governments are selling their social housing to their middle- or lower-class citizens, they are simultaneously reducing their future rental income and available social housing for those who need it. This housing policy is significant in that it also illustrates that both tenure groups (e.g. social housing tenants, existing owners) and location (e.g. London and out of London) affected policy makers. Depending on these aspects, policy makers have organised and deregulated this housing policy since 1979. The financial crises at the beginning of 1990s and in the second half of 2000s have affected the RTB policy and policy makers have had to update and offer new discounts and offers to buyers. In addition to this, while neoliberalism emerged as a new form of capitalism in the UK and the inequalities that survived with it, the RTB policy does not minimise the state's role, and has not solved the property problem for new buyers.

2.2.2.3 **Buy to Let**

The Buy to Let (BTL) system is another well-known English housing policy. Since 1996, BTL mortgages have become popular in order to encourage small investors and landlords to buy new home(s). The aim of this form of mortgage is to make it much easier for buyers to borrow in order to invest in the housing market (Thomas, 2014). According to the ONS (2015), while ownership has declined since 2003, younger people in the UK have turned to renting rather than ownership; this trend has indicated a more rapid increase between 2004 and 2011. While the proportion of renting has been increasing during the most recent generations, the proportion of owners is declining. This trend is more obvious for the younger generation, e.g. those younger than 30 years of age, since these individuals generally do not have the means to buy a property and because BTL mainly supports landlords, not renters.

BTL became widespread in the UK after the 1990s, a situation which is increasing both property prices and the number of private renters, since while older homeowners can afford to pay their house prices with their previous earnings and rent incomes, first-time buyers, especially younger people, cannot afford the deposit required for a new home (Leyshon and French, 2009). Crucially, the number of new buyers has not increased because current homeowners have more opportunity to buy a second home as an investment (BTL). Additionally, with the decline in the number of social housing renters, the number of private market renters has increased since the 1990s. Because there is a lack of public housing, people are forced to rent on the private market. This situation resulted in an increase in the proportion of private market renters in the UK.

In terms of demand for housing, there are different issues that have also been pointed out by Saunders (2016): the popularity of BTL has contributed to the increase in building and selling of new houses in the UK. Secondly, the increase in demand for housing from foreign billionaires from Russia, Hong Kong, and the Middle East is a new trend in the UK, especially in London. Thirdly, while the youngest generation of buyers has been reduced due to the huge deposits and mortgages required to secure homeownership, in recent years expensive house prices have led to the housing market 'feeding off itself'. This means that the youngest generations turn to support from their families, either through loans, gifts or through inheritance, to buy their own property (Saunders, 2016). These results influenced the new generation's ability to live as either owners or renters depending on their parents' residential conditions. In addition, local and international factors also affected the existing situation. While explaining the impact of neoliberal urbanism, it is

impossible to ignore globalisation in terms of both insider and outsider influences such as foreign buyers or housing policies.

According to the Council of Mortgage Lenders (2015) report, after London, the southeast of the UK is one of the most popular areas for the BTL scheme. After the 2008 financial crisis, loan interest rates fell to extremely low levels and were available to existing landlords. Consequently, the popularity of BTL has since been increasing in the UK (2016). For example, since 1999, lenders gave £1.7 million in BTL loans, and at the same time the private rental sector doubled in size. While some parts of the UK have become more attractive for BTL, BTL is playing an increasingly important role in the housing market in terms of both the number of owners and renters.

With regard to second homeownership as a particular form of the BTL housing policy, it is important to clarify both the result of this housing policy and the existing trend in the housing market. The official data from the Survey of English Housing (SEH) helps us to better understand the trend in second homeownership in the UK and where second homeowners are located. This official data indicates that the number of households has been increasing since the 1990s. For instance, it increased from 329,000 in 1994/1995 to 502,000 in 2003/2004 and to 744,000 in 2013/2014. Additionally, in 2013/2014, 10% of English households owned at least one second property. Second homeownership has been popular in the UK, in particular in London, the South East and the South West peninsula. Investment in holiday and retirement homes is one of the most common reasons for second homeownership (Paris, 2009). Second homeowner households tend to come from mid- to high-income level households and older age groups (over 45 years of age, mostly between 45 and 64 years). It is impossible to ignore second homeownership when examining tenure groups as this represents another tenure group in itself. While the number of second homeowners is increasing, the popularity of second homeowners being different in different part of the UK is an indicator of the importance of location in terms of its influence on buyers' decisions. In addition, while the proportion of BTLs has increased, the number of homeowners is declining, and that of private renters and second homeowners are increasing in the UK. This situation cannot be sustained without a neoliberal urban environment due to newcomers from around the world area as well as long-term homeowners' demands to allow the increase of their revenue or investment, which allows them to buy second or third homes. The BTL housing policy and second homeownership show that both location and tenure status affect each other. In other words, the results of the BTL housing policy cannot be understood purely in terms of tenure

status; one cannot ignore the fact that location is also an attractive investment to people, both locally and globally.

2.2.2.4   Help to Buy

Help to Buy is another important housing policy within the neoliberal urban environment. According to the findings of the 2010 British Social Attitudes Survey (BSAS), 86% of people in the UK aged over 18 years stated they would prefer to buy their own home rather than rent for a number of different reasons, including investment, security and freedom (Taylor, 2011). However, rising prices and the costly deposits required for housing loans are two important factors in deterring people from their efforts to secure homeownership (Leyshon and French, 2009). In detail, there have been four big house pricing booms in Britain since 1970. In the first three periods (1971-1973, 1977-1979, and 1987-1989), property prices remained commensurate with earnings; however, in the fourth period (since the late 1990s) average earnings have fallen well below average property prices. For instance, while average earnings between 2000 and 2014 increased by 51%, average house prices increased by 132% (DCLG, 2015). This means that average house prices have increased more than twofold between 2000 and 2014. This situation illustrates the role of housing as an important means of investment in the UK. People not only want to buy their own houses, but those who can also wish to have the opportunity to make a major investment in the form of the purchase of a second property.

The younger generation is now obliged to pay a much higher proportion of their earnings than earlier generations to buy a home. While there has been a notable decline in the number of homeowners in the UK, the decline in the number of younger homeowners has been far more significant since the 2000s (The HomeOwners' Alliance, 2012). For young people, taking out higher education loans and getting married after completing their education has had a considerable influence on house-buying age (Saunders, 2016).

Michael Harloe wrote the following passage in 1982,

> "In the next few years we are likely to see a growing housing crisis as increasing numbers of middle and lower-income households find that they no longer have the resources to become owner-occupiers (or to maintain mortgage burdens) nor access to public housing (as less and less becomes available via new building and relets). (Harloe, 1982: 41–42)"

There is a parallel between Harloe's expectations and the situation today. Figure 2.4 below illustrates the trend in the percentage of 25- to 34-year-old owners and renters in the UK. While the number of renters has increased, the number of owners is exhibiting a decreasing trend. This situation is becoming increasingly true for the younger generation rather than the older.

Figure 2.4 Percentage of 25- to 34-year-old householders owning or renting (both private and social rented accommodation), in the UK, from 1996 to 2015
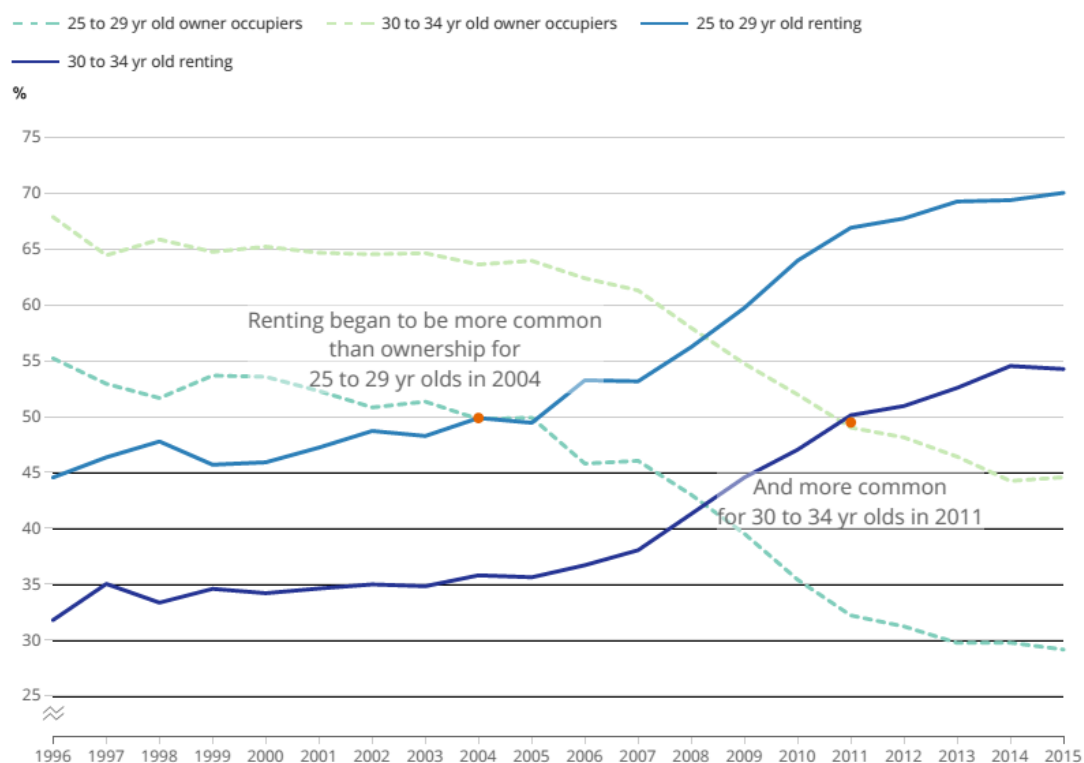
Source: Office for National Statistics: Labour Force Survey: 2015.

The HTB system emerged in the UK to increase the number of homeowners. This scheme was launched in 2013, and over the next seven years, it was estimated that it would cost £24 billion. In addition, it is the biggest form of governmental help offered after the Thatcher era in the UK (Council of Mortgage Lenders, 2015). The aim of this scheme is to support people through mortgage guarantees, equity loans and subsidised savings accounts. For example, according to the official report below (Homes and Communities Agency), buyers are supported with their mortgages, loans and with the requirement for only low deposits. This situation is illustrative of the role of the state in supporting the free market in order to increase mobility in financial life without profit. Therefore, this is state intervention, though it only takes the role of supporting the free market and subsidising saving accounts. This housing policy is another clear and important means of neoliberal urbanism in the UK. Because of this policy, the housing market is directly affected in

terms of the distribution of tenure groups. In addition, the private housing market can be further developed through such governmental support and subsidies.

Table 2.1 Help to Buyers' Guide

	£	%
Open market price of new home	£200,000	100
Help to Buy buyer mortgage at 75%	£150,000	75
Help to Buy buyer pays minimum 5% deposit	£10,000	5
Help to Buy buyer total contribution	£160,000	80
Agency Help to Buy assistance 20% equity loan	£40,000	20

Source: Homes and Communities Agency (2015) "Help to Buy Buyers` Guide", p: 4.

To clarify with an example, it can be seen from the table above (2.1) that people who want to buy their home can do so with the support of the HTB scheme. Only a 5% deposit is sufficient to start this contract: "Help to Buy makes new build homes available to all home buyers (not just first-time buyers) who wish to buy a new home, but may be constrained in doing so – for example as a result of deposit requirements – but who could otherwise be expected to sustain a mortgage. Up to a maximum of 20% of the purchase price is available to the buyer through an equity loan funded by the Government through the HCA" (Homes and Communities Agency, 2015, "Help to Buy Buyers' Guide", p: 2).

Help to Buy is available to both first-time buyers and existing homeowners, but the main aim of this policy was to extend the number of owner-occupiers and support first-time buyers, especially younger people. There are three important steps in this scheme. The main aim of this project is to support first-time homebuyers in the UK. The government offers an equity loan for up to 20% of the property value and, in the first five years, this loan is interest free (Stone, 2016). Secondly, the HTB scheme permitted mortgage lenders to provide larger loans to first-time buyers with low deposits. Lastly, tax-free Individual Savings Accounts (ISAs) were introduced in 2015 for individuals saving for a deposit on a home which allowed people to save their deposit, and then the government would help first-time buyers up to a proportion of 25% when they came to buy their first home. This recently established policy not only supports first-time buyers in the UK but also contributes to an increase in new homeowners. According to official statistics, "The cumulative total of the number of completions in the first 42 months of the scheme (to 30th

September 2016) was 100,284. The corresponding value of these equity loans at point of legal completion was £4.64 billion, with the overall value of properties sold under the scheme totalling £23.03 billion" (Gledhill, 2016:2). However, as John Bone (2014) noted, it is difficult for first-time buyers to buy houses due to overinflated house prices, and this scheme becomes more beneficial for existing homeowners, banks, landlords and house builders. In a similar manner to the RTB scheme, while the state aimed to support attempts by tenants from the middle or lower classes to buy their own properties, the main beneficiaries of these kinds of housing policies were affluent tenants, existing homeowners, and landlords.

This governmental support is similar also to the RTB scheme in terms of increasing the number of homeowners in the UK. Therefore, this policy illustrates an expression of neoliberal urbanism because the state does not control the free market, but rather supports the establishment of new houses and people who are interested in buying their own house. To this end, giving a subsidised loan and reducing interest rates for such individuals is particularly important. However, while the main reason for establishing these housing policies is to support lower-class people or renters in their efforts to buy their own properties, these schemes have become more beneficial for existing owners or to affluent people. While interest in these housing policies has increased since 1979, at the same time the number of tenants, especially younger tenants, is increasing in the UK. In addition, the number of second homeowners is increasing, which represents a significant example, and the result, of this housing policy.

As a last point, these different housing policies have emerged in the UK since 1979. In other words, they show a certain parallel with the increase of neoliberalism in the UK. Depending on these housing policies, people are categorised in terms of their financial ability to buy or rent and, as a further point, the associated policies are organised accordingly. Another similarity between these housing policies is related to the importance of location when deciding house price or regulations. For the most part, this divides the country in terms of inside London and outside London when deciding house prices or giving loans to buyers. Such situations show that while local or national governors take tenure status or location into consideration, the focus is mainly on the financial situation and financial differences of both tenure group and location. As noted in chapter 1.1, neoliberalism supports elite consumption and the free market (Theodore and Brenner, 2002). With the HTB housing policy, the state supported people in their attempts to buy their own properties. However, the main beneficiaries were primarily existing

homeowners, buying their properties for investment purposes and as second homes. Within this free market, people who already have sufficient savings or incomes gain more benefit than younger people who are at the beginning of their careers. In addition to this, the new buyers also benefit from this housing scheme due to a lack of savings. HTB housing policy become an opportunity for people who are not saving enough to buy their properties as first-time buyers.

These three housing policies which have been introduced since 1979, are pivotal to an understanding of how marketisation has increased in the housing market with privatisation in the UK. While the state continues its control over this market, elites and existing homeowners can increase their control over the housing market itself compared to people who are renting, especially young renters who are aged between 25 and 34 years of age. These facts are most apparent in urban places and central areas, which are attractive to both homeowners and tenants. Urban spaces have become significant to different tenure groups, though due to different underlying motivation(s). These housing policies show the housing market and state's aims and motivations within different economic situations. While the state and free market highlight the importance of equality between members of society, they are offering limited choice to people and are controlling the housing market. Thus, it is necessary to focus on people's choices, feelings and attachments when choosing a specific urban place and when creating and maintaining a connection with a specific place in order to see the results of these housing policies in practice.

2.3   Homeownership and Belonging

Within a neoliberal urban context, both the free market and the state (through housing policies) take an active role in decision(s) about daily socio-economic life. While these factors significantly affect people's decision(s) to buy or rent, these two factors are not enough in themselves to entirely determine people's attachment(s) and feeling(s) about a specific place. In previous sections, I examined neoliberal urbanism in light of housing policies since 1979, and highlighted how housing policies and financial crises affected urbanisation and urban policies in the UK. Without ignoring these aspects, to find better answer to my research questions, my thesis examines feelings and choices (elective belonging) with boundaries (selective belonging) to determine the attachment of people within a neoliberal urban context. Based on this, there are different perspectives about the meaning of home and homeownership in the literature. Saunders (1990:39) defines homeownership as:

"An emotional expression of autonomy, security, or personal identity. Desire to own is one manifestation of a deep-seated and 'natural' disposition to possess key objects in the immediate and personal environment."

In more detail, Dowling and Mee (2007) categorised the meaning of home:

"For many people, home is a place of belonging, intimacy, security, relationship and selfhood. Through their investments in their home people, develop their sense of self and their identity. Others experience alienation, rejection, hostility, danger and fear ''at home''. Houses are the material structures that provide the scaffolding for emotional investments, social relaxations and meanings of everyday life" (Dowling and Mee 2007:161).

According to Mallett (2004), the meaning of home depends on different factors such as place, age, gender, and culture. Ronald's (2008) well-known study "The Ideology of Homeownership" focussed on a more detailed meaning of homeownership in a global sense. Ronald's (2008) study focussed on both Eastern (Japan, Hong Kong) and Western (Britain, America and Australia) examples to understand the meaning of homeownership. Each example is affected by local housing policies and the definition of homeownership. While the state takes a more active role in housing policies and the housing market in Eastern societies, it has less control in Western societies (Ronald, 2008, 232). Crucially, the meaning of home and homeownership has become different in each country. For example, in Western countries, privatism, individualism and consumption play greater roles in homeownership than in Eastern countries (*ibid*. 242). However, in Eastern countries, home represents safety in terms of future financial power for both the homeowners and their families (*ibid*. 243-244). However, it is difficult to claim that each country, established in the same region, entirely represents different or similar reactions to homeownership. For instance, while German (51.7% in 2016) people are less interested in buying their property due to their renting-friendly system and housing policies (limited social housing), in the UK (63.4% in 2016) people are more willing to buy their properties due to different housing policies (Philips, 2014 and The Statistical Portal, 2016). Similarly, Japan is a capitalist country, while China is governed by a Communist ideology. This example clearly show that it is difficult to generalise across states, even when they are established in the same region of the world area.

On the other hand, Saunders' (1990) research illustrates the similarities between different cities in the same country. Saunders based his assessment on a survey of three towns

located in different parts of England: Slough, to the west of London; Derby, in the East Midlands; and Burnley, in the north of England. All three towns had large working-class populations who were mainly engaged in manufacturing. While Saunders' study in 1990 ignored the importance of location, Mallet (2004), Ronald (2008) and Saunders (2016) highlighted London and the South of England as being significant locations in terms of attracting British citizens and global buyers as placed to buy their properties as investments or as second homes. In other words, Saunders, in this latest book in 2016, highlighted the importance of location with changes, which are highly affected by neoliberal urban policies such as globalisation, elite consumption, the free market and global competition.

The studies cited above, which focus on different parts of the world area at different times, show that like neoliberalism, the meaning of homeownership is not independent from both local (e.g. location, housing system) and global (e.g. globalisation, transportation) aspects. Neoliberalism varies between countries, so it is therefore important to consider both local and global situations in gaining a better understanding of the impacts of neoliberalism. Furthermore, the meaning of homeownership is different from one country to another, or even one region to another, or can even vary depending on individual. In order to better understand people's experiences of neoliberal urbanism, I will focus on belonging or connections with a particular place. I consider the roles that tenure status and location play in terms of elective and selective belonging (in sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2) and place making and place maintenance (in section 2.4)

Lastly, and briefly, while elective belonging represents people's reasons and motivations for their choice to live/buy in a particular area, selective belonging emerges as the next step in this process and justifies people's choices and positively influences the manner in which they consider their decision and/or living area. These two types of belonging focus on people's decisions and motivations both before (elective belonging) and after (elective and selective belonging) connecting with a particular place. To examine people's exact reason(s) and motivation(s) for choosing a particular place, it is necessary to use these two types of belonging to account for the time both before and after their decision about a particular place. Additionally, these two types of belonging allow one to understand how tenure groups consider themselves and other people while at the same time indicating how they consider their choices in terms of both their current and other locations.

2.3.1 Elective Belonging

> "Incomers to an area are able to claim belonging as a result of their choice to move
> to an area that holds functional and symbolic importance for them, and
> subsequently claim moral ownership over the place that they live" (Benson and
> Jackson, 2012: 797).

Belonging is used as a means for exploring people's attachment to their neighbourhoods
and places of interest (Savage *et al*., 2005). The ability to choose a place for living is
represented by elective belonging (Benson, 2014). As Savage (2010) pointed out, elective
belonging is not regarded as dwelling in a place but rather as residents living in a suitable
environment with "people like us". Savage *et al*. (2005: 29) noted that:

> "Elective belonging is critically dependent on people's relational sense of place, their
> ability to relate their area of residence against other possible areas, so that the
> meaning of place is critically judged in terms of its relational meanings."

Elective belonging represents different reasons and motivations for people's decisions.
While their ability to choose a place to live or buy within is representative of elective
belonging, elective belonging could also depend on various other reasons such as tenure
status or location, or financial means. Indeed, elective belonging is generally discussed in
the literature from a social class perspective. According to Savage *et al*. (2005: 207),
"…residential space is a key arena in which people define their social position." Further,
earlier, Pahl's (1965) work on the commuter belt discussed how commuters moved into
villages. According to this study, these villages represented examples of the conflict
between the middle class and working or agricultural class in terms of economic
opportunities, as well as the replacement or displacement of the farming and working
classes.

Pahl also discussed place with regard to class differences in the 2000s. Accordingly,
people from the middle class often reject provincial living, and they continue to hold on to
such places (e.g. commuter belt, small village) as these places help define their lifestyles
(Pahl, 2005 and 2008). Pahl's studies highlighted the relationship and interaction between
middle- and working-class residents in commuter belts and rural communities. In other
words, Pahl's studies highlighted that, depending on social class, people indicated different
reasons for their elective belonging.

In "The Established and the Outsiders", Elias and Scotson (1994 [first published 1965]), contributed a thorough study of urban sociology and social structures in terms of power differentials. They focussed on a neighbourhood (Winston Parva) near Leicester between the 1950s and 1960s. In this study, they developed the theory of established and the outsider figurations demonstrating that the differences between people depended on the length of their stay at their current residence rather than their social class, nationality, ethnic or racial descent, religious denomination or their educational level (Elias and Scotson, 1994). The relatively long length of their stay at their current residence allowed them to form a collective identity with the ideas of "we" and "they" (*ibid.*).

In Elias and Scotson's (1994) study, the participants were similar in terms of nationality, ethnic descent, colour, and race within small suburban area. However, the authors categorised the participants into two groups: old, established residents, and newcomers. Established residents used their social status, family history, and social "oldness" as a means to control and stigmatise newcomers or outsiders. Outsiders were accused of being morally inferior, unclean, anomic and deviant (Elias and Scotson, 1994). When newcomers chose this small English town in Leicestershire, they worried about access to the local job market. However, existing residents enjoyed their lifestyle, and, unsurprisingly, indicated a preference not to move away from their current living spaces. This situation should be noted as an example of elective belonging based on the differences between different resident groups. Although in this study the length of stay in the current residence led to a striking difference between people, in the contemporary world, communities' and people's choices are much more different and complex. Within the contemporary urban context, it is especially difficult to categorise people based only on length of stay.

While length of stay is does not appear to be a particular reason for people's decisions in an urban context, social class differences are a more apparent and dominant reason affecting people's choices in terms of elective belonging in the literature. For instance, May's (1996) research into the London inner-city area (Stoke Newington) to understand the impact that globalisation is having on local politics. May's study represents the differences between different groups (working class and incomers) in terms of their elective belonging due to these groups' reasons for moving into or staying in a location. It argues that it is difficult to provide a standard definition or reasons for elective belonging for all people. Briefly, the study argues that differences in social class caused a degree of conflict between the local working class and newcomers in this neighbourhood due to the different reasons behind people's decision to live in that area (*ibid*. 209). While newcomers

try to change the local environment, with the gentrification of the local area and increasing globalisation, belonging to local area still continues with a positive view similar to avoiding negative stereotyping about living area (*ibid*. 210-211). Similarly, as discussed above, Savage *et al.* (2005) and Benson and Jackson (2012) noted that the ability to move into or buy in a given area represents elective belonging in practice. In other words, this first depends on previous earnings or building up social class and social status, and then people represent their choice in a manner that suits their stage in their life course.

Different types of elective belonging might emerge in different neighbourhoods. "Globalisation and Belonging" (Savage *et al*., 2005) is a noteworthy study on elective belonging in which the effects of globalisation are examined based on people's perceptions about place, especially in terms of nostalgia. Four neighbourhoods (e.g. Cheadle, Chorlton, Ramsbottom and Wilmslow) in Manchester, composed mainly of the middle class, were analysed with regard to peoples' perceptions about place. The study discussed the relationship between globalisation and local changes. The newcomers mostly considered the social environment before moving to the neighbourhoods (*ibid*. 207). Thus, attachment based on place and locality is important for globalisation (*ibid*. 207). In other words, these aspects are important to the understanding of elective belonging at both the local and global levels. Residents from two of the four areas (Cheadle and Chorlton) went to live close to where they grew up (Savage, *et al*., 2005: 51), which could be interpreted as a way they used to confirm who they were. In Ramsbottom, residents took pride in belonging to their local community, and argued that they were unique and hence different from incomers (*ibid.* 52). Overall, it could be argued that people have different ties, which are related to their choices about, and relationships with a place. However, similar reasons might not be valid for contemporary urban environments, recently established and developing places, and communities with less interaction and connection in daily life within these contexts.

The inclusionary/exclusionary mechanism is based on differences in social class, length of stay, and ethnicity. When discussing the local gentrification, Talja Blokland (2009) argued that white people (originally from Italy) excluded black people in Connecticut, USA. This study was based on in-depth interviews that illustrated that black people were stigmatised, and new developments were established without considering their preferences (Blokland, 2009: 12-13). In this case, white people used elective belonging to come together with people of the same ethnicity (Italian), yet they used the same type of belonging to exclude black people in the same area. Various groups use belonging to build relationships with

people from the same ethnic background and to create boundaries with other ethnic groups. While ethnic background influenced people to organise their belonging, it is difficult to generalise this situation for all cases in contemporary neoliberal urban environments. Geographical mobility has been increased with technological developments (e.g. transportation and internet) (Sassen, 2006), as it has within the world as a global village.

Ethnic-based differences or similarities emerge in different ways in different cases. For instance, Benson (2015b) examined the lifestyle of migrants to better understand migrant choices and how these are reconstructed through migration and settlement. In this study, British middle-class migrants to Lot in rural France were chosen as subjects. The findings indicated that the British migrants emphasised their cultural similarity to French people, as well as the location and natural beauty of the area, as the reasons behind their choice to move to Lot (*ibid*. 18). In other words, British lifestyle migrants were interested in the place (Lot city centre and countryside) and the cultural environment. In addition, they did not want to lose their connection with England, and they aimed to maintain their connection with their friends and relatives in England as well as their culture and lifestyle (e.g. language, food culture) (Benson, 2015b). This strongly suggests that they do not want to break entirely away from their stage in the life-course. During their time in Lot, they strived to create their own personal connections and relationships with other immigrants who had moved from England to France, and they preferred to speak English rather than French (Benson, 2015b). These examples are important as they demonstrate the role of elective belonging in the creation of a new place. Depending on previous interests and background, people might feel either disappointed or happy about their decision. As a result, they are affected by their experiences in terms of building their connection with their new living area. Benson's study was distinct from that of Blokland as it compared a previous and a new place in order to understand their impacts on elective belonging. Based on these two studies, it could be argued that elective belonging affects the feeling and the level of connection with the current and previous residences.

The stage in the life-course and experience are important in terms of understanding personal choice. In another study, Benson (2014) focussed on "how individuals locate their residential choice within their stage in the life-course, linking social and spatial trajectories." In this paper, spatial and social trajectories were discussed using empirical data derived from five different London neighbourhoods (Balham [gentrified], Peckham [gentrifying], Oak Tree Park [gated community], Berrylands [suburban], and West Horsley and Effingham [exurban]) (*ibid.*: 3098). One-hundred and seventy-one interviews were

conducted with middle-class residents whose professions included councillors, local business owners, and heads of local associations (*ibid.*, 3099). This study emphasised that the middle class opt for areas with characteristics that allow them to cherish their feelings of belonging such as its beauty, location, and the opportunities they provide for meeting with others with similar lifestyles (Benson, 2014). Benson (2014) also pointed out that belonging emerges, or is created, through the synergy between personal interests/needs and field. This can be easily understood because of the dynamic relationship between neighbourhood and personal demands. For example, if circumstances do not meet interests/needs, people can start to either reorganise their elective belonging or change their living area.

Making a comparison across time is another trend found in the literature in order to understand the differences in belonging, particularly in elective belonging. For instance, Savage (2008) identified another important aspect when he compared the experience of workers and residents in the 1960s with those of today: people's preferences and interests were remarkably different in each of the two periods. Back in the 1960s, when a person relocated due to marriage, they were primarily interested in maintaining ties with their friends or kinship rather than the place; however, this interest had reversed by the 1990s following increased mobility and globalisation (*ibid.*: 157-158). In this study, Savage (2008) argued that elective belonging required nostalgia and kinship, and he illustrated changes in time and declining trends in terms of nostalgia for elective belonging.

Further, the decision to move to a particular place can change through the different stages of life. Based on large-scale observational data, Savage (2008) showed that one respondent moved to be close to his family in 1939. Fifty years later, the same respondent explained that he lived in Sheffield because he liked the fact that it was near Manchester, Leeds, and London, the Peak District, and there were two good theatres (*ibid.* 159). Unsurprisingly, in this case, elective belonging – the attachment to a place – changed over the individual's life-course. For the young respondent, family ties were important, and for the older respondent, the character of the city and the location had become more important. In this example, elective belonging may have changed not only in terms of class differences, lifestyle or ethnicity, but also through personal life, which might be different in older age than that during one's earlier years.

While people can choose their residential area, they are influenced by their income and wealth in their ability to socialise within this environment. Saunders (1990) pointed out that owning a house contributes to greater feelings of comfort, mass consumption,

increased leisure time, and belonging to and participation in local organisations and activities. In addition, homeowners are more interested in local issues and are more likely to engage with their communities compared with tenants, as they will generally spend more time within their local communities than renters (Ronald, 2008) will. Local large houses and the history of parks and public places may be noted as positive characteristics of a neighbourhood in terms of their effects on people (Blokland, 2009), and that the affluent can choose this kind of neighbourhood to follow their elective belonging (Savage, 2010). Elective belonging, therefore, is to some extent related to tenure status. However, existing assumptions in the literature about each tenure group are problematic since they focus on income differences while at the same time ignoring location.

The discussion above includes different examples of elective belonging (e.g. financial situation, social class, age, ethnicity, job, time and safety). In addition, these existing examples focussed on rural areas and the countryside to examine people – both locals' and newcomers' – choices regarding their elective belonging. In addition to the above examples, it is necessary to examine the importance of location in terms of its influence on people's decisions. It is important to focus on these aspects in a different location (a waterfront area) in the current financial time and social environment because a specific period in time and location can be related to a specific situation. Each tenure group that comes from a different background in terms of its financial ability and lifestyle will allow for the comparison of people who are directly related to the same place in terms of tenure status and location. Further, Savage (2008) pointed out that people are influenced over time in terms of their priorities or preferences, and also that place might have a different meaning and function for different people at the same time (Urry, 1995 and Massey, 2005). Approximately thirty years after Saunders (1990), with the new housing policies (e.g. BTL, HTB), the regulation changes in the RTB housing policy since the 1970s (as discussed in section 2.2.2), and the financial crisis in the latter part of the 2000s, it is difficult to claim that people's preferences or choices (tenure groups) have not changed over time with the country's economic changes and economic crises. As noted previously, 25-34 year-olds, that is, the younger generations, struggle to buy their own properties as compared with even just twenty years ago (ONS, 2015). I employ the concepts of elective and selective belonging to re-examine people's choices in terms of their tenure status and place. These concepts cover the decisions and processes both before moving into or buying from a particular place and after moving into and buying in a particular place. They create a holistic approach with which to consider human life and their choice(s) and feeling(s)

rather than merely focussing on the financial ability to buy or rent; in this sense, elective and selective belonging give practical and inclusive results. In addition to this, these two types of belonging directly represent the background to people's choices and feelings, and are thus a better alternative to making generalisations or offering explanations based only on financial power or tenure status. For instance, an interest in being close to work or wanting to living a safe environment can represent previous experience, as related to work access-related problems or safety issues. Depending on such reasoning, people will create their belonging in a specific place. In this case, the consideration of both before connection and after connection with a specific place, these two types of belonging prevent one from missing any point related to people's choices and feelings.

The examples provided in this section are mainly connected with issues that might be considered before moving to a particular area. However, how belonging influences the connections with new people living either within or outside a neighbourhood is still unclear. As discussed earlier, while people's choices represent their elective belonging before connecting with a specific place, this choice is thereafter justified through selective belonging in order to maintain elective belonging. The following section focusses on the reasons why people create boundaries with places or people to preserve their elective belonging.

2.3.2   Selective Belonging

Moving to a particular place is an expression of elective belonging. Identifying with the place where one lives is an expression of selective belonging. These two types of belonging cover the period both before and after moving to that specific place, respectively. With selective belonging, people not only look at their living area more positively, they also avoid negative stereotypes about it (May, 1996). In doing so, they create boundaries with other neighbourhoods to distinguish themselves from these areas and people which they consider to be less important and thus of less interest than their area and its people (Watt, 2009).

Similar to previous studies, which have examined elective belonging; social class-based differences are the main subject of discussion in the literature when examining selective belonging. To begin with, Bridge (2006) focussed on middle-class people in Bristol to understand the differences between them in terms of their choices and belonging. According to this study, the dynamic of conflict and differences between middle-class people depends on personal choices and belonging. Findings illustrated that school choices

for children were much more important than the aesthetic of a house (*ibid*, 12-13). This illustrates the importance of different aspects (e.g. facilities or aesthetics) as an example of selective belonging. This, however, could be different in other places and for different social classes. For instance, Atkinson's (2006) study illustrated that safety is more important for affluent people than lower-class people in terms of social life, isolation or exclusion within a given residential location. Personal choices and reactions shown to others, as an example of selective belonging, are influenced by people, social class and the type of family. While lifestyle and family condition influence people's choices about a given living area, it is difficult to argue that safety is only important for affluent people. Indeed, tenure groups, especially tenants, will seek to live in places, which are affordable and safe (Ronald, 2008).

Haartsen and Stockdale (2018) examined rural newcomer families both with and without children to understand how they become residents as a family within a rural area with regard to both elective and selective belonging. In their study, they conducted interviews with families living in the north of the Netherlands. Their findings indicated that both elective and selective belonging are represented in two key areas: physical environment and social aspects of rural areas. While families who do not have children are more interested in finding 'things' (e.g. facilities, location or public transport) to adapt to daily life, families with children become involved with and interested in child-related activities within their living area (*ibid*. 6-7). However, both types of residents are similar in terms of their reactions and positive feelings towards local, rural residents (*ibid*.7-8). This research clearly indicated that, depending on personal situation (family with children or no children), people can show different kinds of elective belonging, but at the same time they can represent the same kind of selective belonging as an outsider in a rural area. In other words, they may have had different reasons to move to the area, but both groups felt like outsiders.

Another well-known study (Watt, 2009) focussed on selective belonging in terms of differences between social classes. Watt (2009) defined the term 'selective belonging' in the context of Woodlands, an English suburb of East London: "Selective belonging denotes a spatially uneven attachment rooted in residents' schizophrenic relationship to the suburban area, embracing the Woodlands oasis while abjuring the 'other Eastside'" (Watt, 2009: 2874). This study contributed to the understanding of how middle class segregation occurs both symbolically and in everyday social practices from the perspectives of local people. According to Watt (2009), middle-class inhabitants might subscribe to a discourse

of selective belonging, particularly once they perceive their houses positively in a specific place as opposed to the wider area. The study, which included interviews and a survey, was conducted in a large social housing and a private housing estate, the latter of which was established for an affluent and largely white group of incoming residents. It aimed to address the following question: How the home-owning, middle class, and for the most part white residents of the Woodlands non-public development attempted to share their vulnerable sense of exclusivity with regard to the nearby, underprivileged Eastside suburb. The findings indicated that attachment to a specific place was affected by selective belonging. In other words, when white middle-class people could not meet their interests and needs due to other, lower-class people, they formed new attachments to other places to overcome certain problems (e.g. finding a shopping place or a school for their children). This study can be used as an example of how elective belonging can affect selective belonging as depending on people's elective belonging, since the white people in his study deliberately lowered their connection with their living environment and other people in the same area.

Selective belonging emerges not only between different social classes and racial identities, but it is also possible to observe the same kind of selective belonging within a given social class or ethnic group. As discussed earlier, Saunders (1990) illustrated that homeownership influences individuals' choices. According to Saunders' study, Asian people moved to inner city areas due to a lack of resources and their need for a secure area in a new country. In addition, Asian tenants were excluded from certain areas because of white tenants and housing departments. In this example, Asian people's solution to their particular problem emerged because of white people's selective belonging.

Benson and Jackson's (2011) study compared perspectives between two neighbourhoods to understand selective belonging in daily life. This method is important to an understanding of two different groups in relation to belonging. Briefly, this study explored two neighbourhoods in Peckham: Rye Lane, which is ethnically diverse (though generally black) and poor with many grocery shops, butchers and chain stores (e.g. Primark, African and Caribbean hair and beauty shops, WHSmith); and Bellenden Road, which is ethnically white with newly established local shops and houses. While the development of Rye Lane was already complete, Bellenden Road was still being gentrified (*ibid.*: 2-3). Bellenden Road residents were opposed to the residents of Rye Lane because they regarded Rye Lane residents as "other", and considered themselves to be different from them (Benson and Jackson, 2011). Bellenden Road was considered to be a convenient neighbourhood for

white people even before they moved to this area. Furthermore, their attitudes towards the other neighbourhood (Rye Lane) represented a different form of elective belonging in terms of ethnicity and boundary creation (selective belonging). In other words, the residents of the Bellenden Road neighbourhood avoided using Rye Lane due to their selective belonging.

Several studies (Watt, 2009, Benson and Jackson, 2011) compared different neighbourhoods and identified social class, ethnicity, and family as the most important factors in establishing selective belonging. However, comparisons between different social groups or neighbourhoods in this regard assume that all people who are within the same social class or same neighbourhood display the same reactions towards other people; as discussed before, this represents the same problematic view that neoliberalism affects everybody at the same level in the same way in a specific region or country. It is important to analyse each group individually, taking into consideration personal situations without making any presumptions. My study uses residential status (landlord, second homeowner, owner-occupier and tenant) and location as a new way in which to analyse both elective and selective belonging, since these two aspects are not only dependent on tenure status but also emerge within a specific location. In other words, both tenure status and location are simultaneously important in the creation of belonging within a neoliberal urban context. As discussed above, each example (e.g. London, Lot, and Manchester) emerges in a particular place and social environment. Therefore, in light of both elective and selective belonging, it is necessary to focus on place and, in particular, how people use these two types of belonging to create and maintain their place. In the following section, I will focus on these aspects.

2.4   Homeownership and Place Making and Place Maintenance

Initially, it is necessary to understand the relationship between elective and selective belonging and place making/maintenance. Due to personal reasons (e.g. financial situation, lifestyle, social status, job), people create their own elective belonging before moving to a specific place. After moving, they begin to establish their theoretical perspectives and practical boundaries as an indicator of selective belonging. Place making and place maintenance are important means in setting both elective belonging and selective belonging. As a result of the stage in their life-course and choices (elective belonging) and reactions and boundaries (selective belonging), people organise their daily lives and their connections with place and other people in the same area as indicators of their place

making and place maintenance. For example, if people's choice of place is based on living with people like them, they will try to meet people who have similar lifestyles or preferences (Savage, 2010). While the first part of this example represents elective belonging, the second part represents place making. Feelings of belonging are essential to building one's place. It is a form of motivation that affects people's connection both with the place and, indeed, with other people in the same place. Due to this close relationship, place making and place maintenance can be used in practice to examine people's elective and selective belonging.

"Place making refers to activities through which residents work to produce the neighbourhood they want, such as participating in community organisation or initiatives, interacting with their neighbours, and supporting or opposing particular changes in the neighbourhood" (Elwood, Lawson and Nowak, 2015: 123). Place maintenance could be thought of as the next step in place making through participation in social groups, cultural organisations and activities (Benson, 2001). Establishing new residential apartments or organising cultural activities can be considered examples of place making (Benson and Jackson, 2011). According to Cresswell (2004), people are engaged in place-making activities worldwide, examples of which are redecorating, building house extensions, and manicuring lawns; neighbourhood organisations encouraging people to tidy their yards, creation of social relationships with neighbourhoods; a city government commissioning new constructions to define the 'souls' of specific places. Another important issue that becomes evident from these examples is that they occur within certain physical and social environments.

Giving a universal definition of place is quite challenging as the term carries both individualistic and subjective meanings. In addition, a specific place can represent different meanings for different individuals. In this case, Urry (1995) indicated the importance of place and relationship between place and consuming places in his well-known book "Consuming Place". He highlighted the importance of place of consumption, particularly visual consumption, using tourism and a touristic perspective and focussing on the Lake District as a case study. He pointed out that both visitors and local people consume places differently, particularly in a visual sense. In other words, depending on personal background, people expect different things from the same area. For instance, while local people want to demonstrate their place as being attractive to visitors, visitors want to be able to feel relaxed and happy in that area. As noted in section 2.3, there are different meanings of home and homeownership, and people have different feelings and attachments

with regard to these aspects. Similarly, depending on this background, people can expect different things from the same place, as Urry (1995) discussed.

Social class is considered an important aspect of creating a perspective about a specific place. Savage (2005 *et al*. and 2008) stated that social class influences feelings about a given place. In his empirical study of Manchester, while people defined their neighbourhoods not only in terms of local aspects, it was also clear their social class influenced the creation of their feelings about place. Similarly, Benson (2014) pointed out that people in Peckham defined their neighbourhood according to differences in their social classes. For example, while middle-class people from different ethnic backgrounds might define this neighbourhood as unsafe, lower-class people, such as the Caribbean lower class, felt free and secure there. Caribbean lower-class people came together to establish a common social life in order to overcome their financial problems, since similar economic problems galvanise lower-class people to collectively create and maintain their place.

Ethnicity and religion are also important factors in shaping place making and place maintenance. Trudeau's (2006) study is important to understanding the differences between ethnic and religious groups in terms of place making and place maintenance. In this study, he focussed on a slaughterhouse in Hugo, Minnesota, that was used for UaDab (a Hmong tradition of animal sacrifice). This area had been developed and transformed into a part of the city centre. Notably, its cultural and ethnic diversity shifted from Asian and African people into an ethnically diverse community including white Americans. This study aimed to address the following question: "How landscapes became spatially bounded scenes that visually communicate what belongs and what does not." (*ibid*., 421). The findings indicated that the meaning of landscape is affected by both elective and selective belonging. Furthermore, the function of the landscape develops and changes over the course of its history. The Hugo case demonstrates a different level of belonging and different borders in relation to the Hmong immigrants and the white community. For example, this study investigated a land use conflict between Hmong immigrants and an otherwise predominantly white community (Trudeau, 2006). As discussed in section 2.3.1, with Blokland (2009), racial identity also affects people's elective belonging and selective belonging. In other words, depending on their racial identity, people choose a specific place and react in certain ways to others. Here, Trudeau illustrated the same situation with regard to creating and maintaining place in terms of belonging to an ethnic group or religion. This situation illustrates both the relationship between these two types of belonging and place making, and the relationship between place making and place

maintenance. After creating place, as a further step to the above, people need to survive the connection with that specific place. In Trudeau's (2006) study, these two groups conflicted with each other in terms of their meaning of place and daily practices. White people opposed animals being butchered in their neighbourhood because they thought that this was inappropriate for their area. In contrast, the Hmong immigrants argued that the area was appropriate for such activities since it enabled them to observe their religious and cultural practices (*ibid.*, 435). People present a subjective view of social space and the exclusion in a specific space on the basis of ethnic and religious differences. As a result, while local people wanted to preserve their reasons (elective belonging) for living in a specific area while creating boundaries (selective belonging) with newcomers. To this end, they attempted to preserve their existing rituals and practices as indicators of place making and place maintenance. While newcomers criticise local people due to differences from their interests (elective belonging) about the same place, to survive this they create boundaries (selective belonging) with local people, and indeed with newcomers looking for and using the same area as an indicator of their place making and place maintenance. These two groups of people not only show the importance of racial identity to elective and selective belonging and place making/maintenance but also demonstrate the connection between these aspects. The above studies show that different locations, with their specific contexts in terms of population and specific background, represent different examples of place making and place maintenance activities.

To clarify the importance of location, Benson and Jackson (2012) analysed and discussed place making and place maintenance in different neighbourhoods in London. Specifically, they explored how middle-class residents relate in practice in the London neighbourhoods of Peckham (inner urban, socially mixed), West Horsley, and Effingham (commuter belt villages). This study involved councillors, local business owners, and heads of local associations in each neighbourhood. The findings indicated that there is a considerable difference between Peckham and West Horsley in terms of place making. In Peckham, new residents and builders wanted to change the physical environment to establish a new place. Middle-class residents tried to change the current place through place making activities such as everyday practices (renovating houses and building business centres) and via the representation of Peckham in various media. In West Horsley, existing residents were against such changes to their community, and thus place making could only be achieved in a different way for the existing residents of West Horsley. In detail, they preferred to preserve their living space as an appropriate place for the prevalent white middle class

(*ibid.* 802-805). In a similar manner to the study by Trudeau (2006), Benson's study indicated a number of differences between middle-class residents in terms of their reasons for moving into or staying within a specific area and place making and place maintenance activities. In this case, while differences in social class were highlighted as a reason for this situation, it should be noted that the study compared different places located in the city centre and the countryside, and therefore it is difficult to generalise the findings to all middle-class people without considering the local life and location.

Activities in a specific location can help to recognise place making and place maintenance in practice. Place is not just "in the mind", but is represented in neighbourhoods, and places are made and maintained through daily practices in performative and dynamic ways (Benson and Jackson, 2012). In this study, existing residents in the commuter belt maintained their living space as an appropriate place for the lifestyle of similar individuals (*ibid.*, 804-805). Indeed, the White middle class wanted to protect their social group to maintain the status quo, both in ethnic and social terms (*ibid.*, 805). Overall, preserving the existing rituals and social environment is not only important but also a cornerstone of place maintenance. This process might be different in different societies, places, urban environments and at different times. As discussed earlier in this section, while Trudeau's (2006) study indicated religion as a reason for place maintenance, Benson and Jackson's (2012) research identified social class as a principal factor in maintaining place.

Savage's (2008) study, "Histories, belongings, communities", is another useful example by which to understand place making and maintenance in different locations. Briefly, it draws on data from three locations (London, Hertfordshire, and Tyneside) and three groups of people (families, workers, managers) between 1950 and 1995 using interviews and field observations. The authors studied pragmatic issues related to the quality of housing and job availability. The findings highlighted that in the absence of aesthetic value and quality of place, residents or workers created their sense of belonging through familiarity with their living places (Savage, 2008). In this context, place maintenance could be thought of as the step after place making. Residents need reasons (e.g. housing, jobs, aesthetics, familiarity) to maintain their relationship with a place. Place maintenance contributes to the maintenance of specific value and character of place making. Overall, the important similarities between the above studies (that is, Savage *et al*. (2005), Savage (2008), Trudeau (2006) or Benson (2014), and Benson and Jackson (2012)) is that they mainly focussed on old, established neighbourhoods and communities which were for the most part created by long-term residents. While people create their place and organise their daily

lives differently in these different places, a waterfront area, as a recently established and continuously redeveloping area, must be subject to different circumstances (e.g. neoliberal urbanism, level and type of connection) to the above examples because this kind of recently established place does not offer a long-term connection with either neighbours or place. In addition, as a result of globalisation, mixed communities (in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, religion, occupation, lifestyle, etc.) are being established. In other words, these factors become complicated and are not principal reasons for creating and maintaining place within a contemporary urban context.

After the creation of belonging in a specific place via social, physical and personal factors, people create their place through similar factors. They will then attempt to maintain this creation through a variety of activities. However, these activities cannot be properly or fully considered in the absence of location. Specific times and locations affect the creation of belonging. Residential status influences people's connection with both other people and place. Therefore, different tenure groups must indicate their connection with a place in different ways. I expect that location plays a significant role in the creation and maintenance of place. People are influenced by their residential status (landlords, second homeowners, owner-occupiers and tenants) during this process, but this does not provide sufficient evidence to explain these processes, especially if the specific location has been neglected. As Urry (1995) noted, places are becoming virtual. In the following section, in order to examine belonging and place in more detail, I will focus on both virtual (online) and offline life. The virtual elements of places increase the importance of both place and sense of belonging. Contemporary life makes it necessary to include virtual platforms due to their interaction with offline life. In this respect, sense of belonging, place making and maintenance are important to both online and offline life.

2.5   Online and Offline Life

As discussed in the previous sections, the existing literature mainly focusses on offline relationships and activities when assessing the processes of place making and maintenance or elective and selective belonging. However, it ignores online platforms, which are increasingly being used as a social environment. It is necessary to focus on both online and offline aspects in order to better understand place and belonging. Therefore, in the following sections, this thesis will focus on both offline and online life and, indeed, the connection between these lives, in order to better understand and examine place making/maintenance and elective/selective belonging.

2.5.1   Offline Life

Offline life is mostly discussed in the literature in terms of solidarity and individualism. Community, an important concept for an understanding of solidarity and individualism in everyday life, provides a platform in which people have a place in common, and communities represent a common interest and exhibit common identities (Crow, 2002). According to Sassen (2006), communities develop multiple lateral and horizontal means of communication. Technological improvements and globalisation play a key role in these changes. However, as Crow (2002) noted, there is a declining trend in the importance of place in creating social solidarity, and globalisation plays a significant role in the erosion of local communities in terms of social solidarity and the individualistic perspective. New cultures and lifestyles have affected local culture through globalisation (Zukin, 1995). The importance of community is still important in modern societies, but the role and importance of place and solidarity has shifted significantly with globalisation (e.g. technological improvements or transportation).

According to Giddens (1994), social solidarity is still an important factor in sociology, but the new form of solidarity is different from its classical categorisations. In other words, in contemporary social life, as influenced by globalisation and capitalism, the means of belonging are different from traditional examples such as those illustrated by Tönnies or Durkheim (Savage, 2010). In the same vein, Crow (2002) explained the transformation of a community in terms of identities and social solidarity, and he criticised the traditional explanations offered by Tönnies regarding different types of social order and relationships within the community ("*Gemeinschaft*") and association ("*Gesellchaft*") as well as Durkheim's explanation of solidarity via mechanical and organic solidarity. These examples categorise offline life into two groups, *gemeinschaft-gesellchaft* or mechanic-organic, without considering all aspects of globalisation. The types of social relationship and daily life within the contemporary world are more difficult to explain through few such categorisations.

Solidarity of families in contemporary societies is one of the most important concepts required to understand offline life and connections pertaining to kinship-based solidarity. Compared with contemporary nuclear families, in traditional families, the number of people was greater and family ties were stronger. In addition, traditional families could overcome the negative effects of modernisation with the support of family members (Smits, 2014), since family members have strong ties and relationships that are vital in

supporting each other financially and emotionally (Wellman, 2005). Family and kinship play a significant role in traditional societies, but there have been changes in solidarity due to globalisation and widespread individualism (Atkinson, 2006). According to Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002), the ties within families have transformed dramatically over the last thirty years in the UK, as with neoliberalism welfare states individualisation and the form of families will start to shift. For example, welfare states (e.g. unemployment benefits, student grants or mortgage relief) have made people more individualistic as they do not need each other's support as much as they used to in terms of financial dependence (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002).

As discussed in the previous section, the meaning of place changes over time, as do the types of relationships and connections between people in the contemporary world. As an example, Beck (2000) stated that the welfare state fosters individualism whereby individuals are less dependent on families and communities than before since they can rely on the state for support. Further, welfare states do not have the capacity to provide citizens equal financial power and social status (Crow, 2002). According to Esping-Andersen (1996), the market is an important aspect of economic and social life, yet, it has not allowed for the creation of social solidarity since the 1970s. Because of the welfare system, people can solve their own problems and address their requirements without asking for the help of other people or their families (Crow, 2002). Because of privatisation, the ideology of individualism has increased since the 1970s, and this increase has been particularly notable since the 2000s (Elliott and Lemert, 2006). These changes include personal/private and communal relationships. There is a clear parallel between the increase of individualism and neoliberal policies. The shrinking of communal ties and relations under neoliberal policies are significant, and mobility and digital technologies contribute to individualistic behaviour (Elliott and Lemert, 2006). People are affected not only by their personal choices or demands but also by the condition and extent of their connections in daily/offline life.

There have been changes in solidarity and individualisation over the last thirty years. Different aspects play a role during this progress such as transportation, technology and the internet. Further, as a result of these effects, the types of relationships have changed to become more individualistic. However, it is difficult to generalise this situation to all communities. We need to think about different aspects (e.g. tenure status or location) to understand specific circumstances. Further, relationships in and between online and offline life must be considered. The following sections will focus on this situation in detail.

2.5.2   Online Life

There are different views about the impact of the internet and social media on daily life in the literature. The new technology of the internet contributes to globalisation, accessibility and the level of networking worldwide, although it could be harmful to local social solidarity (Sassen, 2006). According to Kraut *et al*. (1998), the internet could be problematic for its users as it may lead to the neglect of families, relatives, friends or neighbours by the individual. In the same vein, Katz and Hampton (2016) pointed out that the internet and social media influence many aspects of daily life ranging from education to entertainment as well as communication and connection with place, environment, and other people or families. According to Best and Krueger (2006), people on the internet create new relationships with generalised trust; however, this view is not always correct due to reduced connection in offline life (*ibid*. 406-407). The above researchers preferred to focus on the negative results of the internet in our offline lives, while ignoring the possible benefits of these tools in offline life and connections between people.

Nevertheless, Hampton (2007) also noted that the use of the internet not only 'privatises' and isolates people, its use extends and improves local social networks. However, in the same study, he pointed out that while using the internet and online tools extend social networks, the economic gap between rich and poor or inner city and suburbs widen and become visible (*ibid*. 741). As an example, he compared modern apartment residents in city centres with countryside residents in terms of their use of the internet to create networks and socialise in daily life. While apartment residents used the internet to privatise and isolate themselves from other people, in the countryside, local people used the internet to communicate with their neighbours (Hampton, 2007: 738-739). Additionally, Hampton highlighted the importance of location, which is not only an important factor in offline life since it can also affect people's decision in their online lives.

Along the same lines, Gruzd *et al*. (2016) highlighted the necessity to consider local aspects to thoroughly examine the effects of the internet and social media on daily life. While the internet has different local and global impacts, Savage *et al*. (2005) highlighted the importance of locality in countryside where residents use the internet for different purposes than inner city (apartment) residents. While in small countryside areas people use social media to socialise and build relationships, in inner city apartment buildings people mainly use the internet to obtain information and solve their personal problems (e.g. buying or selling things) rather than building connections.

Nevertheless, electronic communication and the internet has the capacity to contribute to the creation of a new type of social solidarity as it can bring people together towards a common view or goal (Crow, 2002). According to Wellman and Quan-Haase (2001), people mostly use the internet to maintain and develop their contact with existing neighbourhood members and to find new ways to contact people over and above traditional face-to-face or telephone communication. The connectivity of the internet allows people to contact people and share ideas both locally and globally (Wellman, 2001). In their study, Wellman *et al.* (2002), focused on three communities to understand the impact of the internet on daily life and relationships. These three examples come from local (Netville in Toronto), national (North America) and international examples in 178 countries. Using these examples, Wellman *et al.* (2002) described the similarities in the use of the internet, which revolve around building new and close relationships, both locally and globally, as well as supporting face-to-face or telephone communication. These examples represent relatively positive impact of the internet on both online and offline life, which are not completely separate from each other. Further, these examples illustrate the fact that the aims and functions of the internet and other technological improvements depend on our particular purposes. As Gruzd *et al.* (2016) stated, internet and social media are not completely good or bad, rather its impact depends on individual user's preferences. People can use these tools to isolate themselves from their local community and place or they can establish solidarity within their living places.

It should be noted here that the studies discussed so far mainly focus on how the internet or social media influence daily life, offline communications, and offline life. However, if we consider these online and offline lives as two different means of communication, we can see that both could potentially influence each other. As opposed to mainstream studies, there are only a few studies which highlight this in the literature. Nevertheless, the above scholars, who focus on the positive or negative results of online platforms, indirectly indicated that online and offline life cannot be completely separate, and that both do indeed affect each other. Depending on the interactions between online and offline life connections, people can be more or less active on the internet, especially on social media. Online life may or may not extend connections and relationships into offline life.

The internet and social media contribute to building relationships both online and offline, but particular cases or local aspects must be considered in order to fully understand the influence of the internet and social media on creating social relationships (Gruzd *et al.*, 2016). When building relationships in the online environment, offline relationships, norms

and rules in offline life should be noted as important factors affecting online relationships (Kavanaugh *et al*., 2005). Online and offline discussions influence each other, as Sessions (2010) demonstrates in her analysis of the online community established through MetaFilter.com. Members of this group who attended offline meetings were more social and interactive in online discussions than other individuals who did not attend offline meetings or organisations (*ibid*, 390-391). Further, Sessions illustrated that it was not only internet and online groups that influenced offline life. This influence also depended on the standards of offline life, and is an indication of offline life affecting online life. Therefore, it is necessary to examine these online and offline communications without any assumptions or bias when adopting a holistic approach to the examination of elective and selective belonging and place making and maintenance to clarify role of residential status and location in Ocean Village, Southampton.

It is important to study the use of online platforms because they play a significant role in elective and selective belonging and, indeed, to place making and place maintenance. The marketisation of place has become much easier than ever before through online (virtual) environments. Places can quickly become attractive and well known to non-local people through websites which allow quick and straightforward internet searches. In addition, some social media groups allow people to conduct individual research about specific places to gain information that might contribute their belonging both before and after their positive decision regarding such specific locations. Further, this situation continues with people's place making and place maintenance, regardless of their tenure status. Therefore, while offline life allows people to discover their elective and selective belonging, and also place making and place maintenance, in online life these concepts come into existence simultaneously. Online communication is embedded in everyday life, thus offline and online are not really separate, they have an overlap and connection. In addition to this, with online platforms consuming places becomes popular for both local and non-local people at the same time, as depending on their ability to access the internet. Lastly, in contrast to offline life, in online life, especially in social media groups, until each individual has given an appropriate explanation, it is difficult to realise and understand tenure status-based choices and feelings. In other words, it is not possible to directly determine whether the people whose posts you have been reading are homeowners or renters when online.

2.6   Summary and Conclusion

Throughout chapter 2, I considered different concepts (e.g. neoliberal urbanism with different housing policies in the UK (e.g. RTB, BTL, HTB) and elective and selective belonging and also place making and place maintenance) to examine what role tenure status and location play for people`s choice, feeling, attachment and involvement in a specific place. This chapter started out with a review of housing policies and the abilities of different groups to buy property. Various factors, including the investment of international buyers, make it harder for the younger generation (24-35 years old) to pay deposits in the same housing market whilst simultaneously repaying university loans (ONS: Labour Force Survey: 2015 and Saunders, 2016). Housing policies (RTB, BTL, and HTB) have not given everyone the same chance to become homeowners; rather, some of these policies have helped people to buy additional properties by making it even more difficult for other groups to become homeowners. Additionally, there is a parallel with these housing policies and increasing second homeownership in the UK (Paris, 2009). According to these policies, the financial situation plays a significant role in whether an individual can become a homeowner.

Tenure status has been recognized as a key factor by local and general policy makers and scholars. To re-examine this situation in terms of the practice of tenure groups. This thesis will focus on tenure groups in particular owner-occupiers and tenants and examine their choices and practices in their daily lives. It will use elective and selective belonging and place making and place maintenance as concepts to emphasise tenure groups' feelings and practices.

This chapter reviewed existing empirical studies that considered different places (e.g. commuter belt, countryside, city centre) and groups depending on social class, belonging to an ethnic group, and residential status. In these studies, there was an implicit assumption that tenure groups mostly represent the same preferences in daily life, that is, that they are homogeneous. However, it is difficult to claim that all different locations represent the same population, interests, preferences and participation. In contrast to existing studies, I addressed the impact of online social media groups on offline life as a means by which to examine the true role of location and tenure status. These online social media groups, while interacting with offline life, extend offline life without being completely separate from it.

In this chapter, I argued that the importance of location has been widely discussed in the community studies of urban life literature. In addition, waterfront areas have also been

discussed, though mainly in terms of development and design and financial situation. Recently, Carnegie, Norris and Byrne (2018) compared social housing residents' place making activities and their connection with other people within a redeveloping waterfront area and two other inner city neighbourhoods. However, existing studies have not, to date, thoroughly examined waterfront areas in terms of their impact on social life and social relationships. Instead, they focussed on the design, development and economic aspects. To address these gaps, in this thesis I consider a waterfront area (Ocean Village) from more of a sociological perspective (such as elective and selective belonging) to examine the importance of location and residential status based on the differences/similarities between tenure groups. I apply theoretical and conceptual approaches to address two key limitations: a lack of recognition of the importance of location, and an overemphasis on the role of tenure status. I argue that tenure status does not override everything else and that location needs to be considered to understand and examine people's feelings, choices and attachment.

Table 2.2 The relationship between tenure status, location and the concepts of this thesis

	Elective Belonging	Selective Belonging	Place Making	Place Maintenance
Tenure Status	Making the choice and decision to buy/rent or live there or otherwise. (Financial ability-based motivations)	Preserving their choice/decision with their preferences/borders and reaction to other places/communities.	Depends on their decision/choice to build up their place with online and offline activities and organisations.	Then, continue their activities within same platforms both online and offline.
Waterfront Area	It is located next to water and convenient, accessible, good for investment. (Location-based motivations)	Compare with other places/communities and look at it more positively.	Place-based activities and organisations. Using both virtual and offline places.	Then, maintain the connection with their place via online and offline.

Lastly, Table 2.2 briefly summarises the different roles of tenure status and location, and also the connection between the different concepts used in this thesis. As demonstrated, while tenure status is still an important influence on people's choices, feelings and experiences of a particular place, it also intersects with location. This table also shows some basic differences between tenure status and location, as well as the connections

between the different concepts used in my thesis. These concepts are not independent to each other. As Table 2.2 shows, as dependent on elective belonging, people organise their selective belonging and then create their place, and then maintain their place in the context of this background thereafter.

In chapter 3, I will focus on the methodology used for the collection and analysis of data and further discuss its strengths and weaknesses.

Chapter 3   Methodology

The previous chapter considered the literature on neoliberal urbanism through different housing policies in the UK and in waterfront areas, elective and selective belonging, place making-place maintenance and online-offline life in order to examine the differences/similarities between tenure groups and the role of location in the context of the neoliberal urban context. This chapter presents the methodology used in this research and the rationale behind the preferred study design. This study of Ocean Village employs both qualitative and quantitative methods. Herein, I will first describe the methods of previous place and belonging used by researchers, then describe the aims, objectives and research questions of this study, and continue with a discussion of the mixed method and a single case study. Next, I will discuss the data collection tools with a particular focus on reliability and validity. In these sections, I will provide information on my findings from my online questionnaire and interviews in terms of their participants, and give a general overview of the results derived from the above. Then, one specific section will focus on sampling and data analysis. Finally, ethical considerations are provided in light of my role as a researcher.

3.1   Methods of Previous Place and Belonging Research

Researchers prefer two approaches to place and belonging research: long-term ethnographic and short-term case study approaches (Saunders, 1990; Elias and Scotson, 1994, Benson, 2001 and 2014, Benson and Jackson, 2012, Watt, 2009, Savage, 2005, 2010). Considering the aim and nature of my research, I believe that case study approaches are ideally suited to reliably addressing my research questions. My study will use mainly qualitative semi-structured interviews and a quantitative online survey. While conducting interviews is important for collecting primary data, accessing participants through an online questionnaire may allow the identification of different perspectives. Certainly, this latter approach is convenient in my case. In this chapter, I will discuss both interview and survey methodology, and compare them to the methods employed in existing research.

3.2   Research Aims, Objectives and Questions

Previous studies in the literature, especially more recent studies (e.g. Savage *et al*., 2005, and 2010, Benson and Jackson, 2012, Benson, 2014 and 2015, Watt, 2009, Butler, 2004,

Elias and Scotson, 1994), analysed different places which have been established both in city centres and outside cities, such as small towns, villages or commuter belts. In addition, these studies compared different groups in relation to insiders and outsiders, established residents and outsiders, newcomers and existing residents.

My study is also important due to the area of the case study, which is located in a luxurious and attractive waterfront area. While there are various studies (e.g. Wrenn *et al*, 1983, Brownill, 1990, Saker, 201, Oakley, 2014), which have focussed on waterfront areas in terms of physical, touristic and commercial aspects, my study adopts a new viewpoint by analysing the selected waterfront area (Ocean Village) through a sociological perspective, such as place making, place maintenance, and elective and selective belonging. For this aim, there are some classification questions in my online questionnaire. In addition, m**y** interview question list focussed on increased detail to learn residents' perspectives on location. These kinds of questions, as present in both in my questionnaire and interviews, were posed to gain detailed information. Further, distinct from existing community studies of urban life, my study collects the opinions of not only owner-occupiers and tenants but also landlords who do not reside in the neighbourhood but who nevertheless influence the other tenures through their decisions (e.g. their choice of tenants or keeping their flat(s) empty), and second homeowners who reside in the neighbourhood just for the summer or a few days per week or month).

The work of Benson (2011), Benson, and Jackson (2012) indicated the closest similarities to my study in terms of methodology and analysis of aspects such as social activities and places. However, my research extends their perspective about place. In this case, I was influenced by the work of Savage (2005 and 2008) in my desire to understand the processes of place making and place maintenance with respect to elective and selective belonging. Furthermore, I also consider the potential influence of residential status on the creation of these aspects (elective and selective belonging and also place making and place maintenance). This perception is the main difference between my work and the existing literature.

Before outlining the aims and objectives this study, it is important to define some of the terminology used, as although the two terms below are often used interchangeably, in academic written work they are distinct from each other, though the distinction is somewhat subtle. A research aim, as a general idea, addresses the research questions regarding the research problem; however, objectives serve as a concept to achieve research aims (Bryman, 2008 3rd edn). Similarly, research objectives contribute to the completion of

research aims in a reliable and confidential way (Silverman, 2010, 3rd edn). One can summarise by saying that while research objectives are concerned with how analysts can meet aims, research aims represent what a researcher may expect to accomplish. Research objectives may therefore be considered subordinate to research aims.

This thesis is structured around identifying and addressing two key factors that limit resource models: a lack of recognition of the importance of location, and an overemphasis on the role of tenure status. In other words, this research was undertaken to increase our understanding and to examine the role of tenure status (e.g. owner-occupiers, tenants, landlords and second homeowners) within a neoliberal urban (waterfront) environment, and assess whether these are affected by tenure status, location, or both. It is difficult to explain people's belonging and feeling(s) purely in terms of tenure status within the contemporary global urban context, which offers mobility and connection both locally and globally. While financial situation affects people's choice (and ability) to buy or rent, it is too general a concept in itself to explain tenure groups' attachment and feelings in contemporary urban environments. As noted in section 1.3, while Ocean Village is more expensive than other parts of Southampton, people prefer to buy or rent from the same place regardless of their tenure status. In this case, the location of Ocean Village emerged as a significant reason for unifying different tenure groups within the same area. Location matters in terms of people's feeling and attachment due to being close to leisure facilities, job opportunities, and the beauty of the area or investment. Accordingly, the following research questions are examined by this study:

- *What are the significant differences and similarities between tenure groups regarding the decision to move into or buy within, and the experience of, a waterfront area?*
- *How do tenure status and location intersect and how are they different with regard to the decision to move into or buy within, and the experience of, a waterfront area?*

Before I began collecting data, I started to get to know the research environment. I have attended various social events such as coffee mornings, pub nights and general meetings, which are organised by existing residents; such events helped me to become familiar with Ocean Village. I was introduced to existing residents with the help of these events. I used these personal contacts and my online questionnaire to access different tenure groups in Ocean Village (landlords, second homeowners, owner-occupiers and tenants). I recruited 177 people for the online survey (2 unknown tenure and ownership status, 8 landlords, 91

owner-occupiers, and 76 tenants) in Ocean Village and interviewed 42 people (20 owner-occupiers, 16 tenants, 3 second homeowners and 3 landlords), each of whom had completed the online questionnaire prior to the interview.

The planning and use of the correct data collection tools in order to assess the valuable data gained from the participants of the study is another important point. Therefore, I used semi-structured interviews to discover further information, and a quantitative online questionnaire to relatively quickly and easily access a large number of participants. I asked different kinds of questions (e.g. direct, open-ended, ranking questions) in my questionnaire and interviews. I also tried to avoid leading questions. I noted these aspects in reaching my aims before and during the collection of data.

3.3 Mixed Methods: A Pragmatic Research Approach

The selection of appropriate research methods and design are clearly crucial (Bryman, 2009, Mason, 2006). The methods of collecting empirical resources reflect the research design (Bryman, 2009). The research design is an action plan for establishing a new research project (Silverman, 2013). It is "a flexible set of guidelines that connect theoretical paradigms first to strategies of inquiry and second to methods for collecting empirical materials" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008, 33-34). Thus, research design is important to accomplishing a study within a given time while producing worthwhile, or indeed valuable, results.

The research questions in this study cannot be thoroughly answered using just one methodological approach. I am convinced that the mixed method represents the optimal way of addressing my research questions. I used the mixed method, combining both qualitative and quantitative methods, to access more detailed information from my fieldwork. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) state that while qualitative research is interested in the study process and what is studied, quantitative research is interested in the relationships between variables. The mixed method approach provides a better insight into the issues being studied than either the quantitative or qualitative approaches alone (Creswell and Clark, 2007), and allows researchers to access different people in different ways. While quantitative online questionnaires are important in terms of gaining access to large numbers of participants in a relatively quick and easy way, the qualitative method provides the opportunity to discuss my semi-structured interview questions in a detailed way. In

other words, both methods support and complement each other, and increase the value and quality of any data so derived.

Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) focussed on the philosophical assumptions of the mixed method. These four worldviews, (i) post-positivism, (ii) constructivism, (iii) advocacy and participatory approach, and (iv) pragmatism, provide the basis on which research is formulated. Mixed method researchers usually choose a pragmatist view (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2003) as this allows one to analyse and marry different views, assumptions and data collection techniques (Creswell, 2009) and prioritise research questions. This way of thinking allows the researcher to address the research question(s) in a relatively broad and pragmatic manner. Therefore, my thesis employed mixed methods with a pragmatic approach to find the best and most thorough answers to the research questions posed.

Another important method in mixed method research is that of triangulation of data. Triangulation is a well-known means of mixed method research (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). It is important to collect data from different sources to access more information (Creswell and Miller, 2007). Similarly, using multiple methods is important if one wishes to gain an in-depth understanding of the research questions (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). To establish accurate and successful answers to the research questions, this thesis used triangulation, especially methodological triangulation (e.g. qualitative and quantitative). In this way, data was collected using two disparate approaches. This contributed to a deeper realisation of the situation in my case study. This methodological triangulation provided me with the opportunity to compare differences in the general situation described by the data from the questionnaire and the more specific and detailed situation described by the interviews in my study. Furthermore, the two different methods allowed participants to freely define their feelings in different ways.

Qualitative research gives a feeling of process while quantitative research provides a record of structures or statistics. Additionally, qualitative research allows relevant understanding of the broad relationships among variables that would have not otherwise been discovered through surveys (Bryman, 2006). One method generally dominates over the other in mixed research (Brannen, 2005). In this study, quantitative data contributed to extending the views of tenures in Ocean Village in a descriptive fashion. The qualitative method received greater prioritisation in its contribution to the evaluation of existing studies and finding answers to my research questions. These last points will be detailed within the following sections.

The quantitative component was derived from the online surveys. Facebook and emails were used to access various online social media groups established for Ocean Village residents. Quantitative results help enrich qualitative results, as well as contribute background data about the participants in addition to facilitating access to a large number of participants in a reasonably short time. This, in particular, helped overcome challenges with contacting landlords and second homeowners who do not permanently live in Ocean Village. Semi-structured interviews were used to gain in-depth information regarding the research questions. This mixed method is important to minimise potential problems, such as inadvertently missing the general concepts or misinterpretation of the within-case situation.

It is necessary to note that there is no wrong or right method; rather, there are just more suitable and more productive methods for each individual research effort (Bryman, 2006). Although, as discussed in chapter 2, there is statistical information about the distribution of tenure groups and basic factors which affect their decisions, one generally encounters financial situation- or social class-based explanations in the literature. To access further information and detail about their decisions and experiences in Ocean Village, I decided to use a quantitative online survey and qualitative semi-structured interviews in preference to other methods (e.g. secondary data analysis or document analysis) to determine the exact situation in terms of different tenure groups. Additionally, due to the sensitive and emotional topics of place and belonging within such a small area as Ocean Village, using these means was more appropriate than using methods such as focus groups that could negatively affect participants' answers and reduce the possibility of obtaining sufficient detail about the place and other people in the same area.

3.4   Sampling Participants

I obtained my ethical approval in August 2016 and conducted my online questionnaire and interviews between August 2016 and March 2017. Participants in the online questionnaire were recruited using Ocean Village residents' Facebook groups. Then, to recruit people who were not using these social media groups, I distributed leaflets to existing residents in Ocean Village. In addition, with the help of local estate agencies, I distributed the link to my survey via email to both existing residents and landlords in the same area. Among the 177 people who participated in the online survey, 8 identified themselves as landlords, 91 as owner-occupiers, and 76 as tenants. Two respondents did not provide information about their residential status. I recruited people of different nationalities (over 20 different

nationalities), ages (from 18 to 70s), and genders (nearly fifty-fifty male and female). Very few landlords participated in my online questionnaire. There was a similar problem during my interviews, where only three landlords and three second homeowners participated. This is one of the most important limitations in my sample of participants. To overcome this problem, I used Facebook groups, which are established for only Ocean Village residents/owners, and also contacted local estate agencies, the city council and my existing interview participants, especially tenants. I distributed leaflets to each property in Ocean Village. In addition, I offered potential participants interviews via phone, Skype or email. However, unfortunately, I was unable to recruit the same number of owner-occupiers and tenants, and there was no balance between the numbers of participants in each tenure group. However, in total, I completed six interviews with landlords and second homeowners where participants answered my questions in considerable detail. As the number of second homeowners and landlords participants was small, the quality and content of these interviews are highly significant to extending my study in terms of tenure groups.

Semi-structured interviews reflect participants' opinions, beliefs, experiences and emotions (Bryman, 2009, Mason, 2003). In addition, interviews reflect segments from the life of the participants (Atkinson, 1998). Similarly, interviews help obtain particular stories within particular social circumstances, times, and places (Mason, 2006). To access a greater number of participants, I prepared leaflets that invited existing residents to both the survey and the interview. I distributed these leaflets three times in Ocean Village for each individual flat. I included my telephone number and email address on these leaflets to allow participants to contact me. Some participants had problems accessing my survey via the survey link. They contacted me via email and telephone to solve these problems. I helped them access the online questionnaire and invited them to the interviews. I was able to recruit a few extra participants in this way. In total, I conducted 20 owner-occupier, 16 tenant, 3 second homeowners and 3 landlord interviews. The number of participants increased in a snowball effect. In the following section, I will discuss the strengths and weaknesses of each of these research instruments.

3.5   A Single Case Study Approach and Methodological Considerations

A single case study is used in my study. The use of a single case study is often criticised in terms of its potential and generalisability (Silverman, 2010). The first challenge to the

study is how this case can be generalised in order to understand other examples. However, my case study (Ocean Village) is significant in terms of answering my research questions due to its differences in relation to location and its social and physical environment.

"A case study can look at a large number of intervening variables and inductively observe any unexpected aspects of the operation of a particular causal mechanism or help identify what conditions present in a case activate the causal mechanism" (Gorge and Bennett, 2005: 21). There are many examples in the literature of place and belonging (e.g. Savage *et al.*, 2005, Benson and Jackson, 2011 and 2012, and Benson, 2015a and 2015b), which use specific cases to understand a general situation.

Beck (2002) said that without mentioning specific locations and places, one could not think globally. In this case, Ocean Village is an area with mixed living purposes such as landlords, owner-occupiers, second homeowners and tenants. This allows access to different actors in a single neighbourhood; hence, it provides a diverse environment. I opted for a case study research design in this study to gain additional information and attain an in-depth understanding of the above tenure groups in Ocean Village. My case is different from previous ones in relation to its variety in terms of the tenure groups considered. This case study allows me access to different examples at the same time.

The qualitative method helps one to find more data about the theoretical aspect in a generalizable way (Mason, 2006). In addition, as discussed previously, the mixed method contributes to one's ability to access relatively deep information for research (Creswell, 2009). The data from the qualitative method does not reflect population and demographic situations, but rather provides a significant way in which to discover complex information (Bryman, 2009, Mason, 2002). The problem of the single case study could be solved using appropriate methods and deep exploration (Mason, 2003). Mixed method is an opportunity for this study to achieve generalisability using only a single case.

This research is based mainly on the qualitative method. Because of the descriptive nature of my data and research questions, I decided to use qualitative content analysis to better investigate my data. While I initially prepared five or six pages of detailed reports for each interview, I then followed Creswell (2009) in the analysis of the qualitative data: transcription, organising and preparing data for analysis, reading through the complete data, coding the data (using NVivo), themes, then interrelating the themes, and lastly interpreting the meaning of themes (Creswell, 2009: 185). I followed these steps and ultimately reached three main themes, importance of financial factors, social factors, and

physical factors, by which to examine elective and selective belonging and place making and place maintenance. I then started to analyse these themes, as per the following chapters. Additionally, the online questionnaire data will be used in the attempt to extend the qualitative data by illustrating the general situation in terms of online and offline life in Ocean Village. To record and analyse the numeric data, the statistical package, SPSS version 24, was used.

It would be helpful to highlight the basic demographic situation in Ocean Village based on my quantitative and qualitative data in order to illustrate the complexity of the situation even as found within a single case study or a small waterfront neighbourhood. However, it is necessary to note that this data is based on my fieldwork, not official data. While I tried to represent different voices within the neighbourhood, it was difficult to represent everybody. In general, when I compare my data with official statistics (ONS 2017), I realised while there are similarities in terms of distribution of gender, employment status, education, and the number of landlords (over 50%). At the same time, this official data neglected to show second homeownership as a distinct tenure group in Ocean Village.

As noted in the methods chapter above (3.2), I recruited 177 people to complete the online questionnaire which was filled out by 91 (51.4%) owner-occupiers, 76 (43.0%) tenants, 8 (4.5%) landlords and 2 (1.1%) individuals of unknown tenure and ownership status. There was a considerable difference between the online questionnaire participants and the semi-structured interview participants in terms of distribution. I conducted semi-structured interviews with twenty (47.7%) owner-occupiers, sixteen (38.1%) tenants, three (7.1%) landlords and three (7.1%) second homeowners. In the interviews, three participants defined themselves as second homeowners and thus being different from either owner-occupiers or landlords with regard to their reasons for living in or visiting Ocean Village. In other words, second homeowners emerged as an additional tenure group in Ocean Village, as they do not live there on a permanent basis. This tenure group's members visit Ocean Village for short holidays only (e.g. weekends or summers), or otherwise for work-related visits.

Table 3.1 The number of interviews and online questionnaire participants in my data and the total population in Ocean Village in the estimated ONS 2017

	Interview Participants	Questionnaire Participants	ONS 2017
Owner-Occupiers	47.7% (20)	51.4% (91)	42.0% (537)
Tenants (Private Rented)	38.1% (16)	43.0% (76)	49.4% (633)
Tenants (Social Rented)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	7.8% (100)
Landlords	7.1% (3)	4.5% (8)	N/A
Second Homeowners	7.1% (3)	0.0% (0)	N/A
Unknown	0.0% (0)	1.1% (2)	0.0% (0)
Living Rent Free	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	0.8% (11)
Total	100.0% (42)	100.0% (177)	100.0% (1281)

Sources: The table produced from my data and Office for National Statistics; National Records of Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (2017): 2011 Census aggregate data. UK Data Service (Edition: February 2017). DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.5257/census/aggregate-2011-2.

The previous section (section 3.4) explained how I recruited participants during my fieldwork and what data concerning participants' backgrounds and distributions (e.g. gender, age, occupation, length of stay) was collected. Table 3.1 compares the online-respondents and interview participants with the estimated ONS 2017 data. This indicates to what extent my respondents represented the distribution of tenure groups in Ocean Village. In my study, homeowners are somewhat overrepresented; 47.7% of the interview participants and 51.4% of the questionnaire participants were homeowners, but according to ONS data only 42.0% of the general population are homeowners. In contrast, private tenants are somewhat underrepresented in my research. 38.1% of the interview participants and 43.0% of the questionnaire participants were private tenants, whilst 49.4% of the general population are private tenants, according to estimated ONS 2017 data. Private tenants are even more underrepresented among the participants in the semi-structured interviews than in the online survey. Furthermore, I was unable to recruit social housing tenants and those living rent free. Landlords are underrepresented in my study. The ONS does not provide any information about landlords and second homeowners, thus I was unable to compare my sample to official estimates. I believed that it was important to include landlords and second homeowners in my study to represent different tenure groups

so as to determine the exact situation for my research. I do not claim that my data is representative, but it allowed me to compare different tenure groups in Ocean Village.

Before each interview, the participants completed the online questionnaire via the online survey link or as accessed from the information on my distributed leaflets. Participants could choose to identify themselves as an owner-occupier, tenant or landlord, or chose the open-ended option "other". However, no-one stated a different answer to the above three categories. As the following step to the online questionnaire, I completed a set of interviews. At the beginning of the interview, I asked about the participants' tenure status. Based on this, I categorised people into one of four different tenure groups, which included second homeowners as a new group. This finding demonstrates the limitations of the quantitative method with regard to such analysis and the contrasting richness of the qualitative method. Due to the anonymity of participants in the online questionnaire, I was unable to determine the identities of these three interview participants from the eight online questionnaire participants.

The number of younger tenants born in the 1980s or 1990s was much greater than other tenants born in previous years (ONS: Labour Force Survey: 2015 and Saunders, 2016). While tenants in this situation indicated considerable parallels with the official data discussed in chapter 2.2.2.4, interestingly there is quite a significant number of owner-occupiers in Ocean Village who were born in the 1980s. Both owner-occupiers and tenants are young or middle-aged. Based on my data, Ocean Village area is an attractive place to these age groups without any further need to consider aspects of residential status. As one of the middle-aged tenants noted, his reason for moving to Ocean Village was that "I think it is 'young'. Vibrant might be another word I can use to describe it to you. Not just a place and young. Vibrant." Briefly, both the online questionnaire and interview data illustrated that Ocean Village population is quite young, regardless of tenure status. Both owner-occupiers and tenants are young or middle-aged. Based on my data, Ocean Village area is an attractive place to these age groups without any further need to consider aspects of residential status.

Another important aspect is the length of stay in Ocean Village. In both my online questionnaire and interviews, tenants and landlords had generally only recently moved to or bought in Ocean Village (generally after 2013-2014), whereas owner-occupiers' ages were distributed from the beginning of the developments in 1987 to when I stopped collecting my data (2017). Based on this situation, the population of Ocean Village is quite mixed in terms of moving in or connecting with the area as one of the tenure groups.

Additionally, while there was an equal number of male and female participants in the online questionnaire, whilst in interviews there were more male participants (26) than female (16). These kinds of differences between online questionnaires and interviews (both face-to-face or phone interviews) are connected with methodological differences and a variety of affecting factors such as culture, ethnicity or lifestyle (Keeter, 2105). For example, a female participant did not want to be interviewed by a man in a public place such as a café or pub, and preferred instead to meet in a library after my second invitation. The same situation emerged in this study because of the same methodological differences and the above factors. In other words, the participants define themselves differently in different data collection periods and in terms of representing – or not representing – their exact situation. For example, some participants criticised various issues in the online questionnaire (e.g. other people, construction in the area) more sharply than in their interviews. Some participants were more polite during interview, the extent of which could be affected by the above aspects (e.g. gender, culture, and ethnicity). For these reasons, some participants only participated in the online questionnaire and did not have any contact with me personally. Accordingly, this study used the mixed method to overcome this kind of difference to gain true and realistic answers.

Lastly, another important point is that of the level of education of online questionnaire and interview participants. As noted in appendix F (figure 7), 76.8% (129) of the survey participants who answered the question about highest educational qualification reported having a degree, that is, a population in which over three in four have a degree, or in other words more marks in this population can be considered significantly advantaged. In addition, they work in different sectors. Owner-occupiers tended to work as professionals or were retired. Tenants included students and young professionals. The age distribution reflects the distribution of level of education and employment status in Ocean Village. Finally, in my online questionnaire, participants were found to have come from 25 different countries, while my interview participants came from 12 different countries. This kind of richness, or mix of participants, allowed me access to different people coming from different backgrounds and with different experiences.

All these examples, as derived from the online questionnaire and interviews, illustrate how Ocean Village is a mixed neighbourhood in terms of demographics such as age, gender, education, nationality, and tenure status. It is also quite homogenous with respect to social class; for example, participants generally defined their current financial situation with the word 'comfortable'. In the following sections, I will consider the strengths and weakness

of these two different data collection tools in order to gain a better understanding of the mixed method.

3.6   Research Instruments

In the beginning, I derived both general and specific information on the development of Ocean Village from a desk study (e.g. existing books, articles and newspapers). These sources are important to the understanding of the general situation and development of Ocean Village. The questionnaire method has some limitations. The survey is standardised, and hence the participants have only a limited ability to provide answers (e.g. yes-no or agree-disagree) (Bryman, 2006). I included open-ended questions which allowed participants to express themselves. Therefore, the survey participants may not be able to fully explain their thoughts or feelings in an appropriate way (Creswell, 2009). My study used the mixed method in order to minimise these kinds of problem, and thus increased its reliability and validity. Furthermore, in order to gain more detail, I used quantitative and qualitative methods to access more extensive and detailed information from the tenure of Ocean Village (landlords, second homeowners, owner-occupiers and tenants). In this section, I will discuss these methods, highlighting their strengths and weaknesses. Firstly, I will focus on my online questionnaire. Then, I will try to explain my qualitative interviews in the following two sections.

3.6.1   Quantitative Online Survey

In general, the quantitative research strategy categorises data from the social world through numeric and statistical approaches (Flick, 2009). Surveys provide a convenient method for quickly accessing a large number of people (Mason, 2002). Additionally, they allow the researcher to save time in accessing the necessary participant number by a predetermined due date (Bryman, 2006). The questionnaire method is important for supporting other data in mixed method studies. These data may be attained through qualitative methods in particular, and surveys can be used as indispensable tools for accessing participants for qualitative interviews (Creswell, 2009).

As an initial research tool, an online survey was conducted in order to gain basic information on the landlords, second homeowners, owner-occupiers and tenants and location of Ocean Village in Southampton. To further this aim, I requested demographic information (e.g. age, gender, residential status, and employment status), opinions, and

open-ended questions (e.g. life experience and belonging). Option questions were divided into three groups, namely 'completely agree', 'somewhat agree' and 'completely disagree', to realise an understanding of the overall situation. This survey is important in the realisation of the overall views, feelings and experiences within Ocean Village from the point of view of its residents. While the online questionnaire contributed to my aim, at the same time it is important to achieving my research objectives. I used a questionnaire as a means to gain more information about Ocean Village in order to reach my objectives during the interviews.

The online questionnaire allowed access to a larger number of participants without the requirement for any significant amount of personal interaction (Bryman, 2009). An indirect approach to people, instead of first attempting an in-person approach, may be advantageous as it might encourage people to share their ideas more openly. People might feel uncomfortable talking about their attitudes and personal feelings face-to-face. Furthermore, to further encourage participation and minimise any discomfort, necessary interactions with the participants were limited to a couple of hours. This method allowed access to a large number of participants in a relatively short time. Existing residents, landlords and second homeowners could access my online questionnaire at any time and place that was suitable for them. In addition, the participants firstly completed my online questionnaire, after which we arranged a face-to-face or telephone interview, as depending on their agreement to participate in the qualitative part of this research. It is necessary to note that the limits of the self-selected sample might not represent reality in my study because, while there are more negative comments in my quantitative data, my qualitative data does not represent this kind of negative situation to anywhere near the same extent. As highlighted in the previous section (3.3), I used mixed methods to solve this problem and tried to represent the above views in my study.

Although quantitative studies can quickly reach a large number of participants (Silverman, 2010), this kind of statistical data does not provide much insight as to individuals' opinions about the research questions (Bryman, 2009). Therefore, I will use the qualitative method to access additional information to gain more accurate answers to my research questions. The following section focusses on the qualitative method to clarify this situation.

Please see Appendix F for the frequencies of the online questionnaire.

3.6.2   Qualitative Semi-structured Interview

In this study, the qualitative method was used to help collect in-depth answers in order to answer the research questions as the second instrument of data collection. According to Mason (2003), qualitative research is important to the discovery of rich, in-depth, nuanced, complex and multidimensional information, particularly if the participants' knowledge, perceptions and interpretations are accepted as 'meaningful properties of the social world' (Mason, 2003: 63). Similarly, respondents' personal or private views, beliefs or experiences are significant in qualitative interview (Mason, 2006). To represent these views, beliefs and perspectives, Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) recommend the use of purposeful sampling to attain general and maximal variation. Therefore, in this study the interview sample was selected purposively in order to obtain different views and experiences about different tenure group of Ocean Village from residents over the age of 18 years. The purposive sampling attempted to achieve a balance between landlords, second homeowners, owner-occupiers and tenants. I reached this aim with owner-occupiers (20) and tenants (16), but I could not find enough participants amongst landlords (3) and second homeowners (3) because this latter group do not generally live in Ocean Village, and few use the associated Facebook groups. To solve this problem, I contacted local estate agencies, but unfortunately, I was still unable to find more landlord and second homeowner participants.

Interviews provide more flexibility than questionnaires concerning understanding of participants' views, beliefs and experiences (Mason, 2006) as the online survey limits the participant choices for answering questions. However, interviews provided a platform to both clarify the questions to the participants and obtain in-depth answers for the questions.

The semi-structured interview technique has been used to collect in-depth information. It is commonly used in social science, especially in qualitative research (Silverman, 2010). While a structured interview does not allow one to divert ideas, a semi-structured interview allows for the discussion of new ideas during the interview itself (Mason, 2006). Likewise, a semi-structured interview method can give the researcher "control over the line of questioning" (Creswell, 2009:179). In other words, this method allows one to tailor the style of the questions to each participant, which allows the creation of a good interview atmosphere (Silverman, 2010). Moreover, during qualitative interviews, extra questions and asking questions in a different order are important in allowing the necessary flexibility

to access more and accurate information (Bryman, 2009). After my first interviews, I reorganised my interview questions to gain more data that are useful to my research.

Finally, the interviews were recorded with a digital voice recorder. This method is important for saving time, capturing everything from the participants' speech, and if needed it allows the responses to be replayed (Bryman, 2009). Note taking has a risk of missing particular phrases or definitions from participants' speech (Silverman, 2010). First, I prepared detailed reports for each interview. This allowed me to realise important themes emerging from my data. I then transcribed the interviews to prevent missing any detail during the analysis of the data.

Please see Appendix D for the topic guide for qualitative interviews.

3.7   Data Analysis

Firstly, the online survey data was transferred to the SPSS statistical program suite. This software was used to analyse the survey data accurately and quickly. After completing the transferral, I analysed my data, compared different variables (e.g. residential status, age, and occupation) to access deep information about my research questions.

Secondly, as noted in the previous section, initially, I did not transcribe all my interview voice recordings. After completing my interviews, I wrote a minimum of five or six pages for each interview after repeated listening. After that, I transcribed all my interviews and transferred them to the NVivo program to save time and better organise and analyse the data. Then, I created general themes (financial aspects, social aspects and physical aspects), and sub-themes (e.g. investment, development, lifestyle, safety, prestige) under each main theme. These main themes and sub-themes are related to the concepts (e.g. neoliberal urbanism, elective and selective belonging and place making and place maintenance) used in my thesis, and represented participants' feelings, choices and attachments. In addition to this, this kind of categorisation allowed me to go from a general to a more specific analysis of my data. Then, in light of the existing literature, I started to analyse my data. Finally, I combined the data from my online questionnaire and that from the semi-structured interviews to understand the existing situation and find the best answers to my research questions.

3.8 Validity and Reliability of the Data

Validity and reliability are important in the social sciences, especially in mixed method research studies. Due to the differences between qualitative and quantitative methods (e.g. techniques and research methods), it is important to address the issue of validity and reliability of data in this study. I will explain this point in terms of the two aspects of quantitative and qualitative research.

Initially, reliability is vital to quantitative studies. Creswell (2003) defined reliability as obtaining the same results (e.g. consistent results) under the same methodological conditions. In the same context, there must be a correlation between results when using the same method for different measurements (Hesse-Biber, 2010). A sufficient number of questions, the quality of the wording and the time allowed (Black, 1999) are all points to consider to ensure the increased reliability of questionnaires. These aspects have been noted throughout the preparation of the questionnaires; for example, particular attention was given to the creation of an appropriate number of questions, using different types of questions (e.g. single choice, rating levels, exact figures and open ended), and by adopting an understandable and simple vocabulary. I finished my questionnaire and interviews in only a short timeframe to minimise the time effect (from August 2016 to March 2017). For example, if there is a long time between first and last interview/questionnaire, people's answers or physical or social construction might have changed. There are some new constructions (e.g. hotels, apartments) in Ocean Village, and the people might well have different perspectives before, during and after such construction is complete.

Moskal *et al*. (2002) noted validity as "the degree to which the evidence supports that the interpretations of the data are correct and the manner in which interpretations used are appropriate" in quantitative research. In this case, there are four types of validation, which are construct validity, content validity, internal validity, and external validity.

Construct validity is concerned with measurements and how correctly a questionnaire is organised and elaborated (Black, 1999). In addition, construct validity is important to factor analysis, which refers to the relationships between different factors (Bryman and Cramer, 2004). In this study, I paid particular attention to the organisation of questions (from general to specific), and controlling factors (e.g. the relationship between landlords, second homeowners, owner-occupiers and tenants). There is a parallel between this type of validity and my objective, which is to refer to a plan and use appropriate data measurements.

Content validity (logical validity) assesses what you want to know (Hesse-Biber, 2010). In other words, it reflects the intention of the researcher in measuring specific attributes or experiences (Beck, 2000). I used the questionnaire to understand the situation in Ocean Village in relation to landlords, second homeowners, owner-occupiers and tenants' perspectives towards place making and place maintenance and elective and selective belonging. This study is concerned with the preference and experience of the people of Ocean Village, and therefore, my questions are concerned with these points without focussing on other unnecessary issues.

Internal validity clarifies the reasons for the findings of the study due to the minimisation of the effects of unintended variables on data and findings (Creswell, 2009). It helps record correct data with accurate explanations from the study to participants (Beck, 2002). Therefore, respondents to my questionnaire learned the aim of the study before answering any questions. In addition, they were informed as to how long the questionnaire was likely to take, their right to withdraw, and the confidentiality of the study. This created a certain rapport with the participants, and thus helped with the gathering of valuable data from them.

Finally, external validity is important in terms of generalising the study findings to other groups, cases, time, and situations. The sample population must represent the population as a whole, or the situations to which the findings can be generalised (Beck, 2000). Ocean Village is a good example from which I might find the answers to my research questions due to its location and tenure.

Reliability and validity are important in qualitative research. In the qualitative method, reliability refers to the ability to extend results to different circumstances to increase the reliability of study (Bryman, 2008). In this case, using a computer data analysis program contributes to the increased reliability of qualitative data (Silverman, 2010). Therefore, I used the NVivo program to increase the reliability of my study.

According to Maxwell's (2002) well-known categorisation of the qualitative method, there are five types of validity in qualitative research: descriptive validity, interpretive validity, theoretical validity, generalisability, and evaluative validity. This is the most cited categorisation in the qualitative literature. Descriptive validity is concerned with whether respondents' answers are reflected accurately in the researcher's report (Macwell, 2002). This validity keeps the researcher in check during the writing phase to ensure the participants' responses are accurately and thoroughly reflected in the final report (Johnson,

1997). Interpretive validity is interested in the researcher's viewpoint in addition to how responders answer questions (Maxwell, 2002). These aspects ensure the preservation of all data derived from respondents, both verbally and nonverbally. This study focusses on thoroughly reflecting participants' words without missing anything of value. I used a voice recorder during the interviews (with each participant's permission) to prevent missing any words. I transcribed all the interviews after finishing my fieldwork.

The researcher's values and perspective are important in the evaluation of data (Maxwell, 2002). It is difficult to completely minimise my personal views to understand my data and existing situation as a tenant and overseas student in Southampton. However, I contacted a variety of people with different backgrounds, ages, nationalities and residential status. After completing my fieldwork, I became more familiar with these differences in terms of viewpoint and lifestyle. This situation helped me minimise my personal impact on the understanding of the existing data.

Theoretical validity in the qualitative method is interested in how the researcher builds his/her theoretical paradigms (Maxwell, 2009). It is concerned with the theoretical perspective of the researcher (Johnson, 1997). In addition, generalisability is interested in making connections with the existing study and other situations and cases (Maxwell, 2002). Lastly, theoretical validity represents the avoidance of any claims derived from the researcher's own personal understanding of the situation and events (Johnson, 1997). As Maxwell (2002) noted, researchers must minimise their perspectives during data collection, analysis and write-up. This could be achieved through strict self-evaluation of the researcher's own perspectives and feelings.

3.9   Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are important to research design in social sciences. This is especially important in the qualitative method since this method allows the researcher to access participants' personal, private and sensitive information (Bryman, 2009 and Silverman, 2010). In addition, the following points are crucial to a successful study in the social sciences: voluntary informed consent, confidentiality, freedom to withdraw at any stage/part of the state, anonymity and protection of privacy, accessing data and minimising risks to participants (Bryman, 2009). To prevent potential ethical issues and attain high ethical standards, this study focussed on the points discussed below during both the online questionnaire and interview.

The participants who completed the online questionnaire were informed at the beginning as to the aim of the study, their rights as participants, how long the survey would take, the guarantee of anonymity, and of the existence of ethical approval from the University of Southampton ethics committee to conduct the questionnaire. Then, if they gave their consent, they continued the online survey or left the research. This is the shortest and easiest way to inform the participants about the study, their rights and get their consent in my online survey. In addition, before agreeing to take part in a qualitative interview, participants were given an information sheet, which reiterated that participation in this study was voluntary, participants were free to withdraw at any stage, any information provided by the participants would be completely confidential, and only anonymised findings would be disseminated. The consent form, which the participants agreed to sign before starting the interview, explained the project, including its aims and objectives. All information taken from participants was recorded and transcribed securely and only the approved researcher had access to this information. The summary of findings were shared with participants if requested. Finally, there was no risk to the participants of the study.

Finally, I would like to note two important points, which arose during the collection of my data. Ocean Village itself is not a big area. Some residents, especially long-term residents and active social media users, know many people in the area as close friends, or are at least acquainted with them. Such situations can affect semi-structured qualitative interviews, and for my part, I became more careful when collecting data or using data derived from the online questionnaire, especially when examining open-ended questions. I took considerable effort to anonymise all personal information from the participants such as age, nationality and job. For example, I interviewed one of the creators of the Facebook group. Due to this participant's active and close relationship with many residents in the same area, the participant always reminded me that when I used this information, I should be particularly careful. A few participants preferred to conduct phone interviews or meet outside Ocean Village for their interviews because they wanted to keep their participation in this research entirely private. In addition, if online questionnaire participants wrote more comments in the open-ended questions, they notably avoided completing at least some parts of their demographic information (e.g. age or job).

I fully anonymised all data. I used pseudonyms to represent each interviewee and assigned a number to each online survey participant and anonymised all personal and demographic information to overcome any associated ethical issues. I stored the data in a password-protected area on my computer that was available only to myself and was not shared with

anybody. I excluded the following participant information from the presentation of my findings: names and names of relatives or friends, nationality, sexuality, exact addresses with full postcodes or the names of houses/apartments, any other identifying reference number, phone/fax numbers, email addresses, or photographs. Furthermore, I made every effort to remove information such as specific characteristics of the family structure, unusual occupations or places of work, rare diseases or treatments, combinations of birth dates, or the location of the interview; that is, anything that might allow readers to identify any of the participants/individuals involved.

Please see Appendix A for the participant information form, Appendix B for the participant consent form, Appendix C for the online survey questionnaire, and Appendix D for a topic guide for the interviews.

3.10   My Role as a Researcher and Data Collection

The academic term *reflexivity* of the researcher could help address possible issues impacting the study due to the researcher's background (Etherington, 2004). Reflexivity is important to minimise ideological, political and cultural influences of the researcher on any part of the research (*ibid*. 53-54). Similarly, Mason (2003) noted that thinking critically and actively engaging in self-criticism (e.g. what are we doing, why, what we see, how we research) are important aspects of a reflexive attitude. Reflexivity is particularly crucial for qualitative studies, and it must be practiced throughout each part of the study (e.g. discussions with interviewees, writing up findings, analysis of data) (Mason, 2006). To minimise any bias from the participants, I avoided asking leading or emotional questions. In addition, I avoided influencing participants' answers. The prescribed questions (semi-structured interview) acted as a guide to the interview only in order to minimise any risk of leading questions/suggestible answers.

I have experience in this area (survey and interview) from conducting previous studies. In my Bachelor's degree, I interviewed various groups of people for my final year thesis. These people were from not only my home country (Turkey) but also from Romania. This was important as it helped me gain experience in minimising my impact on the research in question. Indeed, my origins, being those of a different country and culture, will certainly have an effect when comparing the tenure groups in Ocean Village. Probably, I looked at this community and analysed the data that came from my fieldwork in light of my personal background and culture, and this situation could undeniably result in potential

complications. In addition, this situation could affect participants, particularly British people. For example, some participants were surprised when I introduced myself as an overseas student. They asked me why I chose Ocean Village as my case study, and what I would do when I completed my research. I explained the importance of Ocean Village to them in terms of its location and as an attractive redevelopment area for my study. I gave more detail about my current study in the sociology department at the University of Southampton and my future plans. In addition, some participants wanted to help me complete my research because of my student status. They were aware of the difficulties of completing research due to their own children or relatives being in similar situations. These were some of the most important aspects arising from my personal role that might influence the collection of the data. In addition, the interview venues (e.g. cafe, library, and participant's house) allowed me to conduct my interviews in a friendly atmosphere. Such an atmosphere also helped participants become more relaxed and secure.

English is not my first language. I am not well versed in specific words, definitions, idioms, and local words and dialect. The associated language barrier influenced my interviews. This could be noted one of the most important personal roles and limitations in my data collection. I realised that I personally felt more comfortable when I contacted non-British people because English is not my first language. I tried to minimise any impact this might have had on my data collection, but I cannot definitely say I have been completely successful in this regard. Nevertheless, I checked each word during the transcription of interviews and took particular care during the analysis period. Furthermore, I tried to minimise my influence on the participants' responses with the help of the online survey method. Throughout the questionnaire study, I was an outsider. In addition, I am not a part of Ocean Village community, a factor that provides a viable opportunity for the participant to freely express their experiences and thoughts. In this context, participants of the questionnaire must be free and uncontrolled when answering questions (Bryman, 2009). However, as discussed previously, there are some limitations inherent to the questionnaire method such as question types (e.g. yes-no, agree-disagree). I tried to address this issue by providing the additional option of 'other' in some questions. In addition, there is a part of the questionnaire that says, "Please use this space to write about anything else about your experience and opinion about the place, environment, and community of Ocean Village". This part enabled the participants to add their views, beliefs and experiences, and in turn contribute to data enrichment. As another issue, I wrote all the questions and made all the

categorisation within this questionnaire; therefore, participants' answers emerged within the influence of my perspectives and categorisations.

3.11   Summary and Conclusion

Throughout chapter 3, I considered a variety of methodological issues. Initially, I discussed previous studies in terms of their methodology, and then I introduced my own research aims, objectives and questions. Second, I discussed mixed methods from a pragmatic perspective. I then focussed on the single case study approach. Next, I presented the research instruments used in this study for both the quantitative and qualitative sections of the research. I also discussed issues pertaining to the validity and reliability of, and then discussed potential ethical issues regarding, my role as a researcher. In the following chapters, I will present my findings.

Chapter 4   The Choice(s) and Feeling(s) about a Particular Place in relation to Tenure Status and Location

While the ability to choose a particular place in which to live is representative of elective belonging, selective belonging involves justifying such a choice and building and protecting borders with other places. People choosing a place in which to live or buy have different motivations or reasons for such (e.g. tenure status and location) and, when justifying their choice, they compare this choice with other places and ultimately develop more positive or more negative feelings about their current location compared with other places. While residential status might represent financial power, it is not possible to ignore personal motivation and the stage in the life-course in the choice of a specific place in which to live or buy. Therefore, residential status alone could not be the only key element shaping tenure groups' decisions. I thus need to use location as another factor influencing people's choices and feelings because the ability to buy or rent cannot entirely explain people's feeling and belonging about a particular place. Accordingly, it is necessary to examine the role of the location without ignoring tenure status.

As outlined in chapter 2, a significant limitation to existing studies of tenure groups is the associated lack of recognition and inclusion of different tenure groups (e.g. owner-occupiers, tenants, landlords and second homeowners) (Saunders, 1990, Watt, 2009 and Ronald, 2008). While existing studies for the most part discuss the similarities and differences between owner-occupiers and tenants, they do not describe the same for landlords and second homeowners. My study included these different tenure groups to examine the research questions below. This helped me to examine tenure groups in detail without any undue generalisation. However, as noted in chapter 3, due to difficulties in recruiting landlords and second homeowners, I represent far fewer participants from these tenure groups in my study compared to owner-occupiers and tenants.

This chapter addresses the existing limitations in the literature in terms of elective and selective belonging by looking at the case of a redeveloping waterfront area, Ocean Village, Southampton. It is divided into three sections based on the data derived from my fieldwork and previous studies: importance of physical factors, social factors, and financial factors in terms of tenure groups and location.

In the following sections, I will focus on the roles of the tenure groups, including their differences, similarities and location in terms of elective and selective belonging. With these three sections, I aim to respond to the research questions introduced earlier in chapter 1.

- *What are the significant differences and similarities between tenure groups regarding the decision to move into or buy within, and the experience of, a waterfront area?*
- *How do tenure status and location intersect and how are they different with regard to the decision to move into or buy within, and the experience of, a waterfront area?*

4.1 Impact of Physical Factors on Tenure Groups' Decisions

This section discusses how tenure groups are influenced by physical environment in the creation of their belonging. The following sub-sections will illustrate the importance of physical environment for tenure groups and can help to understand how the physical environment affects the creation of belonging in different tenure groups. I will discuss the importance of location in terms of water and water view, distance to local facilities, other parts of the city and work, prestige of the area, and safety of the area.

4.1.1 How do Water and Water-Based Activities Influence Tenure Groups' Choices?

Ocean Village waterfront development is a mixed redeveloped area that mostly includes residential, leisure and retail units and, as discussed previously, is attractive to people from different backgrounds (e.g. tenure status, employment status, age, sexual orientation or nationality). The importance of water and waterfront environment according to different tenure groups' responses in the qualitative survey is illustrated in Figure 4.1 below. In general, owner-occupiers and landlords were concerned about these aspects to a greater degree than tenants. Tenants' answers were not as clear as those of other tenure groups were. Therefore, qualitative data will be considered in order to better understand this situation.

Figure 4.1 Importance of water and a maritime environment to tenure groups'
         decisions
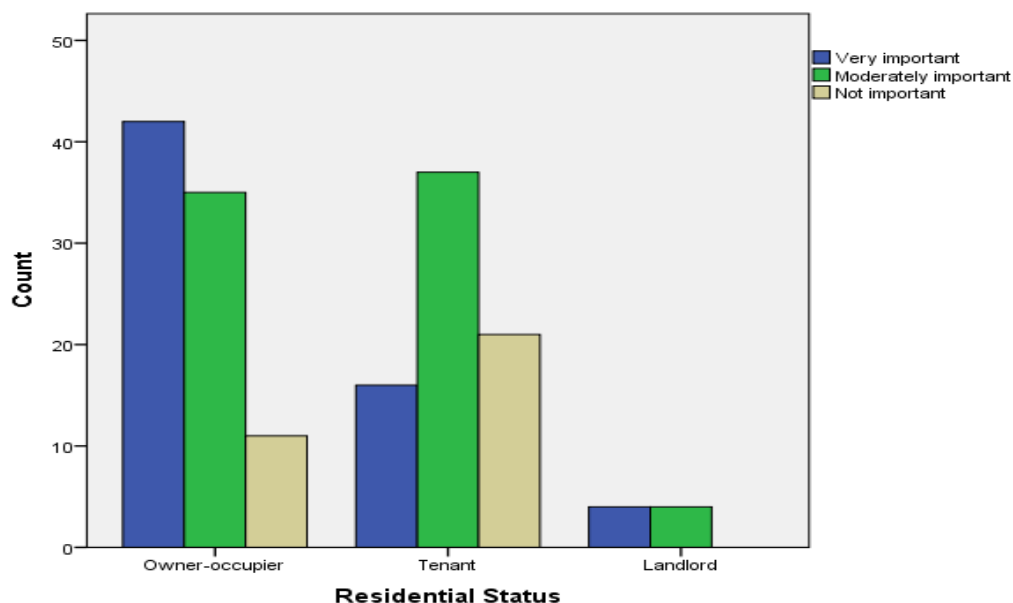
Source: *Quantitative Survey*, *Valid: 96.0% (170), Missing: 4.0% (7).*

The residential part of Ocean Village attracted different tenure groups because of its beauty and water view. The following examples from my semi-structured qualitative interviews illustrate different tenure groups' motivations in terms of the water and water view in Ocean Village. To illustrate, Bella, a young and professional who is a tenant, said:

> "There are various boating things. You can do this if you're interested, but we do not…we did not come to Southampton for the water to be honest... So, we know there are lots of boats coming and going. We do not really participate in this really."

Molly, as a tenant who had decided to avoid any water-based activities, said:

> "It is sort of cosy. And I like that you feel… I have this feeling when you are near to water. Specially, you feel like that it is not a restricted area. I have this feeling that you are connected to other parts of the world. You are not surrounded by things that limit your views."

Both Bella and Molly were female professional tenants, and both had different opinions about the waterfront environment. These examples clearly indicated that it is not possible to claim that all tenants hold the same view about location, especially for water and water-based activities. Therefore, tenure status is not enough in itself to explain people's choices.

In addition to the above tenants' views, the owner-occupiers pointed out the importance of a water view and water-based activities. Alice, a retired owner-occupier, said:

"It has a lovely view which is important to us. We feel very different and nice in our flat. We feel the sky, feel the open area. So, this was something we looked for specifically."

Adam, a retired owner-occupier, was happier with and interested in water, the view, and water-based activities.

"And at the time, my main activity was wind surfing. And I wanted to live by the coast because at the time, I was living in … which is a long way from the coast. So, we sold that property. We come down here, because it gives us all things we wanted."

Age emerged as one of the most important factors influencing people in terms of building their belonging with water and water-based activities. The landlords and second homeowners who were not living in Ocean Village highlighted the same reasons as owner-occupiers. Sara, a second homeowner, explained her reasons regarding the water and view around Ocean Village:

"I love boats and the apartments have an amazing view and I loved the view. I like watching the boats."

Michael, a landlord who had lived in Ocean Village as a tenant and then an owner-occupier, noted that:

"I miss living by the sea. And we moved to …. (One of the buildings in Ocean Village) because we loved the view from … (One of the buildings in Ocean Village). So …. (the building) is the one next to the Itchen Bridge. So, we had a garden next to the water which makes me happy. Then we thought, we decided to live in … building again simply because it has a view of the sea and boats."

Generally, the above examples highlight the importance of water, a waterfront environment and water-based activities when choosing Ocean Village as a place to live or visit. Further, these factors were amongst the reasons why the participants viewed Ocean Village more positively than other places. However, the means of connection with the area illustrate differences between tenure groups, especially between tenants and other tenure groups. While tenants were more interested in living close to water and enjoying the

general waterfront environment without participating in water-based activities (e.g. yacht or boat), the other tenure groups (owner-occupiers, landlords and second homeowners) were interested in both the water and waterfront environment and the view from their accommodation as well as the available water-based activities in the area.

Examining elective and selective belonging in terms of place and physical factors more broadly suggests that there is something to be gained by looking at how tenure groups explain their preferences. Studies of place were mainly focussed on social class differences and their impact on daily life, and the relationships between the different classes (Pahl, 2005). Similarly, as discussed earlier, Savage *et al.* (2005) noted that people represent their social position though their choices as an example of elective belonging. The similarities between these studies is that social class is a sufficient explanation in itself for the observed differences between people. As Saunders (2016) noted, tenure groups' decisions depend on social class similarities and differences in terms of people's ability to buy/rent in certain specific places. In the same vein, my findings clearly indicated that location is important to all tenure groups, even though tenants received less benefit from location and location-based activities than owner-occupiers due to the relative lack of financial power.

4.1.2   What is the Importance of Local Facilities in Tenure Groups' Choices?

The importance of location was not only based on natural beauty and activities related to an area; distance from essential facilities also emerged as another factor affecting tenure groups' decisions to move into or buy within Ocean Village. Based on my quantitative data, both owner-occupiers (58.2%) and tenants (48.7%) paid significant attention to local facilities when making this decision. Landlords (25.0%) who did not live in Ocean Village were not particularly interested in local facilities, a tendency which differed for other tenure groups. Local facilities emerges as an attractive reason amongst residents rather than landlords due to the former's daily connection with their living area.

Table 4.1 Importance of local facilities when choosing Ocean Village for tenure groups

	Owner-Occupier	Tenant	Landlord	Total
Very Important	58.2% (53)	48.7% (37)	25.0% (2)	52.6% (92)
Moderately important	37.4% (34)	46.1% (35)	75.0% (6)	42.9% (75)
Not important	4.4% (4)	5.3% (4)	0.0% (0)	4.6% (8)
Total	100.0% (91)	100.0% (76)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (175)

Source: *Quantitative Survey*, *Valid: 98.9% (175), Missing:1.1% (2).*

The following examples from the interviews demonstrate that residential status was not an important factor in terms of reaction to other people over local facilities in the living area. Interestingly, being a family and generational differences emerged as significant aspects when choosing the location of Ocean Village. According to Samuel, a long-term (over twenty years) owner-occupier at Ocean Village:

"I like the area, view, a part of the construction, it is very quiet neighbourhood. And there are some shops, Tesco's has a mini market. Some pubs, you can go there, drink and eat."

Similarly, Leo, who is a professional tenant interviewee said:

"Just take a walk to Tesco's, and you can walk along the front of the water, you can see people. It is nice to have a Tesco's here. When I lived in …, I had to drive everywhere. Just a vibrant environment, really."

The proximity of essential facilities affects both owner-occupier and tenants' preferences for living in Ocean Village. Isabella, a professional who is an owner-occupier (aged over 50 years), highlighted her reasons for moving to Ocean Village:

"Well, we used to live in …... which is close to Southampton. Then, we looked at the possibilities. Because we were coming into town, when we were younger. My husband and I, back then. We were coming into town a lot to go to the cinemas, to go to the bars, restaurants and so on. Then, we decided to live in the town. It would be a good idea for us. Then, we could access those facilities, leisure facilities or

other things, basically. We could just walk to these places. So, yeah, I think that this is the one of the important points."

In the same way, Ruby, another owner-occupier (aged over 50 years) in Ocean Village, pointed out that:

"I do not go out to pubs or clubs. They are not suitable for people my age. I am not interested in having those things on my doorstep. Probably, they will be a bit noisy."

While the facilities in Ocean Village served as an attraction to Isabella moving in as an indicator of elective belonging, at the same time Ruby highlighted their age as a reason to look for somewhere else to move to as well as their lack of interest in local facilities. In other words, elective belonging depended on age. While age or generational differences affected the tenure groups' decisions to move into Ocean Village, being a family, especially having children, influenced the tenure groups' interest in local facilities. A professional who is an owner-occupier completing the online questionnaire stated:

"The community is artificial and incomplete, because there are no services for families and the elderly such as schools, health care, public transport, etc. This is detrimental to the area." (Participant-36, female, owner-occupier)

Similarly, Theo, a middle-aged tenant, also noted that:

"I would like to stay in Southampton but part of it is because my family is growing and the place I am staying in now is not quite suitable for family or a large family or growing family. Part of it…we are just looking for some places for the family. I think a bigger place. If I were single, I probably stay in there; I would probably continue to stay in there."

Age and family emerged as factors explaining elective belonging in Ocean Village. Crucially, depending on age differences, participants' interests in local facilities differed. It could be argued that Ocean Village is a place for students and young professionals as well as retired people, although it may not be suitable for families. The similarity between the younger people and the older people is related to convenience of Ocean Village for meeting their life standards. Hence, Ocean Village offers a convenient and accessible life for these people. In contrast to Haartsen and Stockdale's (2018) study, a few tenants living with their families (children) in Ocean Village highlighted their tenure and financial situation rather than facilities as a reason for staying in the area.

While previous studies (Saunders, 1990 and 2016, Ronald, 2008) claim that residential status is a sufficient reason to illustrate a reaction to other people over the local facilities, the above examples from my study demonstrate that both owner-occupiers and tenants benefit from local facilities due to their proximity without having to exclude or avoid other residents. Notably, existing studies did not focus on tenure groups such as landlords or second homeowners, unlike my study which included these groups. However, it has to be noted that when I prepared my online questionnaire, I was influenced by existing studies (Saunders, 1990, Mallett, 2004), which only focus on owners and tenants as the main tenure groups. While I included landlords as a new group, I missed second homeowners as another tenure group. As already noted in section 3.5 above, I offered the participants an "others" option in the survey to allow them to define their tenure status in a different way if preferred. Nevertheless, nobody identified themselves as a second homeowner. During the interview discussion, I realised that there were second homeowners, especially among those who visited or lived in Ocean Village for a few weeks each year. Therefore, in my analysis, I preferred to define these participants as second homeowners rather than landlords. However, I could not identify these participants in the questionnaires as these were completed anonymously.

Lastly, landlords and second homeowners did not illustrate the same interest in essential facilities as owner-occupiers and tenants because they generally spend a relatively short time in Ocean Village. Nevertheless, their decisions as landlords affected other tenures, especially tenants, in their decisions regarding their stay in Ocean Village. Finally, as discussed in the beginning of this chapter, tenure groups' financial situations affected their decisions. While they could mitigate their financial problems, when they are single (e.g. living with fiends, a partner or living in a shared house), it is becoming increasingly difficult for them to afford to stay in Ocean Village.

4.1.3   What is the Importance of the Distance from Other Parts of the City and Places in Tenure Groups' Choice?

The importance of location for elective and selective belonging is mostly covered in the existing literature. In this section, I will re-examine the role of the location in terms of the distance from other parts of the city and places. Joey, an owner-occupier, compared his stay in Ocean Village with his previous home:

> "Everybody needed a car to go anywhere because the transport network was poor. There is not the same problem here, as people are using bikes, public transport and

indeed private transport. And it seems to me that this is important for the city area, and one of the benefits is to be close to city area as well."

As another example, Oscar, a long-term (over twenty years) owner-occupier in Ocean Village, said:

> "Where we lived was about six miles from here. So, typically, at the weekend, me and my wife left the house at about 11 o'clock, drive into town, here Southampton, do some shopping, and go back home again at about 4 o'clock. Get dressed, change and come back into town for about 6 o'clock, go for a drink or whatever and then drive back again. It continued for so many years like this. It is one of the advantages to moving close to town. We had a discussion as to who is driving tonight and who is drinking. And price was a problem as well. Now, we can walk to anywhere from here without driving because we can then both drink and just walk back. So, you do not need to drive, we are maybe just a mile away from all sorts of facilities."

Both an elderly, retired owner-occupier and a middle aged, professional owner-occupier expressed their desire to live in an area that is close to other important parts of the city. They defined this closeness as a significant factor in influencing their decision to choose Ocean Village as an indicator of their elective belonging and staying there with a positive view compared with their previous residence or other places as an indicator of their selective belonging. While one of the tenants noted her dissatisfaction with local facilities in the online questionnaire, other participants highlighted the distance between Ocean Village and the city centre in their interviews:

> "Even though I am very happy living here, I always have to walk to the city centre to provide for my shopping and dining needs, which is not ideal." (Participant-86, female, tenant)

Sara, a second homeowner in Ocean Village, argued:

> "I like the fact that I am twenty minutes from my life. So, it is a good escape for me. I just jump in my car and go."

Additionally, Albert, a landlord in Ocean Village, noted:

> "I went there because I enjoyed and find them good for relaxing… a good water view, good atmosphere. That is why I go there, convenient from here. Because it only just takes me 10 minutes from my house to go there by car."

While all tenure groups considered being close to the city centre and other important places in the city, tenants were interested in accessing certain essential facilities, such as shops. The reasons for these differences were more related the status of tenants who did not tend to make long-term plans about the place and local environment. Owner-occupiers were interested in being close to the city centre due to their proximity to both this kind of facility and other entertainments. Additionally, landlords and second homeowners were concerned about being able to be closer to Ocean Village when they considered the distance between Southampton and their main home. In contrast to the previous section, while second homeowners and landlords were not particularly interested in the local facilities, they were interested in the distance between their main homes and Ocean Village.

It is clear that while tenants were initially concerned with being close to basic necessities, such as being close to Tesco, the other tenure groups not only wanted to be close to some of the necessities, they were also interested in enjoying their life in Ocean Village with its locational advantages. These findings support existing studies (Saunders, 1990, Ronald, 2008) in terms of owner-occupiers' comparatively high attachment to and interest in their living environment compared to tenants. Tenure groups in Ocean Village are also worried about the distance between Ocean Village and other parts of the city and other places. Owner-occupiers in Ocean Village tried to create their attachment not only in terms of local facilities, such as leisure and shopping facilities, but also in terms of its location.

In terms of location, landlords and second homeowners chose Ocean Village for different reasons than other tenure groups (owner-occupiers and tenants). For example, they were mainly worried about the distance between Ocean Village and other parts of the city or other places (e.g. other close-by cities or their main home). In other words, these two tenure groups were interested in location, even though it was not essential to surviving their daily life in Ocean Village. For them, the importance of location as an indicator of elective belonging was related to their main home. Overall, location emerged as a significant aspect for all tenure groups as a reason to choose Ocean Village, but at the same time tenure status affected the meaning and importance of location for each tenure group.

4.1.4   What is the Importance of Distance to Work from Ocean Village in Tenure Groups' Choices?

Access to work opportunities close to their living environment has been an important factor for residents in previous studies, and consequently it is widely discussed in the literature. According to Savage's (2008) research, during the Second World War, people were having to rapidly move from one place to another because of familial issues, while in the 1990s they began to choose to live close to work. Improvements in transportation and communication technology meant that connecting to the world as well as the cities in the same country has become much easier than ever before (Sassen, 2006). The following examples from both my quantitative and qualitative data show a number of similarities with existing studies with regard to different tenure groups. However, it is necessary to consider recent technological developments (e.g. internet and transportation) when examining the importance of distance to work in the contemporary world.

Figure 4.2 What is the importance of distance to work from Ocean Village to tenure groups' decisions?
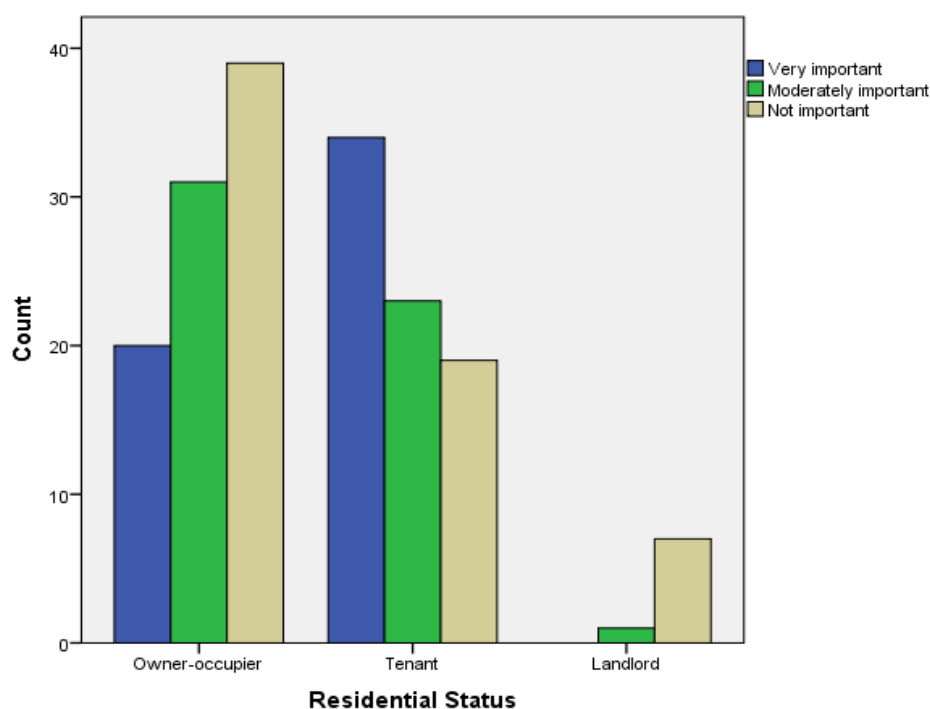
Source: *Quantitative Survey*, *Valid: 98.3% (174), Missing:1.7% (3).*

Figure 4.2 above, created from the data collected through my online questionnaire, shows clear differences between tenants and other tenure groups in terms of concerns about distance to work. It also clearly shows that residential status is in itself sufficient to explain

the differences/similarities. However, it is important to keep in mind that tenants are younger than owner-occupiers in Ocean Village and they mostly belong to the young professional or student groups. In addition, if we consider older and retired owners in Ocean Village, differences become much clearer, and age and generational differences become more significant than tenure status. This situation can be clearly seen through the responses provided by owner-occupiers and tenants during the interviews. According to Joey, a professional who is an owner-occupier:

> "I work in Southampton in the city centre. So, I wanted to live somewhere that was close to my work. I knew Ocean Village quite well, so it was one of the areas that I was looking at. Really, in the end, it was just very fortunate that the flat came up there."

Oliver, another professional who is an owner-occupier, explained his reasons for buying within and moving into Ocean Village as follows:

> "Before I bought the property in Ocean Village, I lived with my sister. She lives in a place called …. She is near …, so out of the city. It was very difficult because public transport is very bad there. I spent one hour every day getting to my job, almost, and the same to get back again."

The situation for professional and student tenants living in Ocean Village is similar – they want to be close to their places of work or university. According to Henry, a student tenant:

> "Before I moved here, I lived near to …. That area was not really interesting because after finishing work, I had to go home. It is very crowded. It took more than an hour to get home. That was why I decided to move to another area, which is better than this place. So, I was thinking more because I am a PhD student at the …. I was thinking of living near the university."

Hannah, another student tenant, noted that:

> "When I decided to move to a new place, Ocean Village was one of the best places for me, and is quite new in Southampton. It is closer to … (working place)."

Both student and professional tenants chose Ocean Village because of its location as it allows them to easily get to their jobs or schools. While they lived close to their job in Southampton, another tenant was commuting between Southampton and London. This tenant also found Ocean Village's location convenient for accessing her work. The

situation was the same for other professionals commuting between Southampton and London. Anna, a professional who is a tenant in Ocean Village, said:

> "I did some research on the internet about areas to live throughout the south of England. And decided on Southampton. Really, mainly, because I was going up to London more often because of my new job. And it had a good railway connection. Also, it had a local airport and I like to live close to an airport. It is close to my home, probably just fifteen minutes from my home to airport. These are my main motivations."

In a similar manner to owner-occupiers, professional and student tenants had concerns about the distance to work or university. Additionally, one of the landlords, Owen, who did not live in Ocean Village, used the area for his work and was quite happy with this situation. He noted that:

> "I normally have a tenant in my house. I have a boat in the marina. You know, I often go there for business meetings in the Southampton area. I choose this boat, my boat in Ocean Village, to meet."

All the above examples indicate a number of similarities to existing studies in terms of people's desire to live close to work regardless of residential status. For instance, Savage (2008) found differences between the time of the Second World War and the 1990s in terms of preference. In my study, I observed a new preference emerging with technological improvements, especially the internet: the importance of being close to work has become less important for both owner-occupiers and tenants with the rise of internet (Katz and Hampton, 2016). This seems to suggest to me that more people are working from home as available networking speeds become capable of supporting off-site working. The following examples illustrate this situation more clearly. According to Joshua, a professional who is a tenant:

> "I love the internet. It is kind of a phenomenon and its capability gives you a capacity do many things. I started to use it a few years ago. It is a global business. I am working with a company. It is based in California. They take either a book or script and then try to turn it into a TV programme format. I rewrite them and improve them. Then they are circulated around film and TV companies in America. Trying to sell the concept to make a film. I have been doing this. These guys are in California and I am in Southampton. This was not possible twenty years ago. I am also working an artist who is from Scandinavia, but I don't have to live there. It is crazy."

Additionally, Jacob, a professional who is an owner-occupier, noted:

> "My office is at home. So, I work at home. And spend my time here unless we go
> out somewhere."

Another owner-occupier, Edward, highlighted the importance of the internet and working
globally though this own experience:

> "Globally. Like global citizens. My office is my computer. This morning I had a phone
> call with my partners. They are in Dubai, Copenhagen, North Carolina, and there is an
> Indian guy in Mumbai. It is too easy, amazing. You can do a lot of things together."

My findings confirm the existing findings of the studies which compared existing residents
with newcomers (Elias and Scotson 1994), the working class (May 1996, Pahl, 2005 and
2008) and middle class (Savage, 2008). Blokland (2009) and Benson (2015a) discussed
work-based relationships between local people and newcomers in terms of ethnicity (black
and white). They found that both local or established people and newcomers or outsiders
must interact in a specific physical area. Similar to these studies, my findings show that
there is a similarity between tenure groups in terms of stressing the importance of living
close to their work. However, based on some recent examples in the literature, the internet
has emerged as a new way to build up a daily life without having to worry about being
close to a physical working area (Wellman, 2002, Katz and Hampton, 2016). Similar to
these studies, based on all the above examples derived from my fieldwork, it is difficult to
say whether distance to work was a general elective belonging influencing everybody in
Ocean Village. While it was still important for some residents to live close to their place of
work, recent technological improvements (internet) have reduced the importance of
proximity to work as a factor in elective and selective belonging.

4.1.5 Does the Prestige and Reputation of Ocean Village Influence Tenure Groups' Choices?

As reported earlier, regardless of opportunities (or lack thereof) in Ocean Village, people
representing different tenure groups wanted to live in Ocean Village. My data suggest that
the prestige of Ocean Village has become more attractive than available facilities in this
area. As discussed earlier in section 1.2, the results of the estimated ONS 2017 (42%
owner-occupiers, 7.8% social rented, and 49.4% privately rented) suggest that Ocean
Village is an attractive place for both homeowners and renters. My quantitative data
illustrated how tenure groups in Ocean Village were influenced by its prestige before

making their decision to buy within or to move to the area. According to table 4.2, it could be argued that the prestige and reputation of Ocean Village influenced different tenure groups to some extent, but owner-occupiers and landlords as homeowners are more likely to emphasise these aspects than tenants.

Table 4.2. How does the prestige of Ocean Village affect tenure groups' choices to buy/live there?

	Owner-Occupier	**Tenant**	**Landlord**	**Total**
Very Important	47.2% (42)	32.9% (25)	75.0% (6)	42.2% (73)
Moderately important	43.8% (39)	43.4% (33)	25.0% (2)	42.8% (74)
Not important	9.0% (8)	23.7% (18)	0.0% (0)	15.0% (26)
Total	100.0% (89)	100.0% (76)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (173)

Source: Quantitative *Survey*, *Valid: 97.7% (173), Missing: 2.3% (4).*

The same trend was apparent in my qualitative findings. Amelia, an owner-occupier, highlighted her satisfaction with her choice:

> "As a first-time buyer, I have been very happy with my purchase. I am proud of Ocean Village when my friends and family visit, I am comfortable, and I have no regrets about my decision."

In addition, even tenants living in Ocean Village temporarily still compared the area with their previous places of residence building up their motivations and positive views regarding Ocean Village. Bella, a professional who is a tenant in Ocean Village, said:

> "Okay, so I studied locally and then I moved away. While I was studying here, Ocean Village had a good reputation. Many people said that it was kind of the posh part of town to live in. And, while I was a student, I kind of, I had in it my mind that was, like, that was the place that you'd want to live in Southampton."

The other tenure groups (e.g. landlords and second homeowners), who only live in Ocean Village temporarily or only occasionally visit, also considered the prestige of Ocean Village. According to Owen, a landlord who visits Ocean Village regularly:

> "On my boat. Working on my boat. In the Yacht Club or one of the other bars and restaurants around the marina. They are good for meetings, for group meetings. It is a fashionable place to meet with other people."

Similarly, Sara, a second homeowner, noted:

> "Yeah, I feel as if it's a holiday... Because I work up here and being very busy life up in … (out of Southampton). And when I go there [Ocean Village], I am going on holiday."

In contrast to the above examples from my data, according to existing studies, owner-occupiers spend more time in their houses and were more concerned about their living area and the maintenance of their accommodation (Saunders, 1990 and 2016). Ronald (2008) noted that homeowners were more engaged with daily life in their areas and were more interested in their living environment than tenants. However, many participants in my study chose Ocean Village because of its attractive status. They wanted to enjoy the beauty of the location regardless of their residential status. Preferring Ocean Village because of its prestige and beauty, the participants enjoyed the place as a "fashionable" area.

4.1.6 Do Tenure Groups Differ in terms of Their Perceptions of Security and Safety?

Safety and security were identified as other factors influencing the motivation and feeling of tenure groups regarding Ocean Village. In the literature, it has been argued that becoming a homeowner leads to feeling of being more secure and happy in daily life (Ronald, 2008). In addition, the living environment affects residents' feelings of safety and belonging to a specific area as evidenced in Benson's (2014) comparative study in London. In this previous study, physical and geographical environment were also identified as important factors affecting both owner-occupiers' and tenants' feelings of safety. In these findings, safety was identified as a significant factor in tenure groups' decisions to move into/buy or move out of/sell from Ocean Village. According to Oliver, an owner-occupier:

> "Yeah, I do feel very secure because I feel like… The buildings are quite high, and it is a closed area. So, when you are in Ocean Village, you feel you are safe. Because I think the crowd here is a friendly crowd."

Another long-term owner-occupier (over twenty years), Ruby, said:

"So, where I live, you do not have…like people not passing by. It is not located on the main road. So, if people are walking around here, they need a reason to be doing so."

Ocean Village is not a gated community with walls to the outside world but rather, with its geographical position next to water, has a natural border separating it from the rest of the city. Nevertheless, the participants were not only interested in Ocean Village itself; but were also interested in the surrounding areas. Tenants highlighted similar feelings about the Ocean Village area. According to Max, a student tenant:

"Well, Ocean Village is fairly safe area. I feel safe. But, you know the local park, over there (Queens Park). Probably maybe a year ago. That was fairly devastating, you can imagine. My wallet was stolen. So, it is very different area. You know, I cannot walk in that park in the middle of the night. In Ocean Village, at the same time, I can walk around, and I feel safe. I cannot do it in the park. It is strange. I cannot explain why this happens. Strange, but because I guess there are so many windows, people are like that, looking at you from their window."

Maria, a tenant, expressed a similar view:

"I am always careful anyway when I came to Ocean Village. Especially after this time [7 pm in February]. But I can walk to the marina area, I can walk to the shop because it is safe, there are lots of flats. I can walk in this area at 7 o'clock, at this time. In general, I feel safe."

Both owner-occupiers and tenants considered the physical design and geographical features as important reasons for feeling secure in the area. These examples in particular highlight the participants' selective belonging since they compare Ocean Village to the surrounding areas. The participants held positive about Ocean Village in terms of feeling secure regardless of tenure status and sexual orientation. Participants, regardless of their age and gender, were aware of the location-based opportunities in Ocean Village, which they thought enhanced their safety. However, as owner-occupiers and tenants talked about safety within Ocean Village in terms of inside and outside facts, the landlord and second homeowners preferred to highlight their happiness in terms of safety without going into any particular detail because of their limited experience of the area.

4.2   Importance of Social Factors on Tenure Groups' Decisions

Social factor is another reason affecting people's motivation and feelings about a specific place. Herein, I will focus on social environment (e.g. entertainment, neighbours and multiculturalism, family/friend connections, life experience) in Ocean Village to understand the role of the tenure groups and location in terms of their preferences and belonging in this neoliberal urban context.

4.2.1   How do Entertainment Opportunities or Lack of Entertainment Opportunities Affect Tenure Groups' Choices?

The aspect of lifestyle has emerged as one of the most important factors affecting different tenure groups' decisions or belonging. Entertainment opportunities affect the tenure groups' motivations. New commercial environments create new social environments such as shopping and entertainment centres (Zukin 1995). These new commercial places represent an entirely new aspect of social life, social relationships and values (Kratke, 2014). As an example of these new commercial environments, different and modern types of upscale cafes, restaurants and stores, which are luxurious and expensive and have emerged in cities all over the world area since the 1970s as visible and well-known examples of gentrification (Zukin, 2009). Similarly, as a result of neoliberalism, the popularity of standardisation has increased with the consumption culture (e.g. McDonalds, Starbucks) and/or entertainment culture. Within this environment, people organise their social lives. Ocean Village is not exempted from these changes with its modern and high buildings and entertainment facilities (e.g. restaurants, cinema). This situation affects their expectations and meeting their expectations, as the quotations below illustrate. However, its location (e.g. being close to water and water based entertainment activities) also makes the choice of Ocean Village highly attractive.

The findings of this thesis showed tenure groups' reasons regarding their preference for Ocean Village as a place of residence or just a place to visit for entertainment purposes. The standard types of café or restaurant attracted different tenure groups at the same time. According to Elliot, an owner-occupier:

> "Ocean Village is the most perfect place in Southampton. You can just go outside for lunch or whatever you want."

Similarly, Luiz, a tenant, said:

"Where we grew up, we only had maybe a couple of pubs. Certainly, there were not any cinemas or anything like that."

Both Elliot and Luiz highlighted their contentment with entertainment facilities and compared Ocean Village with other places. In other words, the owner-occupiers and tenants both exhibited their selective belonging in terms of available local entertainment facilities in Ocean Village. The results from the online survey support the findings from the qualitative interviews in that all tenure groups were satisfied with the entertainment facilities in Ocean Village. However, there was some variation among the tenants, who were both the most and the least satisfied of all three groups.

Table 4.3 How satisfied are you with the entertainment facilities in Ocean Village?

	Owner-Occupier	**Tenant**	**Landlord**	**Total**
Fully Satisfied	48.4% (44)	51.3% (39)	50.0% (4)	49.7% (87)
Somewhat Satisfied	46.2% (42)	36.8% (28)	50.0% (4)	42.3% (74)
Completely Dissatisfied	5.5% (5)	11.8% (9)	0.0% (0)	8.0% (14)
Total	100.0% (91)	100.0% (76)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (175)

Source: *Quantitative Survey*, *Valid: 98.9% (175), Missing: 1.1% (2)*.

Based on the quantitative data in table 4.3, people who lived in Ocean Village as owners or renters were mostly satisfied. Indeed, when combined, the proportion of the fully and somewhat satisfied is greater than 90%. This is important as it demonstrates that tenure status, especially in terms of owner-occupiers and tenants, is not sufficient in itself as a means to examine elective and selective belonging, especially with regard to entertainment facilities. In addition, landlords who did not live in the same area emphasised their satisfaction with the entertainment facilities in Ocean Village. Because that makes it attractive for renters and thus makes it easier for landlords to let their properties. However, it should be noted that some participants were not happy with the existing facilities. While the following owner-occupier, Robert, was happy with the local entertainment facilities in his living area, he also wanted to see:

"Maybe some sort of local LGTB venues as well. Not a big place but having a place, it would be good. And yeah, these kinds of things. My interests are not mainstream, not like general interest. They are a bit different, maybe."

While there were LGBT venues in Oxford Street, about 5 minutes walking distance from Ocean Village, Robert wished to see one in Ocean Village. Interestingly, he defined himself in a different manner to others in Ocean Village. The last example shows the importance of generational differences and sexual orientation regarding selective belonging by lifestyle. Robert was more interested in what the location could offer than in his residential status.

Regardless of residential status, different groups want to see greater variety and different entertainment facilities in their living area. Because of a dearth of these facilities in Ocean Village, they preferred to go to other places to find their desired facilities. According to Isabella, an owner-occupier in Ocean Village:

> "I think it would be nice to get…what I call proper restaurants, offering food where there is a cook rather than frozen or microwaved food, something like that. For me, I suppose, these restaurants are not very good. You can get the ethnic ones, Indian or Chinese, which the town has on Oxford Street, which is just behind there."

Similarly, Leo, a tenant in Ocean Village, said:

> "I am a member of …. gym, which is over there, on the right side of the town. Sometimes I do not want to go there because I need to drive to get there. So, I would like to see a gym here. The hotel will probably open one. So, I hope there will be a gym there. Closer."

Regardless of tenure status and availability of facilities close to Ocean Village, both owner-occupiers and tenants wished to have more entertainment and leisure facilities within their living area as an example of their elective belonging. In addition, the choice of leisure or entertainment facilities were affected by generational differences and sexual orientation. However, in contrast to the finding of Watt (2009), owner-occupiers, tenants and second homeowners in my study were somewhat critical of the local limitations, and for these reasons preferred other places. These findings were different since Watt's findings explain owner-occupiers' preferences only in terms of their residential status, and ignore the above aspects (e.g. generational differences and sexual orientation).

When considering entertainment choices as representative of elective and selective belonging, it is difficult to elucidate their relevance to a given tenure group. Nevertheless, without generalising, we need to adopt a holistic approach and consider wide-ranging factors, such as generational differences and sexual orientation, to better understand

belonging. While standardisation is an indicator of neoliberal urbanism in Ocean Village, its residents would like to see different facilities. This kind of choice is highly affected by sexual orientation rather than their residential status, since my findings indicated that regardless of their residential status, participants would like to see better facilities in their living area. Overall, the findings identified that location, with opportunities or limitations, was a key factor besides that of tenure status that connected people with the same place.

4.2.2 How do Neighbours and the Multicultural Environment Influence Tenure Groups' Choice?

New places of entertainment generate new social environments and also result in new social relationships (Zukin, 2009, Kratke, 2014). Savage *et al.* (2005) noted that newcomers' greatest concerns are centred on the potential social environment before moving to a specific place. Within this environment, it is necessary to examine the impact of social environment, including neighbours and the multicultural atmosphere, of Ocean Village. Different tenure groups were interested in the atmosphere and demographic situation both before and after they bought or moved into Ocean Village. The living environment with regard to the demographic situation was important to the decision to both move into or out of a given area. For example, in my qualitative data, Olivia, an owner-occupier, demonstrates the importance of local atmosphere as a reason for moving into a given place. She compared Ocean Village with the previous area in which she had lived, stating that:

> "I lived four-five years in … [a countryside area] in a house. And I did not like to live there ... It is like a city, but actually, it is more like a town. I prefer to live in a mix…it is hard to explain but there is a quite interesting demographic there. The colleague, school as well, the church, the council is quite demographically compact. And there are a lot of people who go there. It is hard to explain to somebody who is English. But they want to do better in life. Children behave very badly. It is hard to explain. But here people know where they belong. I like places where people know who they are and where they belong."

While she wanted to live in a suitable place in accordance with her lifestyle preferences, she compared Ocean Village to her previous home in order to justify her choice. The participant was not only worried about her personal choice as an indicator of elective belonging, but at the same time, in order to justify her choice, she worried about other people in the same area as an indicator of selective belonging. In addition, Olivia had

certain feelings about the people living in the same area and sharing facilities in their daily life.

Similarly, Joey, an owner-occupier who had lived in other cities in the UK, explained his reasons for moving to Ocean Village.

> "The place is a mixture of single households as well as couples, and you stand out much less. I think that…I think it is related to all issues… the UK, three-bedroom houses, all together in one area. So, you get to see families living in this area. And flats in an area, and a lot of younger people. I think it is much better to have a mixed community."

After choosing Ocean Village, different participants from different tenure groups justified their decisions as representative of their selective belonging. According to Henry, as a student tenant, "more international community is more convenient for me. I believe that. Because you feel multicultural, multinational." Albert, a professional landlord, said that, "That is good. I think outside visitors make the place more interesting. I am happy with that." Similarly, Matthew, a second-homeowner, said "Posh hotel, there are very posh buildings. This means the population is good." Lastly, Edward, owner-occupier in Ocean Village, emphasised that, "I think I like to live in diverse communities. I like diversity. I like new cultures and diversity. I think a mixed community is better than a monoculture."

These examples illustrate that people from different backgrounds, whether in terms of nationality, gender and residential status, want to live in multicultural environments. They believe in an environment where they can live more safely and happily than in the countryside or other quiet areas. Similar to the previous section (4.2.1), the participants were mainly interested in living happily as individuals without considering other people's residential status. Ocean Village is a mixed neighbourhood that attracts different types of people who highlight their satisfaction with this context.

4.2.3   How does Being Close to Family/Friends Affect Tenure Groups' Choices?

Being close to family/friends, a factor, which was previously discussed in the literature, was identified in this study as another aspect related to elective and selective belonging. According to Savage (2008), kinship is becoming less important with increasing globalisation. However, Benson (2013) stated that the British lifestyle migrants in Lot, France, worried about their connections with their family and friends in England, and for this reason they felt comfortable in Lot as they could still relatively easily visit their

relatives or friends. From another perspective, families living with and without children in rural areas show different connections with the local place and the other people surrounding them (Haartsen and Stockdale, 2018). While families who have children are generally more worried about the local facilities (e.g. schools, play areas) available to their children, families who do not have children understandably do not pay the same kind of attention to these facilities (*ibid*., 8-9). These examples illustrate that there are different views about the role of families in the contemporary world.

My online questionnaire indicates that approximately 30% of the participants gave being close to family or friends as a reason or as a motivation for choosing Ocean Village (Table 4.4). For owner-occupiers, it was more important to live close to friends and family than for tenants and landlords.

Table 4.4 How does being close to family/friends affect tenure group's choice to live in Ocean Village?

	Owner-Occupier	Tenant	Landlord	Total
Very Important	9.0% (8)	9.3% (7)	12.5% (1)	9.3% (16)
Moderately important	28.1% (25)	16.0% (12)	12.5% (1)	22.1% (38)
Not important	62.9% (56)	74.7% (56)	75.0% (6)	68.6% (118)
Total	100.0% (89)	100.0% (75)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (172)

Source: *Quantitative Survey*, *Valid: 97.2% (172), Missing: 2.8% (5).*

Overall, based on this quantitative data, it is difficult to claim that being close to friends and family was a significant reason amongst all tenure groups. However, there are significant differences between owner-occupiers and tenants. While owner-occupiers preferred to choose the 'important' and 'moderately important' options more than tenants and landlords, where the same tenure groups preferred to highlight the option of 'not important' less than tenants and landlords. In addition, based on table 4.4, being close to family and friends mattered less for tenants and landlords compared to owner-occupiers. In other words, while this situation was not highlighted as a significant reason for choosing Ocean Village, at the same time owner-occupiers gave greater attention to this than other tenure groups.

While in my online questionnaire, most of the tenure groups did not highlight being close to family/friends as a reason for moving to Ocean Village, in my interviews participants preferred to provide more information about how this situation affected their decision to move into or buy in Ocean Village. Joshua, a professional who is a tenant in Ocean Village, said:

> "I have children... (close to Southampton) with their mother, so I moved back to Southampton largely to be close to my daughters. And I looked around the area. I know the area."

Likewise, Theo, a tenant in Ocean Village, noted that:

> "My friend lives very close to me, within walking distance. Even though they are not living in Ocean Village. I can reach and visit most of my friends in Southampton very easily. Mostly I walk to visit them."

The convenient location of Ocean Village allowed all the tenure groups to easily connect with their families or friends, regardless of their tenure status. The examples below from my fieldwork illustrate this situation more clearly. Benjamin, a student tenant, explained his connection with Ocean Village:

> "My girlfriend already lived there. So, although we changed houses, I already know the area quite well. And she just literally moved from one flat to the next in Ocean Village."

This participant was living in Ocean Village temporarily and developed his belonging with his friends. While this situation became a reason to move to Ocean Village, it may have become the reason for leaving the area, as in the example of Matthew, a second homeowner in Ocean Village:

> "When I retire, I will, I have to decide whether to go back to London or stay in Ocean Village. It will depend on my children and my grandchildren."

The following example illustrates the difficulties in defining this situation in terms of residential status. Michael, who lived in Ocean Village as a tenant and owner-occupier and who is now a landlord not currently living in Ocean Village but visiting a close friend, stated:

"I moved to Southampton with my best friend, and as a condition of me being allowed to go back. I had to promise her I would go back at least every one or two months. So, I am in Southampton every two months."

Lastly, a retired owner-occupier, Emily, explained her choice:

"Well, we are not young. We wanted to downsize anyway. Where we lived in …. It was very far away from everything. And as you get older, that becomes a reason to move on. We were far away from family and everything."

Being close to family and friends did not play much of a role in influencing tenure groups' decisions about moving or staying compared with other factors. In light of this finding, I investigated the tenure groups showing similarities in their perception of the importance of being close to family/friends in Ocean Village.

4.2.4   How are Tenure Groups Affected by Their Life Experience in terms of Their Decisions?

This section illustrates participants' selective and mostly elective belonging in choosing Ocean Village because of their life experiences. While participants had different reasons for their choices, they mostly perceived Ocean Village in a positive manner when they compared it with their previous life experiences. Lucy, an owner-occupier, said:

"I have been living in the UK about thirteen years. This flat is the best flat I have lived in. I lived in another modern property before, which we liked very much. This is the closest to what we have in …. This is the closest to what my parents have (in their country)."

In this quote, Lucy represented her elective and selective belonging by comparing Ocean Village to her previous residences including her home country, and explained her positive perception of the area by referring to the modernity of her flat. In this context, Olivia, an owner-occupier, highlighted the similarities of her current residence to her previous ones as a reason for choosing Ocean Village. She also highlighted her personal background as a reason for being familiar with this kind of living environment:

"I wanted to live by the sea. And I lived in London for a long time. Luckily, I lived in … area. It was a bit like this. It is a modern development on the waterfront. My family has been in the navy for the last five hundred years. So, I like being near the water."

In the same way, while Matthew, as a second homeowner, does not live in Ocean Village permanently, he compared it with his home, where he views the former more positively:

> "Where we are living in quite a multicultural area, but you find people from a diversity of backgrounds. They do not respect the English way of life. So, frequently, I can see people leaving their rubbish on the street, for example. It is not nice. And in Ocean Village, at least, as far as I can see, people respect the local culture. There are many people in the area, but it is usually a good, positive population."

A tenant's, Bella, perspective highlighted this situation:

> "We moved to Ocean Village with the intention of getting away from the student populated areas in Southampton and to feel as though we lived among adults."

As Urry (1995) and Massey (2005) discussed, the meaning of place is different for different people and this meaning changes over time. In agreement with this, the above examples clearly illustrate that life experience affected all tenure groups in creating both their elective and selective belonging in Ocean Village. In addition, the location of Ocean Village attracted both owners and renters, regardless of their tenure status. These different tenure groups compared Ocean Village with other places or preferred Ocean Village over other places, again regardless of their tenure status.

4.3   Importance of Financial Factors on Tenure Groups' Decisions

This section will focus on financial factors to examine elective and selective belonging within the neoliberal context of Ocean Village in terms of different tenure groups. I will discuss the role of financial factors in terms of investment, affordability, and efficiency of the area to examine elective and selective belonging in terms of the importance of location and tenure status.

4.3.1   How does the Purpose of Investment Affect Tenure Groups?

Profit has been reported as central to neoliberalism in the literature. Peck (2010) described the use of urban spaces as a tool to gain more profit in a neoliberal urban context. Changes in daily life (e.g. individual, different types of consumption) occur within a neoliberal urban context (Peck, Theodore and Bremen, 2013). Previous studies (Mallett, 2004) have evaluated homeownership as an indicator of financial power. Becoming a homeowner

contributes to saving and the increase of investment (Ronald, 2008). Investment emerges as a reason affecting people's choice to move into or buy within a particular place. In other words, the reason for investment emerges as an important factor, or as an indicator of elective and selective belonging for people in Ocean Village. However, while landlords, second homeowners and owner-occupiers are concerned with their investments, tenants struggle to buy properties in same area. For example, Jackson, who is a professional second homeowner interviewee, said:

> "I want to get a good investment, get a decent investment."

Similarly, Albert, a landlord, noted during his interview:

> "Excellent investment in a prime location."

Both second homeowners and landlords highlighted the same reason, investment, as a reason for choosing Ocean Village. Similar to the existing studies, their connection with the place of Ocean Village depends on their investment due to its prime location. Michael who is a professional landlord interviewee, was concerned about his investment in Ocean Village due to new developments in the area:

> "From a landlord's perspective, there is some risk if there are too many apartments up for rent in one small area. This can suddenly push the rental price down quite quickly. We are worried about it. For example, if my tenant decides to leave to move into a new apartment, I would not demand same level of rent with the new apartment. It will be much reduced. This concern might seem very, very selfish from your perspective."

These last two examples illustrate these professional landlords' motivation to choose Ocean Village and that they are worried about Ocean Village as a location. While Michael was interested in investment as an indicator of elective belonging, at the same time he was worried that the new construction in the area could potentially have a negative effect on his investment. These examples also illustrate differences between owners and renters in terms of the effects of developments in the same area. However, they were concerned about the increasing number of flats in Ocean Village due to the potential loss in income these may represent. This example reflects not only landlords' purpose for investment but also the indirect benefit to tenants due to the increasing number of available properties and decreasing rents in Ocean Village.

Investment, as illustrative of elective belonging, was similar for owner-occupiers in Ocean Village. However, owner-occupiers showed certain differences between landlords and second homeowners in terms of their feelings and motivations. Owner-occupiers bought properties in Ocean Village in a similar manner to these tenure groups but at the same time they did not pay extra money for rent. In other words, owner-occupiers invested in two different ways to other owners. The examples below are from an owner-occupier, George, who illustrated this situation more clearly:

> "I prefer to live in Ocean Village because it is a prime location for your money, for protecting your investment. Southampton has different areas, and this one is a premium area. Your money is always properly invested in an area like Ocean Village."

Similarly, an owner-occupier, Jacob, with other properties rented out in Ocean Village, explained his belonging to this area:

> "Because of investment. Not only our properties that we let but also our own property. Rent is dead money because you are just paying out and not getting anything getting back. Therefore, when you buy, you are investing in a property, which hopefully will appreciate in value and will be investment income for the future."

It is necessary to note here that these examples not only highlight the importance of the aims of investment but also show that due to Ocean Village's "prime location", people, especially owners, choose it over other places for investment. Ruby was the only owner-occupier who highlighted her old age as affecting her decision. She is one of the retired and long-term (nearly thirty years) owner-occupiers in Ocean Village:

> "I know some people buying from here and rent the property out and getting income. I do not need it. I do not need aggravation. I am a very lucky person. I do not need any extra income. I have a very, very good pension. So, it is too much aggravation really. I do not want to share my house with someone for income. It is where I live. I think it is different when you are younger. You would like to get more money, buy new property."

In contrast to the previous examples, due to her financial situation, this owner-occupier is not so worried about investment. However, it is not possible to explain this situation purely on the basis of age-related issues because the same participant noted the word

"aggravation" and the housing crisis close to their buying time (beginning of 1990s) in Ocean Village. She was aware of these difficulties when buying her own property. While her age and current financial situation affected her decision, it is not possible to ignore the crisis in the housing market at that time. Official data (LGDC, 2015) indicated that there have been considerable changes in the housing market in terms of house prices (see section 2.2.2.4). This situation is defined as "aggravation" by participants and shows the importance of changes in the economy, especially in the housing market. For instance, according to Lewis, a professional who was a tenant in Ocean Village:

> "My landlord … has never been to Southampton before. So, he bought the house. Sorry, he bought the flat as an investment. There are lots of people who bought flats round here to become buy-to-let landlords. That's something I do not agree with because it stops young people like me getting on the housing ladder and buying our own flats. These flats are quite expensive, very expensive for what they are. For instance, my flat is probably worth £125,000… It is a very small bedroom flat; it does not have parking, and does not have a balcony. If I was going to buy a flat, I would not buy this one."

As this example demonstrates, not everyone can afford to buy property in Ocean Village, particularly under current market conditions. In the following section, I will analyse this aspect in more detail in terms of different tenure groups. This last example clearly shows the condition of tenants and differences between tenants and landlords in Ocean Village. While landlords used this area as a tool for investment, tenants were merely trying to get on with their lives and make plans to buy properties in other places due to their financial situations. As participants noted, current housing policies did not prevent inequalities between owners and tenants. However, they are renting in Ocean Village rather than renting in other cheaper places due to its location, which allows them to be close to work, the city centre and water which, as discussed in sections 4.2 and 4.3, increases renters' motivation to choose Ocean Village rather than other places

Urban places are being used as a means for investment within the neoliberal urban context (Harvey, 2005 and Sager, 2011). The above examples show similarities between existing owners in Ocean Village. However, while landlords and second homeowners are interested in increasing the values of their properties or increasing their rent incomes, owner-occupiers are interested in the value of their property and, where possible, saving on their rent. Tenants are not concerned with the investment, but they are concerned with high rents due to their financial position. In other words, while investment emerged as a means of

elective belonging for owner-occupiers, landlords and second homeowners, tenants were less interested in it.

While age was highlighted by one owner-occupier as a reason affecting her decision, this is not independent from her economic situation because when we look at the tenure groups' distribution from the 1980s to the present in terms of age, it can be clearly seen that the younger generation had difficulties buying their own properties. In addition, my data indicated that it was not just the young generation who emphasised or were affected by this situation. The older generation was also avoiding taking any risks within the current economic environment.

While the above discussion shows that tenure groups approached investment in different ways according to their tenure status, location emerged as an apparent reason for their decisions. This situation was not only the case for owner-occupiers and owners who were not currently living in Ocean Village or Southampton.

4.3.2   What is the Importance and Meaning of Affordability for Different Tenure Groups in Ocean Village?

As highlighted in the previous section (4.3.1), financial power plays a key role in tenure groups' choice of Ocean Village. As Savage (2008) pointed out, residential status is representative of social class in the UK. Depending on financial power, tenure groups remain within, or move to places, which are more suited to their financial situation (Saunders, 1990 and 2016). In Ocean Village, there are different types of tenure group who are influenced by their status depending on whether they are buying or renting. My findings are similar to that of previous studies in this regard: while owners can afford to buy property in Ocean Village, tenants faced financial problems. However, they could afford to rent in Ocean Village and chose it even if they could have found cheaper rental properties or even buy a property elsewhere.

One of the interviewees, Edward, who is a professional owner-occupier in Ocean Village, highlighted the difficulties faced by renters:

> "I think we are so lucky to living here but it is not, by design, very nice. It could be better. If you are a young couple and rent here, it could be nice for you, okay nice, there is everything for you here. But you cannot do anything because you are spending most of your money here on rent."

Similarly, Joey, a retired owner-occupier in Ocean Village, noted the following:

> "I guess we can't talk about Ocean Village with respect to affordability. And I do worry a little bit, perhaps it is a little bit beyond the sort of price range, there are a lot of young people really and I think they struggle, possibly, to buy property in Ocean Village because of the price. Not because of the exclusivity of Ocean Village, it's a problem really across Southampton and the UK at the moment. But I think it is important to mix privately owned places and socially rented or socially managed residents. Because I think, again, that could help to break down barriers if you mix. You do not have to build exclusive buildings or exclusive developments. I think we should stop it now."

Owners were aware of issues pertaining to affordability in Ocean Village and, indeed, the rest of the UK. Increasing standardisation and profit-based developments within neoliberal urbanism (Peck, Theodore and Bremen, 2013) could be observed in Ocean Village. The developments were more suitable for middle- or, mostly, upper-class people in terms of affordability for either buying or renting within the area. Indeed, the motivations or choices of the tenure groups were closely related to their ability to buy within Ocean Village. In other words, elective belonging depended on financial power. Joey's quote above, in particular, does not support a boundary between groups from different economic backgrounds. The participants criticised developments as a threat to building a mixed community. These two examples clearly show that both elective and selective belonging were not completely independent from other influencing factors.

There is only one set of social housing in Ocean Village but, unfortunately, I was not able to recruit anyone from this building. Therefore, I cannot offer much information about this housing unit. Compared to apartment blocks in the area, this building looked quite old. The rest of Ocean Village was built for private customers and generally attracted people with sufficient funds to afford to buy property there. The above quotes are not only important for observing the differences between owners and renters in terms of their ability to afford to buy a property; they also represent owners' reactions to other private or social housing renters. Interestingly, this situation is different from those described in existing studies (Morris, 2012, Carnegie *et al*., 2018) which focusses on renters, especially social housing residents, in terms of stereotyping or stigmatisation. Owner-occupiers were aware of the difficulties in buying property in Ocean Village, and neither did they view other tenure groups (e.g. renters, social housing residents) negatively nor create boundaries as indicators of their selective belonging.

Sara, a second homeowner, provided a very good example of elective and selective belonging. She explained that buying in Ocean Village was a much better investment than buying in other areas:

> "To be honest I was looking to buy a flat and I looked in many different places, but as soon as I saw that, it was just such a good price, really. Much better than London."

This supports the idea that Ocean Village attracts people because of its property prices. In other words, due to property prices in Ocean Village, this second homeowner chose this area in which to buy her second home. While a landlord could afford to buy in Ocean Village, tenants shared their accommodation with other people to overcome their financial problems so that they could live in the area. According to Luiz, as a tenant his inability to be able to buy in Ocean Village was:

> "Purely financially based. I do not have enough to bank… to put down the deposit and then to be able to buy…essentially deposit money, deposit. Yeah, renting is the only feasible option."

Joshua, another professional who was a tenant, shared his observations about this topic by saying:

> "It is expensive to live here, but students share, and it becomes affordable. You do not really have families living here."

Being able to afford to stay in Ocean Village was not only a problem for groups of students but also for families. Supporting this, Luiz, as a tenant, noted that:

> "I do not have any children but if I did, I do not think I could afford to rent anywhere in Ocean Village, but I feel it is suitable for myself now. I'd prefer to go and live in one of the major town houses. Probably then I would have to move away from Ocean Village in order to live somewhere that would be big enough. It is better for families to move away. I think some places are certainly suitable for families, but I think truly suitable ones… are extremely expensive."

Affordability influences people's decisions to move into or away from Ocean Village. As previous studies have highlighted, there is a clear connection between preferences and financial power (Savage, 2008; Watt, 2009). However, in contrast to previous studies, it is necessary to take personal situation into consideration, especially the stage in the life-

course and parental status, because as the above quotes show, age and parental status directly affect tenants' decisions to stay in or move away, purely due to affordability.

There has been ongoing redevelopment in Ocean Village since the 1980s. After the first housing establishments (detached houses) on the east and west corner of Ocean Village in the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, the number of floors always increased, and now both the highest building (Alexandra Quay) in Southampton and one of the major hotels in Southampton are established in Ocean Village. The new, high-profit, high-risers have been designed mainly for single people. Within this environment, it has become difficult to live in Ocean Village as a family, especially one with children, due to a lack of public areas and basic facilities (e.g. nurseries, schools, play areas).

Lastly, connections between different types of tenure groups depend on financial status and people's willingness to connect with others or use places. For instance, Albert, a landlord, explained his reason for choosing Ocean Village:

> "I never rent a house. I think rent money is dead money. I own my houses. It is much better than renting."

Existing residents in Ocean Village paid particular attention to the local environment. According to George, who is a professional owner-occupier interviewee and who had previously lived in Ocean Village as a tenant and then recently bought a property in the same area:

> "I decided because before buying something you need to know the area, even though I have lived in the UK for many years. You do not know the area, you do not know your neighbours, you do not know many things. So, you spend money to afford the property. It is not a good idea to buy your property directly."

The same situation was observed amongst tenants. Benjamin, a professional who is a tenant, criticised the expensive facilities in his living area. According to Benjamin:

> "I like, there are a few bars and restaurants in there, although I dislike how expensive they are. I think you can get the same quality of food and drink in other places in town. They charge high prices in Southampton, which I think is ridiculous. It seems to stigmatise people. You know you are in Ocean Village. You have to pay £2 extra for things. I do not like it. You know what I mean. There is a Wetherspoons on the corner there. They charge me same price as every other Wetherspoons in the country. I actually like Wetherspoons in Ocean Village.

> Because it does not really…You know it is a nice, big old-fashioned building. They do not do things like the other bars. They do not say you have to pay £5 for a drink because you are in Ocean Village. Across the road, you know, I mean you pay only £3."

Based on the above examples, both investment and the affordability of the place can be said to affect tenure groups' decisions. While they would all prefer to move into or buy properties in Ocean Village as an indicator of their investment in property, due to the expensive local facilities both owner-occupiers and tenants used alternative places in the surrounding areas. While the different tenure groups did not meet their expectations with regard to expensive local facilities, they created their selective belonging through their preference for other facilities close to Ocean Village, such as cheaper pubs and restaurants. This situation also shows how elective belonging and selective belonging are connected to each other. While people's motivation to move in is an example of their elective belonging, their consideration of Ocean Village in a more positive manner than other places is as an example of their selective belonging. Intriguingly, when their interests and feelings of Ocean Village were not met, their view and connection with other places changed. The above examples clearly illustrate that regardless of tenure status, both owners and tenants show the same reactions to location-based problems in Ocean Village. Tenure groups mentioned their financial situation as being important in their choice of Ocean Village as a place to live in or buy from under the pressure of the free market and the privatised and overdeveloped context. While there are available places, which are cheaper and appropriate to their financial power, within Southampton, both the homeowners and renters I interviewed preferred Ocean Village as a place in which to buy and live. Additionally, these sections (4.1 and 4.2) demonstrate how social factors (e.g. entertainment facilities, local environment) and physical factors (e.g. location in terms of being close to work, city centre, facilities, and water) make Ocean Village attractive to all tenure groups, regardless of their financial situation and cost of living or buying. In other words, while financial situation is still important to people's choice, different tenure groups are interested in this same area because of its social and physical context.

4.4　　Summary and Conclusions

This chapter compared the selective and elective belonging of different tenure groups and the role that location plays on people's feelings and attachment to a particular place. Savage's elective belonging and Watt's selective belonging play a key role in

understanding and explaining tenure groups' feelings about, and choice of, Ocean Village. Depending on these studies, social class and financial ability could explain people's choices. With the examples from existing studies, for their various personal reasons people choose particular places to live (owner-occupiers and tenants) (Saunders, 1990 and 2016, Ronald, 2008) or just visit (landlords and second homeowners) (Coppack, 1997, Hall and Muller, 2004, Paris, 2009) and otherwise justify their decision with supporting arguments. According to existing studies, depending on tenure status, people, especially owners and tenants, are different from each other in terms of their aim to choose a specific place to live and build connections with other people or place.

Having young children (who are going to school or are under the school age) is an important factor in people's belonging, expectations and future plans about a specific place (Haartsen and Stockdale, 2018). As discussed in section 4.1.2, owner-occupiers and tenants with children who are going to school or are under school age in Ocean Village in particular want local facilities (e.g. a nurse, green areas, and schools) and an environment (e.g. safe) for their children. While participant's employment and parental status did have some influence on their decisions, financial situation emerged as the significant factor influencing their decisions to move to or by in Ocean Village. Depending on their financial power, participants bought properties or actively used local facilities in Ocean Village. Uniquely, this chapter has also shown that it is not possible to explain all differences or similarities in participants' choices purely as a function of their tenure status, certainly, these could not be thoroughly explained without considering the role of the location itself. My findings indicated that although tenants, especially young tenants, had financial difficulties, they were willing to live in and use the same place as other homeowners. While my study confirmed tenure group differences/similarities, Ocean Village's attractive location of (e.g. prestige, convenience to access, being close to city centre, shopping, other cities or other entertainment facilities) was identified as an equally important factor for building participants' belonging. In the following chapter, I will focus on the place making and place maintenance undertaken by tenure groups in order to examine their elective and selective belonging in practice.

Chapter 5   Place Making and Place Maintenance in Relation to Tenure Status and Location

People's feelings about and attachment to a specific place affects their (non-)participation in and building of a connection with their place and other people in the same area. Based on these activities, they create (or do not create) their place in a particular area. This chapter continues to examine people's feelings and decisions in practice. Depending on their motivation and feelings, this chapter examines people's actions, or inaction, along with underlying reasons to find out how people build their daily lives and connection with place and other people in Ocean Village.

In this chapter, I examine place making and maintenance in terms of tenure status and location to address the research questions raised earlier in chapter 2:

- *What are the significant differences and similarities between tenure groups regarding the decision to move into or buy within, and the experience of, a waterfront area?*
- *How do tenure status and location intersect and how are they different with regard to the decision to move into or buy within, and the experience of, a waterfront area?*

Briefly, this chapter first presents place making and place maintenance activities, organisations and barriers in terms of physical environment, then social environment and lastly financial situation within Ocean Village, and the relationships between these aspects and different tenure groups (e.g. landlords, owner-occupiers, tenants and second homeowners) and location. Additionally, this chapter will focus on both online (Facebook social media groups) and offline life (waterfront area) to extend the examination of place making and maintenance to thoroughly assess the role of tenure status and location in Ocean Village, Southampton.

5.1   Importance of Physical Environment for Place Making and Place Maintenance

As I discussed in chapter 1.2, Ocean Village has been developing since the 1980s. During this time, there have been significant changes in the area including new apartment buildings, offices, and hotel and entertainment facilities. To understand the role of the

physical environment for the creation of place and maintaining, it is necessary to examine tenure groups' connections and reactions to place with regard to developments.

5.1.1 What is the Impact of the Lack of Public/Communal Areas and Infrastructure on Place Making and Place Maintenance?

While the new construction and the organisation of daily life around public areas and infrastructure are part of place making-maintenance (Benson and Jackson, 2012, Benson, 2014, Savage, 2008), private space have become more important within the neoliberal urban context (Peck, 2010). In Ocean Village, the developments were, for the most part, criticised by all tenure groups. Michael, a landlord who did not currently live in Ocean Village, was worried about changes there:

> "The construction of the apartment, especially, has been extremely inconvenient for my tenants. They have blocked off a very big area. It is entirely unnecessary."

As a landlord, he was concerned about the comfort of his clients. According to the examples below, both long-term owner-occupiers and those who had recently arrived had similar feelings about the developments in Ocean Village. In the same way, owner-occupiers who had recently moved to Ocean Village also criticised the developments in their living area. According to one of the owner-occupier participants in my online questionnaire:

> "New developments are turning the area into an inner city concrete jungle with a total lack of green environmental features - not even a flower tub to be seen."
> (Participant-125, male, owner-occupier)

According to Samuel, an owner-occupier who has lived in Ocean Village for over twenty years:

> "There had to be places for people to walk. It was supposed to be a village environment, but now it isn't. I think Ocean Village is no longer a place to go to. It is simply a housing development."

Similarly, another owner-occupier, Olivia, who has lived in Ocean Village for around twenty-five years, said:

> "Somebody feels they have control over it. I think that makes it difficult to use as a space for people. All the cafes expanded into spaces outside. Is it their space? I'm very doubtful about that."

These long-term owner-occupiers in Ocean Village were not happy with the developments in there. The lack of public spaces were a threat to place making activities as they minimised public spaces, including walking areas, inside Ocean Village. These developments indicated a certain parallel with neoliberal urbanism in terms of profit-based developments. While existing residents worried about leisure facilities, which blocked access to footpaths in the marina area, some residents on the edges of Ocean Village did not want to see walkers or fishers in front of their properties due to noise or potential security problems.

The photo below in Figure 5.1 was taken on the corner of Ocean Village and explains the regulation in Ocean Village about using public spaces. The Channel Way is the centre of Ocean Village and, with the single exception of this way, all other roads and footpaths are defined as private and restricted. While the owners criticised developers about developments in their living area, at the same time, they try to minimise how often they saw outsiders in front of their accommodations. Their worries about security problems were acceptable and important to them, but the waterfront area, as a public space, was controlled by a minority group as another aspect of the neoliberal urban context.

Figure 5.1 The marina area of Ocean Village

Source: Photo was taken by author 04.08.2018.

The example below, as pointed out by Adam, a retired long-term owner-occupier interviewee, is useful in terms of understanding the existing situation in this case and the rationale behind the above picture (figure 5.1):

> "Since we moved here, we have lived right next to the water. There is a footpath, which goes along to our apartments. In the summer, we used to have a major problem with children and youths coming down to the waterfront to jump in the water. Some of the youths were taking drugs. Often, alcohol was involved. They leave litter and fish when fishing on the waterfront, and it did cause a problem. The police were unable to help, as were the council, and it would appear the council do not have any by-laws which might otherwise allow them to regulate this particular problem. As a result, the management company spent several thousand pounds putting gates in both ends of the development. Because a footpath can only be used by permission, there is no set right of way…It only has a right of access as per owners' and landowners' permission. Also, the gates are closed during the summer from the middle of the evening to 7 o'clock the next morning; in the winter, they may be closed from 4 o'clock in the afternoon to 7 o'clock the morning. This keeps the area safe from drunks and people who use the waterfront, make a lot of noise,

and create inconvenience for the residents. This is one of the problems we had, and which went on for about ten years. It was burden. It was often better to be away from the apartment during the summer because of the noise and aggravation caused by those facilities. The council wishes to open up the waterfront; I know that this is one of their ambitions. They want to open up the waterfront in Southampton. They need to come up with a strategy whereby they are able to control antisocial behaviour."

This long quotation is important to an understanding of the meaning of the same place both in terms of residential status and in terms of location. According to Pinch (2002), the seafront area was not open for public use until the new developments in the waterfront area of Ocean Village. These developments have been converting waterfront areas into public spaces with associated policies becoming remarkably successful in Ocean Village. However, as table 1.3 shows, the property prices in Ocean Village ranged from £160.000 to £735.000 in July 2019, with an average price of around £500.000 for these properties making it clear that they are not for "ordinary" Sotonians[1] . While in theory waterfront spaces that have been converted from a port to residential properties and leisure areas should be open to everyone as a public space, personal levels of income will determine as to whether people are actually able to use this place in practice. Neoliberalism creates urban space as a field for profit and creates an environment for elite consumption practices (Sager, 2011). Similarly, people are not only affected when they want to buy or rent in Ocean Village because of their financial power but also, as a result of these financial differences, they are divided into two groups: those who are able to use public spaces without any restrictions or those who are not able to use them because of their tenure status. As figure 5.1 shows, the authority is effectively the owners in the area; without owners' permission, people cannot use some parts of the waterfront area for their own personal aims (e.g. fishing, or even just walking after 4 pm).

While online social media groups emerged as a new place to interact and communicate, the physical environment was still important to all tenure groups. Participants were concerned about developments regardless of their length of stay or residential status. Regardless of their length of stay, owner-occupiers criticised the developments in Ocean Village, which are blocking the public spaces necessary for them to socialise or just spend leisure time there. Social media uses virtual space to create an alternative place for offline life.

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[1] The data above was taken from the following websites: https://www.rightmove.co.uk/, https://www.zoopla.co.uk/ and https://www.home.co.uk/.

Depending on personal choice, people can participate or not participate in these groups. However, as a result of neoliberal urbanism (e.g. especially overdevelopment and lack of public areas), while virtual spaces are increasing in online life, public spaces are decreasing in offline life. In addition, in offline life, people cannot take an active role in changing this situation. When a participant in an online group decides they do not like the existing group or are no longer interested in it, he or she easily can create an alternative group. While length of stay did not influence either online or offline life, as the above example showed, participants in offline life could only passively watch over developments in their living area. Tenants also highlighted the same problems in their living area. According to Maria, as a tenant:

> "I think that the area is overbuilt. It would have been good to have made a pleasant open area for public use, since it is the city's waterfront."

Similarly, another tenant participant from my online questionnaire noted:

> "There are now so many huge buildings that it is negatively affecting the beauty and fantastic, open, natural qualities the area once had. It now feels almost like the city centre, enclosed with not many open spaces." (Participant-171, female, tenant)

As discussed earlier, in neoliberal urban life, urban spaces become important in terms of profit (Peck, 2010, Harvey, 1989) and their growth has become market-oriented, favouring the consumption of the elite (Sager, 2011). Under such an urban context, because the state has only limited power, private companies are able to increasingly control the market and increase their profit (Harvey, 2005). Within this environment, the developments in waterfront areas are mostly focussed on economic growth and benefits (McCarthy, 2007). The same situation was evident in Ocean Village from different tenure groups' comments about the infrastructure they perceived as missing from their living areas. An owner-occupier, Edward, who has lived in Ocean Village for over twenty years, noted:

> "In time, we found it overdeveloped. That is it. The big problem we have now is the lack of infrastructure; schools, nurseries, and so on. You have to have strong policies. The council cannot do anything because the planning system is broken in this country. The council do not worry about us."

Similarly, Amelia, another long-term owner-occupier (over twenty years) said:

> "It changes the area. It changes the area, I think. You get all these new apartments with not enough car parking space. Not enough support services, doctors, dentists

and that sort of thing. I think they can build these things if they were to think about the bigger picture. They need support, social support."

In the same way, according to Ruby, a retired owner-occupier in Ocean Village:

"There are some young families around us. There are not any places for small children. I think there are some close places, but you need a car. School, play area or nursery, I think we do not have those things here. If you have children here, that might be not nice for you."

The participants considered Ocean Village a nice area, but they needed local facilities to complete the creation of their place. The lack of these facilities influenced residents in terms of finding alternatives as temporary solutions. While there were limited options for all the people in the area, the area was mostly unsuitable for families if they had children of school age. Michael, one of the landlords, was also aware of this situation:

"Ocean Village is not a good place to bring up children. Therefore, there is not enough space for kids. Ocean Village somewhere, like a place for young people, young couples. If people have children growing up, they are moving away from Ocean Village. If you have kids, you should prefer to live in a house having a garden or near to good school. If you still want to stay in Ocean Village, there are a number of houses in Andes Close, which have four bedrooms and a garden. It is better they stay in there. If you stay in there, it is not necessary to move to the city centre, somewhere else for kids. "

In addition, missing infrastructure affected participants' future decisions and hindered place maintenance. For example, according to Theo, a tenant:

"I would like to stay in Southampton but part of it is because my family is growing and the place I am staying in now is not quite suitable for family or large family or growing family. Part of it…we are just looking for some places for the family. I think a bigger place. If I were single, I probably stay in there; I would probably continue to stay in there."

Similarly, an owner-occupier from my online questionnaire stated that:

"There seems to be no space for GP services, nurseries and similar services." (Participant-35, female, owner-occupier).

However, another long-term owner-occupier, Adam, highlighted an interesting point:

> "Some people still come down to see Ocean Village. One of the problems they
> have...We do not have. It is, when they came, there is nowhere for them to use the
> toilet. So, if you need them, there are no public toilets down here."

This last example clearly illustrates that private companies and developers avoided
spending money not only on general infrastructure but also on very basic daily
infrastructure, such as public toilets, in order to maximize profit. Overall, while landlords
were aware of this situation, these neoliberal urban policies nevertheless affected the
owner-occupiers and tenants in the area.

Lastly, in this section, I report transportation as another aspect affecting daily life and
progress in place making/maintenance in Ocean Village. Because of the improvements to
the transportation network in recent years, the meaning and function of place have become
more complicated (Sassen, 2006), and this situation affects the residents' decisions to
move to and stay in Ocean Village. For example, according to Luiz, a young professional
who is a tenant in Ocean Village:

> "In Southampton. The main reason for me to move to Ocean Village, specifically,
> is that it is basically such a good area. Travel is easy; it's good here if you need to
> go out or use the motorway."

While these might be considered the positive influences of transportation, Adam, an
owner-occupier, highlighted some local issues:

> "The one problem is traffic, getting in and out of town. At worst, it is inconvenient
> for people living here."

Additionally, another owner-occupier, Oliver, said:

> "At the moment, I would like to see a little bit of public transport. So, the Unilink,
> it goes quite far, for instance to the Red Ferry Terminal, and then it goes to
> Oceanography Centre. But it does not continue to Ocean Village, and they have
> made a bus stop next to the highest building, but it is not used by anyone or for
> anything. So, there is the small annoyance that I have to walk 10 minutes to Town
> Quay Ferry Terminal. That is the only thing; I expected more."

The meaning of place has become more complex with globalisation (Savage *et al*., 2005),
and thus place cannot be explained solely through transportation. While the role of tenure
status is unclear, it is mainly young professional tenants who use public transport more

frequently than private transportation and who are worried about transportation as a way of place making, since it affects their mobility.

The various limitations reported above (e.g. missing local school, nurseries, play areas, or transportation links) were raised by different tenure groups, especially by owner-occupiers and tenants. However, because of tenants' the stage of the life-course and financial situations, they are deeply affected by these kinds of basic facilities being missing. At the same time, most of the owner-occupiers, especially the older owner-occupiers, are observing that these kinds of problems exist, although they are not affected by them due to their generational differences. Lastly, the above different examples refer to location-based limitations or opportunities. Most people were affected by these situations regardless of their residential status.

5.1.2 How do Standardisation and Loss of Local Figures/Personality during Developments Affect Tenure Groups?

As a multinational and international neighbourhood, Ocean Village hosts different people from many countries. According to my survey, residents were mostly employed (71.26%), and only 5.39% were students. When these people wanted to use local facilities in Ocean Village, they all accessed the same kinds of restaurants, cafes or cinemas due to standardisation with neoliberal urbanism. People of Ocean Village, especially those who come from outside England, used their previous "familiarity" (Savage, 2008) with local facilities (e.g. restaurants, cinema) to create and maintain their new place. While these allowed them to adapt to the area and use the facilities easily, one of the retired owner-occupiers, Edward, criticised this situation:

> "There is not any ethnic restaurant here, good butcher, fish market, organic shop, special shop in Ocean Village and Southampton. If you go London, you can find many."

The following comments about the waterfront area of Ocean Village reflect standardisation, another indicator of neoliberalism in urban life (Harvey, 2005, and Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010). The design of Ocean Village and local facilities has been criticised in terms of the level of connection and use of place in both an online and offline sense in Ocean Village. According to a tenant who filled out my online questionnaire:

> "Ocean Village is a great place to live. The only real negative, which will likely mean I move away, is the lack of anywhere to walk/explore that is close to nature – e.g. park spaces. I appreciate this is because of the environment, but it's very built-up nature means "nature" is lacking when every "space" is being purchased for homes, businesses, etc." (Participant-107, female, tenant)

In Ocean Village, people have noted the lack of any venue or green areas as being significant problems to the creation of their place. While in the literature, people have been noted to use other places in order to avoid other groups within their living environment (Watt, 2009), in Ocean village people needed to go outside (e.g. park spaces, green area) due to limitations with their living environment. Use of public spaces in this manner in the design of living areas affected whether residents in Ocean Village engaged with their neighbourhood, especially the offline life.

Because of developments throughout the last thirty years, there are some physical changes to the area which have also been criticised in terms of the memory or context of the area. According to Samuel, one of the owner-occupiers who had lived in Ocean Village for over twenty years:

> "It [the tallest black block] has just closed Ocean Village. The apartments, as they were before, were very open. You know the sun came down onto the water."

Similarly, another long-term tenant in my online questionnaire criticised the developments in terms of memories/personality:

> "I used to love the community before the most recent developments. It was quiet and safe, and felt like a small marina. Now it is noisy all the time, and has lost its personality. My view of the water is now obscured, and hotel guests will be practically able to see into my windows. No-one listened to residents' concerns about infrastructure during consultation and culture was ignored (listed buildings and independent traders). Construction has meant some bits are isolated at night and drunk bar-goers roam around at night. I wish that more had been done to revive the spirit of Ocean Village rather than just investing in yet more luxury homes. It's just like another bit of the high street now, but there's a bit of sea. I've considered moving for the last two years." (Participant-16, tenant, mixed gender)

Based on these examples, in Ocean Village, both owner-occupiers and tenants want to see something representing the locality and natural beauty of the area. They expected a

different physical environment to build their life within, including some personality or local figures. In doing so, they indicated a passive reaction to the surrounding developments to maintain their connection with their living area. While this situation actively affected existing residents, owner-occupiers and tenants, landlords and second homeowners were not worried about this situation because of their limited connections with Ocean Village. Lastly, because of Ocean Village's attractive and valuable location to developers, its design and building were highly influenced by this situation. In other words, depending on location, there are various physical changes that have taken place in Ocean Village, and as a result, tenure groups were affected.

5.2 Importance of Social Environment for Place Making and Place Maintenance

To gain a better understanding of place making and place maintenance in terms of tenure groups and location, I will first examine the impact of social environment. As discussed in chapter 2, local environment, both social and physical, cannot be ignored when exploring place making and place maintenance (e.g. Urry, 1995, Massey, 2005, Savage, 2010, Trudeau, 2006, Elwood, Lawson and Nowak, 2015). However, this social and physical environment is not separate from online life (Wellman, 2002, Katz and Hampton, 2016). Therefore, I will examine both online and offline life to cover different aspects of life overall.

5.2.1 Overview of Platforms for Online and Offline Life in Ocean Village

Currently, there are seven restaurants/bars, and new restaurants and cafes have opened in the new hotel. In addition, there are two cinemas in Ocean Village: the Harbour Lights Picture House Southampton and the Cineworld Cinema. The residents of Ocean Village use these facilities not only to watch movies but also as meeting places and venues for various activities. Furthermore, there are a variety of management companies and residential associations in Ocean Village that organise and provide information on additional activities for Ocean Village residents. Ocean Village Marina Residents Association is one of the most important associations for providing information on and organising activities for Ocean Village residents[2]. With the help of this organisation, as

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[2] http://www.ovmra.org.uk/

well as other residential organisations in different buildings Ocean Village, residents are able to come together.

According to their official website, "the Royal Yacht Clubs in the South of England were established in 1875, but the Club built its spectacular clubhouse overlooking Ocean Village Marina around 1988"[3]. It is open to Ocean Village residents and anyone else who might care to visit Ocean Village. This club organises a variety of activities such as cruising, racing and social activities. However, to attend these activities people need to become members of the Yacht Club and accordingly pay annual fees.

Besides the above visible and physical developments and organisations in Ocean Village, it is necessary to focus on online groups and organisations to gain a better understanding of Ocean Village. It is mainly Ocean Village residents and their associated management companies who create and voluntarily manage the online groups. These online groups offer alternative ways to socialise with and contact other people in Ocean Village. One of the most important types of online group tools are the Facebook groups that have been set up for Ocean Village. These Facebook groups can be divided into five categories. The aim of socialising in Ocean Village might be noted as a first reason to create Facebook groups in Ocean Village. To this end, in 2014, existing residents established the "Ocean Village Southampton Residents". This Facebook group is one of the most active and largest online communities in Ocean Village. There were 1507 members of this group at the time of writing (as of 10th July 2019). For the same purpose, the "Ocean Village and Nearby Residents" Facebook group was created for both residents of Ocean Village and nearby residents. This second group was created on the 5th June 2016 as a reaction to the previous Facebook group, as some participants of this earlier group were unhappy with some of its rules. One of the participants wanted to establish another group to make it more accessible to residents of both Ocean Village and the surrounding areas. Although I found out that the first Facebook group was created by owner-occupiers, I was not able to find out any further information about the creator(s) of the second group. There are now considerably fewer participants than in the original group (n = 304 as of 10th July 2019). Members of both groups share social events, advertise commercial products, and post pictures of Ocean Village. While the second group allows different posts (e.g. commercial or private messages) and advertisements in their group, the first group is stricter about following the rules of their group. Specifically, they do not allow adverts that are commercial in nature.

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[3] http://www.rsyc.org.uk/index.php/site/joinus

These two Facebook groups are important to the online connections amongst Ocean Village residents.

In addition to the above two groups, there are another two Facebook groups that focus on Ocean Village. One is "Splash Southampton Residents" which was created for only one of the residential buildings called the "Splash" by its owner-occupier residents. During my research, I could not access this group due to the rules set by its admins. However, I interviewed some of the people living in this building and found that there were 134 members in this group at the time of writing (10th July 2019). This group organises similar activities to the above Ocean Village Facebook groups. Recently (19th June 2017), "Ocean Village-Admirals Quay" was also established for residents of Admirals Quay. This group had 150 members at the time of writing (10th July 2019). It was established for the same purpose as that of the "Splash" group; however, it is less active than "Splash Southampton Residents" in terms of offline activities or meetings.

Thirdly, another three groups, which are for selling and swapping items, are examples of other online groups in Ocean Village. The first is the "Ocean Village Southampton Neighbourhood Swap" established by the admin of Ocean Village Southampton Residents to reduce advertising within the main group. It was established on 17th October 2015 and had 258 members (as of 10th July 2019). In the same category, the "Ocean Village Selling Group" was created by existing residents (of unknown residential status) to help people sell their items. Items are not free in this group, but people can sell their second-hand or new items. This group was created on the 3rd October 2016 and there were213 followers (as of 10th July 2019). It is more active than Ocean Village Southampton Swap group. Lastly, the "Baby, Toddler, Kids items for sale & swap Ocean Village Southampton UK" Facebook group was established on the 16th July 2017, and there were only 38 members in this group (as of 10th July 2019). It can be understood from the name of the group that it is for specific people (e.g. parents of babies, toddlers and children).

Fourth, the "Ocean Village Neighbourhood Watch" is a Facebook group that focusses on safety within Ocean Village. It was established to keep Ocean Village clean, friendly and safe. Various activities and meeting days were organised through this group page. There were 370 followers (as of 10th July 2019) in this group (Facebook group), which was created on 18th July 2016.

Further, the "Ocean Village Runners" is a group that enables residents to go on social runs. This group was established on the 29th March 2016, and there were 49 followers by 10th July 2019. Notably, this is a less active group than all the other groups.

Additionally, during my fieldwork, I learned about the Facebook messenger and WhatsApp groups. At the beginning of my research, I was not aware of these groups as they were linked to online groups. However, one of the participants mentioned them, which were created by 10 to 20 close friends to extend their contact with each other and to organise meetings and other activities. These kinds of groups are closer than the more open Ocean Village Facebook groups.

Lastly, management companies' websites and residential associations in Ocean Village can be considered other examples of online communities in Ocean Village. There is no direct relationship between the members of these associations, as there is for the Facebook groups, however. The communication between the followers of these websites and members of the association is not very active, and the relationships between members of these groups are more formal. However, these platforms still allow the sharing of ideas and questions between people.

In summary, there are various opportunities, both online and offline, for creating place and maintaining it within Ocean Village. Depending on personal motivation or choice, these options are used, or not used, by tenure groups in Ocean Village. In the following sections, I will analyse both the online groups and offline life in terms of different tenure groups' perspectives and will illustrate the importance of residential status in participating in or avoiding these online groups for different reasons (e.g. safety, privacy, socialising, and accessibility). These are not only important to learn the reasons for tenure groups' participation or non-participation; through an understanding of these reasons, I can further clarify influencer factors for place making and place maintenance in terms of their tenure status and their online and offline lives.

5.2.2 How is Safety and Security Important in Online and Offline Life for Tenure Groups' Experiences of a Particular Place?

Safety is discussed in the previous chapter (section 4.1.6) in terms of tenure groups' belonging, mainly before making their decision to move into or buy within Ocean Village. However, this section will again focus on safety and security in Ocean Village through tenure groups' place making and place maintenance, both in online and offline life.

There is a general assumption that homeowners feel more secure psychologically (Saunders, 1990 and 2016). Also, homeowners are more interested in their social and physical environment than renters (Ronald, 2008). The following examples show that tenants also feel secure and socialise in the area, and compare their current living area favourably with their previous residences in terms of security. To begin with, Molly, a professional who is a tenant in Ocean Village, highlighted the importance of safety with examples related to her previous life:

> "I expected, what I should say? I do not want to be discriminatory, but people have much better attitudes, probably, compared to my previous residence. One of the things I didn't know when I moved into my previous place was that it was not as safe as I thought, and the type of behaviour I saw I did not like."

Molly clearly felt secure in this area. Indeed, she used safety as one of the reasons for their place making activities (e.g. involved in activities and used to facilities in the area), and at the same time she held a positive view about the living area and boundaries with other places as examples of selective belonging.

The impact of gender/sexual difference is another important aspect beyond residential status which must be considered to understand the importance of safety. Participants who are currently owner-occupiers in Ocean Village showed different reactions in terms of safety due to their sexuality. The examples below will demonstrate this situation more clearly in online groups.

According to Robert, an owner-occupier:

> "As a minority group, you want to keep everything secret. And because of that you try to, like, spiral in, lock down things like a social media presence as much as possible, because if they find you through an Ocean Village Facebook group and link you with another group. Maybe like a minority or things, other things. You feel less secure and less safe."

In addition, Oliver, a professional who is an owner-occupier in Ocean Village, first mentioned his relationship with his next-door neighbour. According to his example, he asked a woman living next door to help him with issues pertaining to an accident. However, she did not open the door to help while his hand was bleeding.

> "I would like to have a more personal relationship. However, I understand that for some people, maybe like the woman across from my flat who has a child, it might

be difficult for her to become a friend with someone who did not know her

previously."

Lastly, the findings from my quantitative data also demonstrate the extent to which safety is important to different tenure groups. Table 5.1 below does not suggest any significant differences between tenure groups: they were all concerned with the safety aspect in Ocean Village. However, safety appears to be very important to tenants if we compare with other tenure groups. This situation illustrates that tenure status emerged as a significant reason before moving to or buying within Ocean Village. After that, different tenure groups paid additional attention to safety depending on their personal backgrounds (e.g. gender, sexuality, their stage of life). These two situations also illustrate the connection between elective and selective belonging and place making. Depending on their elective belonging (e.g. safety), and showing reactions (selective belonging) to other people and places in terms of safety, they are creating their place within a safe environment.

Table 5.1 Importance of safety for different tenure groups in Ocean Village

	Owner-Occupier	**Tenant**	**Landlord**	**Total**
Very Important	52.2% (47)	67.1% (51)	62.5% (5)	59.2% (103)
Moderately Important	42.2% (38)	32.9% (25)	25.0% (2)	37.4% (65)
Not Important	5.6% (5)	0.0% (0)	12.5% (1)	3.4% (6)
Total	100.0% (90)	100.0% (76)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (174)

Source: Quantitative *Survey*, *Valid: 98.3% (174), Missing:1.7% (3).*

Safety influences all tenure groups' decisions as to whether they participate in daily life or contact other people in their living area. Based on the above examples from my qualitative and quantitative data, while residential status is becoming less influential on preferences regarding safety (affected by previous life and experience), gender and sexuality play an influential role in contacting other people.

Overall, both online and offline characteristics of the location affect whether people feel safe in Ocean Village. Being close to each other in a small neighbourhood affects feelings of safety, and at the same time people try to minimise their appearance, especially in online Facebook groups, within this small area to live safely in accordance with their lifestyles. In

the next section, I will examine privacy in order to understand place making and place maintenance in both online and offline life with regard to different tenure groups.

5.2.3 What is the Role of Privacy in Tenure Groups' Experience of a Particular Place?

There were two important aspects that have emerged in my research which shed light on the importance of privacy in place making and maintenance. While the first (protecting private information) is more related to online Facebook groups, the second (preference of individuals to keep themselves to themselves) is related to both online and offline life in Ocean Village.

5.2.3.1 Protecting Private Information

While participants talked about safety as a reason for place making, especially in offline life, privacy was one of the most important concerns. This became particularly apparent when participants talked about online Facebook groups. For instance, Olivia, as a retired owner-occupier resident in Ocean Village, noted:

> "Anything that involves personal information, I'm afraid we avoid disseminating it. I am on LinkedIn. I am on anything, if it is professional. But when it comes to personal stuff, none of us are. It's definitely negative, because you cannot remove your information once it's on there. Privacy. Basically, privacy is a very big issue."

In the same context, Thomas, another retired owner-occupier, said:

> "We use the internet for shopping, and for information. We do not use it to contact other people in Ocean Village. We do not do Facebook…Privacy, I think. We are happy to make friends, we are happy to socialise. We are really not interested in putting our lives on the web. We are more private than that."

Some participants actively avoided participating in online life. When tenants became aware of these online groups, they were generally willing to join them. However, a small number of tenants avoided these groups, generally for reasons other than privacy that included personal interest, group rules, etc. In this context, Robert, an owner-occupier, explained his choice to avoid such groups:

> "I mean mostly, the general things, I think I am very individually focussed. I like people because I like them, not because where they are. I do not, in my personal

> view, need to belong to any community. I focus on my own interests. How do I feel about the area? My interests are very individual, which do not include community. Yes, that is all. And, also, being outside a group and being gay, it is not possible to join these groups, every time. But you can easily isolate yourself in order to feel your own sense of security."

Few situations that effect interpersonal relationships and connections are described in the existing literature. According to Crow (2002), social groups define themselves or other groups use the prominent ideas of "us" and "them". Similarly, belonging may influence people to categorise other individuals as "others" (e.g. they are not "white" or they are "poor") (Bentley, 1997). For instance, according to Saunders (1990), Asian tenants were excluded from certain areas because of White tenants and housing departments. Overall, existing examples in the literature show that people prevent participation or do not participate in certain social environments because of their differences. Whilst twenty-five participants came from different countries and it is difficult to generalise white and black people's decisions, as based on my fieldwork, I did not find a specific data through which to discuss this kind of exclusion within Ocean Village.

While researchers mainly argue that internet and social media allow people to contact each other relatively easily (Wellman, 2001 and 2002a, Gruzd *et al*., 2016), these platforms are not without limitations in terms of internet presence, offline rules or feelings. These situations again illustrate that it is not possible to think of online groups and offline as entirely isolated from each other. Indeed, my findings indicated that depending on previous life experiences or choices in offline life as well as conditions and ramifications of online life, people in Ocean Village reorganised their daily actions. For instance, due to sexual orientation in offline life, participants would undertake limited activities in online life, while at the same time they may use online tools to build their professional connections in offline life. To understand place making and place maintenance holistically, the connection between online and offline life must be considered.

As discussed earlier, existing literature discusses place making and place maintenance activities in terms of offline life and social relationships (Savage, 2008, 2010 and Watt, 2009). However, my findings evidence the fact that people have personal choices in terms of joining or avoiding specific online environments. For instance, one of my participants was happy to use LinkedIn even though he avoided Facebook due to privacy concerns. This situation was not related to tenure status. It is clear that some people from different backgrounds (e.g. residential status or gender) avoid participating in online groups either to

socialise or to gain access to more information about their area. Privacy and security intersect with each other, and to protect their security, people place greater emphasis on privacy.

5.2.3.2   Deciding to Keep Themselves to Themselves

As discussed earlier, as a matter of personal choice, some people avoid joining online or offline life in Ocean Village. According to the online questionnaire, about half of the participants, 51.4%, somewhat agree, while 33.1% totally disagree with defining Ocean Village as a close residential community. While there are some differences between the tenure groups in this regard, overall these are not particularly significant. Additionally, tenants and landlords expressed more negative views about this situation when compared with owner-occupiers. While landlords only visit Ocean Village for a limited time in any given year, tenants will not stay for a long time in Ocean Village in the same manner as owner-occupiers. This situation might affect the creation of these statistics, but it should nevertheless be useful to look at each tenure group in detail rather than merely generalising them.

Table 5.2 How much do you agree that 'close residential community' describes Ocean Village?

	Owner-Occupier	Tenant	Landlord	Total
Totally Agree	12.1% (11)	19.7% (15)	12.5% (1)	15.4% (27)
Somewhat Agree	58.2% (53)	43.4% (33)	50.0% (4)	51.4% (90)
Totally Disagree	29.7% (27)	36.8% (28)	37.5% (3)	33.1% (58)
Total	100.0% (91)	100.0% (76)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (175)

Source*: Quantitative Survey*, *Valid: 98.9% (175), Missing:1.1% (2).*

During the interviews, participants clarified this situation through a number of examples. For example, Matthew, as a second homeowner in Ocean Village, introduced lifestyle as a factor as follows:

> "It is a place to buy an apartment, live in your apartment, go to work and come home. That's it."

In the same way, according to Luiz, a tenant, resident in Ocean Village

"Neighbours keep to themselves, which is a shame."

It is important to consider the views of people who tried to become more active and encountered boundaries. Jacob, an over 70 year-old owner-occupier, noted:

"Our immediate neighbour, who is next to us, is very friendly. However, generally speaking, people keep themselves to themselves. Sometimes, it's even difficult to say hello. Sometimes, I see people in the lift. I always say 'Hello, how are you?' And some people won't answer you. This is always quite a surprise. They blank me… I do not know why. This is strange"

Edward, another owner-occupier who is over 60, explained the same situation regarding British culture:

"It is quite unusual in this country, actually never well. We keep an eye on each other. That's all. You know the difference between an acquaintance and a friend… Acquaintance, someone you know, but just to say good morning, good afternoon, how are you? Oooh, new car, nice, I'm having trouble with the internet system, yes, that's all. That is an acquaintance. But friends. You sit down, oooh, life's terrible. I think I have more acquaintances than friends"

Similarly, Luiz, as a tenant in Ocean Village, said that people isolate themselves and tend to keep to themselves without participating in any activities:

"I would say some people definitely isolate themselves. There are people, I see who are unnecessarily uncomfortable with social situations, but I do not know why. Maybe they do not want to come to speak to us. I think that could be quite isolating."

Based on the above examples, a certain group of people in Ocean Village isolated themselves from other people in their area. This is an important reason for avoiding participation in online groups or offline life. Cultural differences emerged as another influence on residents' connection with their sense of place. There are some comments, especially about British culture, that indicated a limit to the level or type of social relationships that can be achieved in the area. For instance, while British people minimised their contact with other people living in their surroundings as neighbours, non-British people were surprised about this situation and wanted to develop contact and relationships with their neighbours, just like those in their home countries. However, owner-occupiers, with the impact of their residential status, age and culture, indicated the greatest preference

for avoiding contact with other people in their living area. Interestingly, this finding contradicts the existing literature (Saunders, 2016, and Ronald, 2008). While existing studies claim that homeowners are more interested in their living area than renters, in my study, renters also wanted to contact other residents in their living area. The above examples indicated that tenure status does not thoroughly explain personal choices. In addition to this, cultural differences (British or non-British) influences the connection between members of the neighbourhoods.

As a result of neoliberal urbanism, urban life is changing (Peck, Theodore and Bremen, 2013) and the socialisation in the neoliberal urban environment is becoming more individualistic (Gough, 2002). Therefore, it is important to focus on the same aspects in terms of globalisation and different cultures to understand place making and place maintenance. The participants in my research came from twenty-five different countries. Henry, one of the tenants, summarised:

> "In this building, there are two people from the Middle East. There is one guy here, I think from Poland. There is one black guy in this building. I do not know if he is British or from another country. And there is some Indian guy in that building. It is multicultural. If you go to other buildings, you can see Chinese as well, Malaysian."

In the same way, in the online questionnaire one of the owner-occupiers noted that:

> "It (*Ocean Village*) has a continental feel - not particularly British" (Participant-50, owner-occupier, male)

The above examples highlighted the cultural mix in Ocean Village. In this environment, residents coming from different cultural background can use their accommodation as an alternative place to extend their social lives or observe their cultural preferences. The following example illustrates this situation very clearly. According to Zara, a student tenant:

> "The landlord put a curtain over the window and, for the balcony, a strong and heavy curtain. I can open it any time and close it any time. Usually, at night, I can close it because people can see me without my hijab. For me, it is important because of my religion. So, I can close it. That addresses my culture as well."

While Ocean Village has become an international place, residents were still worried about finding something compatible with their beliefs and lifestyle. In other words, to create their

place, they sought similarities with their lifestyle. With neoliberal urbanism, standardisation of urban places has increased. Under these circumstances, people try to build an alternative and independent place within their property. The previous non-British tenant, Zara, above and a non-British owner-occupier, Olivia, below, raised the importance of cultural differences in creating and maintaining their place in a particular area. As a result, their personal choice and participation (or non-participation) in activities was highly influenced by their cultural differences rather than their residential status. In the same vein, Olivia, an owner-occupier, said:

> "Well, I think, I was brought up abroad. So, my education was not English, and my mother was not English. I am often surprised that English people do not stay in their homes, they are always visiting or doing something somewhere else; holidays as well. To me, I read a lot, I write, and I entertain in my home a lot. And I have a very close family. To me, what goes on in my home, it is much more important than what goes on outside."

These examples illustrate some of the cultural differences between different residents in Ocean Village in terms of the meanings of home and creating place with home-based activities. How do people who come from different countries/cultures create their place? Because of their culture and religion, they represent their place making and maintenance activities through their accommodation. This situation is the same for both tenants and owner-occupiers. While globalisation is increasing, local culture (Savage, 2008 and 2010), personal background (Benson and Jackson, 2011), nationality (Benson. 2001) and religion (Trudeau, 2006) remain important in creating a place and organising daily life. In addition, coming from all these different backgrounds, different tenure groups use their home as a platform to create their place, which is more suitable to their personalities. Therefore, residential status has little influence on this situation in which people from different backgrounds try to build up their place in the same location. In this regard, what location offers has become a more influential factor than tenure status: it attracts different types of people in terms of age, culture, nationality, etc., all of whom create their place regardless of their tenure status in Ocean Village.

5.2.4 What are the Main Reasons for Using/Participating in Online and Offline Life for Tenure Groups' Experience of a Particular Place?

As discussed earlier, while some participants cited certain reasons for avoiding online or offline platforms, some used these platforms to create their place. In the following sections, I will discuss these reasons to examine place making and place maintenance.

5.2.4.1 Socialising to Create and Maintain a Place

It is important to understand both the reasons why and how people interact with online and offline communications. In this study, participants quoted various reasons; however, their main objective was to find other people with similar interests in Ocean Village. As Alice, a professional who is an owner-occupier, noted:

> "I think my main relationship with people in Ocean Village, is probably with the Yacht Club. I think the best way to have relationship, to develop a relationship, you need to find common interest, find common ground with people."

This situation is similar for online groups. Henry, one of the tenants, noted his reason for participating as:

> "It depends on page content. I have not looked at these pages. But if the content… if they say, today we will go to Banana Wharf, we can go."

Common interests and hobbies influence people's participation in social activities. Overall, the participants identified the importance of similar interests and hobbies in coming together and building their social relationship in Ocean Village. This was similar for both tenants and owner-occupiers. Furthermore, the internet and social media offered the local residents a chance to interact with people both locally and globally. However, this way of communication depended on personal interest and preference. Max, one of the student tenants, said:

> "We have a Facebook group, which is basically an active platform for the people; to communicate…There is quite a lot of engagement on there, I think. It definitely holds more relationships. I do not attend any events, but I know they create some events…If they have a meeting about the local pollution, that would be interesting to me, interesting to attend, because, I think that is quite a big topic at the moment"

While participants used the Facebook group and were aware of its role in communications within Ocean Village, they did not participate in events that did not interest them. As highlighted in the previous section, online and offline life are interconnected and hence influence each other (Gruzd *et al*., 2016 and Wellman, 2002). Personal hobbies and interests influence the preferred methods for communication. Even if people are aware of available methods for interaction, they do not necessarily adopt them. For instance, again, Max, as a tenant, highlighted the following:

> "If we have a student Facebook group in Ocean Village, probably we can go and play Pokémon Go. We need the same types of interest and activities. Something like that. Another one, running a club. It is very new... I do not know…Just find out common interests. It is enough to get people together. Maybe one of the difficulties with Ocean Village is that so many people come from different backgrounds, different interests."

Participants usually tried to attend different communal activities and sought activities that were are more related to their hobbies or interests. Therefore, it could be argued that their backgrounds and interests affected their relationships with other people in Ocean Village. Depending on these factors, they could attend events or activities like interesting Pokémon Go or talks on pollution. After finding others with the same interests and backgrounds, people spent time together and, sometimes, organised various activities. For example, Thomas, a retired owner-occupier who was over 70 years of age, noted:

> "It is mixture of people living here. Some retired; some are not living here full time. We meet two close friends, from the same age group (retired). They live in this apartment …. (Their apartment building). We met them on one of the community evenings organised by one of the Facebook groups."

In parallel, Matthew, a second homeowner, stated:

> "I know some people, especially working in this … (same job). And also, sometimes we meet for a drink or to go to a restaurant. But not on continual basis. Hi and hi, not more than that. You know Southampton Football Club. You know… He is my neighbour. I just say hi to him, not more than that."

The participants had different reactions based on their interests. They used both online and offline opportunities to find suitable activities to address their interests. These influenced

their relationships depending on their interests, and online and offline life affected each other to create these relationships.

On this point, while Wellman (2001 and 2002) discussed the role of the internet and social media as common ways to influence people in daily life, he ignored the role of each individual in increasing or decreasing the influence of the internet in their daily life. It is difficult to claim everybody is affected to the same extent by the internet. In addition, people are not completely passive when using it. Indeed, my findings showed that both online and offline life influenced each other. Online groups contributed to socialisation and creation of activities in offline life. Additionally, offline demands and social environment influenced participation in online groups.

Finally, as noted in the beginning of this section, both owner-occupiers and tenants quoted their personal demands, hobbies and interests as reasons for participating in online or offline life. However, new developments gave residents the opportunity to participate, or avoid, these communication platforms. For example, online social media groups provided the opportunity for both tenants and owner-occupiers to observe the happenings in their living area without the need to contact other people. I will discuss this situation in more detail in the next section.

5.2.4.2   Obtaining and Sharing Information to Create and Maintain a Place

Obtaining and sharing information was another important reason for participating in online groups or offline life in Ocean Village. As Hampton and Wellman (2003) noted, the internet enhances social ties and knowledge about a living area. The connections between people depend on both the online and offline environments. These connections allow people to access new information or share information with other members of their neighbourhoods to create and maintain their place. Because of this progress, a certain familiarity is emerging in the creation and maintenance of place (Savage, 2008). This was also observed in my study. Initially, participants liked to familiarise themselves with the place of Ocean Village through its online social media groups and offline events. For example, Matthew, a second homeowner, said:

> "We have a Facebook group. Some people send us messages. Very nice. These messages are about…If someone makes noise around us, if someone did not park his or her car properly in the parking area. Communication. Just knowing what is going on in the area…It is friendly, mostly informative."

Similarly, to familiarise himself with the area of Ocean Village, Joshua, a tenant, noted the following:

> "It is my only interaction with people here. Maybe it is a bit bizarre for you, but I am very comfortable with the technology, social media. It is just an extension of what I do, another aspect of my life... It has different relationship. I can find out news from social media, what's happening here, in the area, in the building. In a way, I would not find out any other way because I am not involved with the local committee, resident group, or whatever. So, I can watch it passively as an observer, but not be involved"

Residents of Ocean Village access information about their living area and the types of activities going on in their neighbourhoods via online communication tools. Both owner-occupiers and tenants find and share information on appropriate Facebook groups. These examples represent different ways of place making and maintenance for residents compared with the offline context. For maintenance of place, people need to create a certain familiarity with their living environment (Savage, 2008). These online groups and websites contribute to the creation of place for both owner-occupiers and tenants. In addition, the tenures have the opportunity to obtain information without getting involved with others.

Another important point is that online and offline relationships help build communication with other members of the neighbourhood through the information they provide. In this respect, members of social media groups use their information to support other members. Joey, an owner-occupier, said:

> "There is a social media group. I am in this particular group. They meet (face to face) once a month around the venues to get to know people. But also, they talk about issues going on in the building. Try to contact the Management Company. Update members about it."

As an example of the offline relationship relating to information sharing, another owner-occupier, Elliot, said:

> "If you are having the same problems, something needs fixing in your property, they are, your neighbours, inviting you to help with what you can do. Everyone's house is different, but I think people have some ideas. What you need. They are helping each other."

These examples illustrate information sharing between both online and offline and their experience in building their connections. In my case, online or offline interactions contributed to the building of relationships between members of groups, after which progress in place making can begin. In addition, the relationship between users were not particularly dependent on differences in nationality, especially in online groups. Users of online and especially offline life supported each other in establishing their place and maintaining it. Particularly, Elliot's example above is representative of sharing information between users of online and offline life. Interestingly, people did not have to live in Ocean Village to become part of these groups, especially the online groups. For instance, one of the interviewees, Owen, who is a landlord and planning to move to Ocean Village in a few years, stated that:

> "I attend (Facebook group: Ocean Village Southampton Residents) just to see what is going on in Ocean Village."

While this participant sees online groups as representative of offline life, he is nevertheless not joining in with the latter. All these examples clearly illustrate that, overall, online tools and offline relationships provide information about the area and the people connected with Ocean Village. However, participants cited different reasons (e.g. just observing, accessing information, help each other) for joining these online and offline platforms. In this case, tenure groups participated in online groups to access and share information and to develop a connection with the offline environment. As another result, the importance of location shifts to a different form with social media groups: it becomes more virtual than ever before. The next section will focus on this aspect in more detail.

5.2.4.3   The Importance of Accessibility to Place Making and Place Maintenance

Social media offers a certain flexibility to the users to contact other people in their neighbourhood, while they are travelling or in different part of the day (e.g. early morning or late night). The convenience of online or offline life is another reason to participate in them. Even one of the recently arrived professional owner-occupiers, Oliver, who avoided participating in offline activities, stated:

> "I think living on your own could be difficult in any place. It's maybe strange, but as I told you before, I do not want to socialise. But I still feel there are people in there, even though I do not talk with them. I feel like I'm not alone. If I walk

> around the Marina, I will find someone walking a dog. If I want to say 'Hi, how are you', I can."

This highlights the context in offline life as a reason affecting people's participation. Furthermore, online groups allowed people to access more people at the same time. According to Elliot, a professional who is an owner-occupier in Ocean Village:

> "I think when you use social media properly, it is brilliant. People can interact both through social media and the local facilities in Ocean Village. Obviously, we cannot deny its role. It plays a role not only for Ocean Village, but around the world…Keeps people in touch and interactive, I cannot say it is negative. If you are travelling or away from Ocean Village, you can easily communicate with people who are in Ocean Village"

The convenience of joining a neighbourhood when creating attachment to a place is discussed in the literature in terms of length of stay. According to Elias and Scotson's (1994) research in Leicester, established residents used their social status, family history, and social age as means to control and stigmatise newcomers or outsiders. In addition, outsiders were accused of being morally inferior, unclean, anomic and deviant. In the same vein, Savage (2005) pointed out the connection between different groups in the same neighbourhood is related to their length of stay and feelings of nostalgia for their area. Additionally, in Watt's (2009) research, due to increasing numbers of newcomers, existing residents used other places for their children's education or other kinds of social activity. According to these well-known studies in the literature, the length of stay in the current residence leads to a striking difference between people in terms creation of social relationships. Long-term residents' selective belonging influences their connection with newcomers and the creation of their place. However, as the interview participants in my study noted, people could easily participate in their online and offline groups without restriction after moving to Ocean Village. The length of time they have lived there did not create any barriers to them, especially in terms of creation of place through online groups. In contrast to previous studies, which are mainly interested in older established communities, length of stay did not seem to matter in Ocean Village as a new established place because there was not much connection between those who live there. However, the short length of stay is important as an explanation for the lack of connection among those living in Ocean Village. I will discuss this situation in more detail in the following section (5.2.5).

As noted in previous sections, online and offline life have a connection with each other. Like the above examples, they contribute to the creation and maintenance of place for both newcomers and existing long-term residents. In addition, both offline life and especially online social media groups are accessible and convenient. These two types of platforms represent different forms of creating place and surviving selective belonging.

5.2.5 Importance of Length of Stay and "Nostalgia" in Changing Population for Tenure Groups' Experience of Particular Place

Participants of different tenure backgrounds had explained their reasons for not participating in offline life in Ocean Village, as well as the difficulties in creating a connection in Ocean Village with regard to the changing population and the number of individuals renting in Ocean Village. Table 5.3, is based on my online questionnaire, and clearly shows when tenure groups moved into or buy within Ocean Village. The majority of tenants (86.8%) and a substantial percentage of owner-occupiers (59.3%) moved into the area after 2013. The same situation is true for landlords (50.0%). Before 1994, there were only 4.0% of residents living in Ocean Village as owner-occupiers. However, if we consider the differences between tenure groups rather than similarities, owner-occupiers tend to live in Ocean Village much longer than tenants. The same is true in all time periods when people moved to or bought in Ocean Village. This means that there is not only a changing population within Ocean Village, but also residential status affects the changing population as noted in terms of the differences between tenants and owner-occupiers. While this statistical information gives us tenure status-based differences, we need to look into the reasons for this distribution in more detail in light of my qualitative data.

Table 5.3 When did you move into/buy in Ocean Village?

	Owner-Occupier	**Tenant**	**Landlord**	**Total**
Before 1994	7.7 % (7)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	4.0% (7)
1995-2005	15.4% (14)	1.3% (1)	37.5% (3)	10.3% (18)
2006-2012	17.6% (16)	11.8% (9)	12.5% (1)	14.9% (26)
Since 2013	59.3% (54)	86.8% (66)	50.0% (4)	70.9% (124)
Total	100.0% (91)	100.0% (76)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (175)

Source: *Quantitative Survey*, *Valid: 98.9% (175), Missing:1.1% (2).*

Findings from the qualitative data provide more insight into the changing population in Ocean Village. According to William, a professional who is an owner-occupier in Ocean Village who moved to Ocean Village after 2013,

> "They might have some similar characteristics, but they have different aims and goals as well. For example, landlords would just be interested in the area to make more profit and rent their apartments. On the other hand, occupiers are still concerned with noise, for example. But this is still different to tenants, because they are probably only going to be staying there for a year, or maybe a few years, and will not care about the construction of a hotel ending in a one or a few years because they would like to live in a very nice neighbourhood now. So, that is why I see different objectives in terms of these groups."

Similarly, Jacob who is a professional (nearly 70 years of age) and owner-occupier, said:

> "There are lots of tenants moving in and out. Therefore, I do not know what percentage of tenants there are. But it's quite high…Forty or fifty per cent living in …. (an apartment building in Ocean Village) are tenants. So, people are living here six months and then move out and someone else comes in. We do not have a fixed community of people."

Jacob and William, who come from different age groups and backgrounds in terms of occupation and nationality, highlight the main differences between tenure groups, especially between owners and tenants in terms of their length of stay. Another tenure group, according to Molly, a professional who is a tenant:

> "It is not my business, but it personally affects my security. Some use those buildings for a…I do not know what they say…mmm… AIRBNB, something like that. It is just rented to tourists for one or two weeks. I get too much noise beside my flat."

As discussed, in the contemporary world many people live under the impact of neoliberalism. The increase in general mobility shows a certain parallelism with this situation. As a result, the population changes very quickly in Ocean Village as well. The internet (AIRBNB: daily or short-term rental system) increased this change in Ocean Village. In the same context, Jackson, a semi-retired male second homeowner who had rented his flat for about ten years and a few years ago started to use his home as a second home, defined the social relationships in Ocean Village as being "very poor". He said:

> "It is a transit community. There are a lot of people moving in and moving out all the time. A lot of apartments are empty because they are sort of holiday homes, part-time homes. A very high percentage are like that. They are second homes. Somebody uses it occasionally; a family might use it occasionally."

While Jackson criticised the mobility in Ocean Village as a threat to creating connections between its people and building up a community in Ocean Village, he contributes to this situation, first as landlord, then as second homeowner. To better understand the last example about the "transit community" or "second homes" in Ocean Village, I would like to note here the view of another second homeowner, Sara:

> "Therefore, I think that was… about March/April 2015. When they first started. It was a brand new. I think that was what it was…And I bought it then, but I have not actually moved there. I am living in…… (outside of Southampton). In addition, I bought it as a buy to let and then decided I liked it so much I kept it as a place to go a couple of times a month, two or three times in a month. To just enjoy…Not holiday. It is just a second home."

These two second homeowners' opinions are contrary to the findings of previous housing studies in terms of mobility of owners. While the existing literature generally discuss that becoming a homeowner reduces mobility (Mallet, 2004), in Ocean Village, second homeowners can easily access their property or, depending on their choice, can rent it out or keep it for short stays during the year.

As discussed in the previous section (5.2.4.3), according to existing empirical studies, there are differences between long-term and short-term residents with regard to creation and maintenance of place. For example, there is a difference between tourists and local people in terms of the meaning of space: this meaning develops or changes over time for local people (Urry, 1995, Massey, 2005). While globalisation influences local people, residents in local and small neighbourhoods worry about nostalgia and familiarity (Savage, 2005, 2008). These examples in the literature highlight the fact that living together for a long time influences the formation of connections between the members of a neighbourhood. Similarly, in Ocean Village, owner-occupiers and tenants were least happy with the level of communication due to the relatively high number of tenants and landlords who did not live permanently in the area. As the above examples from my fieldwork indicated, there is a transitional and changing population in Ocean Village. While Ocean Village's tenure groups are aware of this situation, they did not highlight it as a reason behind their choice

of Ocean Village. In other words, in contrast to Savage's studies, the changing population did not influence the participants' decisions, even though they were aware of this situation in terms of place making and maintenance. The people who moved there a long time ago might have initially experienced less change due to less new apartment construction work, and this did not bother them sufficiently to leave at that time. However, those who moved there more recently are part of the problem, and they are coming and perhaps leaving very quickly.

Therefore, it is important to note here that length of stay needs to be re-examined with regard to the impact of the increasing popularity of the internet and, in particular, social media. If residents, both owner-occupiers and tenants, want to contact and communicate with other people, they use online social media groups as a means to extend their offline connections (Wellman, 2001, and Crow, 2002). The following example, from one of the tenant participants, Max, clarified this situation:

> "I have a couple of ideas. One of them is my neighbours; they do not live in the flat for most of the year, I think. They might own boat or something, but I don't know. But they are not staying there most of the time in the year, and I do not see them very often. And certainly, even if they are in there, the only time I see them is when I pass them in the corridor. No real interaction, not a quick hello. But the good thing is the Facebook group which is basically like a platform for people to communicate. There is quite a lot of engagement on there I think."

While different residential groups thought about themselves as being different to each other, there was a considerable degree of transition in Ocean Village area. There were a large number of people coming into and leaving this area as tenants. These people might only stay in Ocean Village for a few days, a few weeks, or six months or more. This situation affects daily relationships in Ocean Village. In this case, it is necessary to note that the renters are at a stage of their life course in which they are more geographically mobile, such as when moving to a different place after finishing their university studies or to start new careers. Owner-occupiers stay longer in Ocean Village (see table 5.3) corroborating those studies (DiPasquale and Glaeser, 1999 and Saunders, 1990) which claim that homeownership limits the geographical mobility of homeowners.

Additionally, having a second home affects the level of communication and place making activities with regard to other tenure groups (Hall and Muller, 2004). Second homeowners only have a limited connection with the area and its people (Norris and Winston, 2010).

Furthermore, because of their residential status, other existing residents have difficulties in creating their place with their non-existent neighbours. However, in contrast to the above studies, second homeowners in Ocean Village generally lived close to Southampton, and used Ocean Village for their leisure activities and job meetings, which allowed them to connect with local people. It is not possible to claim that their connection is similar to that of existing residents; however, the findings demonstrated that they did try to spend some time in Ocean Village, in contrast to the findings of existing studies. Nevertheless, it must be noted that I was unable to recruit any international second homeowners in Ocean Village. However, I learned from existing participants, especially from owner-occupiers, that there are neighbours who looked after these international second homeowners' accommodations, and kept their flat keys in case of emergencies (e.g. fire, water problem). Lastly, because of the attractive location of Ocean Village, the population changes quickly and these situations affect everyone's ability to create connections with other people, regardless of their tenure status.

5.2.6 What is the Importance of Rules and Regulations in Both Online and Offline Life for Tenure Groups' Experience of a Particular Place?

Rules and regulations influence people's views and actions regarding specific organisations. This situation could influence their decision to avoid participating in either or both the online or offline communications in Ocean Village, or their preference for one particular organisation over other organisations. According to Oscar, who is a long-term (over 20 years) retired, owner-occupier:

> "[The] Residential association yearly meeting, annual meeting really being mmm…. A talk with a neighbour, turning up for a chat, which irritated some people, but other people enjoyed it. Now, it is very much run in the way of a business. You have to put in your questions in writing a few weeks before. If you have not done this, you cannot raise any questions during the meeting. Some people prefer that. I stopped going there now, because it became too formalised."

In addition to official resident associations, some residents in Ocean Village voluntarily organised activities in their living area such as meeting days, coffee mornings or running. These activities were organised with the help of both the online and offline relationships in Ocean Village. They were open to everyone in Ocean Village who might be interested. During my fieldwork, I observed a friendly atmosphere, especially at general meetings and coffee mornings, which I particularly made sure to attend. However, some participants

criticised both the structured and controlled environments found within online and offline life. When a retired, long-term (nearly 20 years) male owner-occupier, Harry, criticised structured events in restaurants and bars, he said that:

> "My life is not built around structured activities. My life, I am …. [age, over 70], built around meeting people in a less structured way. I do not do structured activities."

Similarly, Joshua, who is a professional tenant interviewee, said:

> "I intend to think that things happen very organically. Yeah, so my hope is that they will happen organically."

While both owners and renters regarded offline activities and organisation in a rather negative manner because of the associated rules and structure, similar arguments were observed for online groups as well. When a middle-aged tenant, Luiz, explained his reasons for creating a private WhatsApp group with his close friends in Ocean Village, he stated that:

> "Facebook groups are basically edited by that guy who controls the group, so you cannot say what you are thinking, actually, because otherwise you can be removed from the group... it feels too controlled."

The rules and the context in online or offline life influence whether people engage with other people in their neighbourhood. For example, in not participating in controlling Facebook groups, they can create new and more independent online communications (WhatsApp), or while avoiding participating in structured activities, they might participate in informal and unstructured activities in their areas. Becoming more controlled and structured was identified as a problem by both owner-occupiers and tenants in online and offline relationships.

As discussed in the literature review section (2.4), organising activities plays an important role in the creation and maintenance of place for existing residents. Most of the studies in the literature (May, 1996 and 2014, Benson and Jackson, 2012, Watt, 2009, Savage, 2008 and 2010) emphasise the importance of activities in the creation of place. In my case, residents wanted to use certain activities to become a part of both online and offline life. However, they did not want to be subject to controlling and strict rules during this communication. In addition, they also used online groups to avoid face-to-face contact with their neighbours.

Finally, as discussed above, residential status was not a definite indicator of the relationship between online and offline life. While there were some general similarities with the existing literature in terms of owners' and tenants' preferences, these groups also illustrated different reasons for participating, or not participating, in online and offline lives. Therefore, we need to consider the above aspects (e.g. role of privacy, length of stay, safety) in order to understand both online and offline relationships. Location is a significant factor affecting tenure groups' decisions to participate or otherwise. In addition, this situation emerges in both the online and offline life of Ocean Village. In the following section, I will focus on participants' answers to better understand the role of factors relating to the physical environment for the creation and maintenance of place.

5.3 Importance of Financial Situation for Place Making and Place Maintenance

Financial situation is an important factor to consider when examining a place making and place maintenance within the context of neoliberal urbanism. In this section, I show how financial situation influences participation in place making and place maintenance activities in different tenure groups in Ocean Village.

5.3.1 What is the Relationship between Place and Consumption for Tenure Groups' Experience of a Particular Place?

Financial situation is a significant factor affecting place making and place maintenance in Ocean Village. Different kinds of social environment and place (e.g. café, restaurant, stores, and bars) emphasise the role of personal factors in the creation of place in the contemporary world. Therefore, tenure status is a factor in the analysis of place making and place maintenance in terms of consuming place as a material object. To clarify this situation, it is necessary to look at different tenure groups' views about their connection with the place in terms of consumption. According to Albert, a landlord who lives near Ocean Village who just used the local facilities without any interaction with its residents:

> "I went there because I enjoyed and find them (local facilities) good for relaxing… a good water view, good atmosphere. That is why I go there, because it is convenient from here. It just takes me 10 minutes to get there by car from my house."

In the same way, he also noted in a different part of the interview, when he explained the reason for changing his mind, that:

> "I bought my apartment as an investment due to good rental returns, but I like the property so much I am keeping it as a holiday home to enjoy."

These owners mainly consumed the beauty and location of place to create their connection with it, but they had very limited connections with the place and its other residents. In other words, landlords and second homeowners did not exert much effort in terms of the creation and maintenance of place. In this respect, two professional owner-occupiers criticised the social environment in terms of its negative impact on their place-making activities. According to Robert, an owner-occupier:

> "So, it is like a commercial waterfront with houses attached to it. That is what I call it. Now, more things are commercial. Yeah, at the moment, it is like somewhere to go to buy a flat and not live there. Somewhere to go and look at the waterfront."

Similarly, the same participant, Robert, criticised the same situation in different parts of the discussion during his interview.

> "You do not buy a flat there to live in. You just make money from it. When you look at the place at the night-time, all the old flats' lights are on, but all these new ones, maybe a couple of them on. But otherwise, everywhere is dark."

As an indicator of neoliberal urbanism, these examples clearly show how overdevelopment can destroy the place within these environments. This situation did not only affect owner-occupiers – the tenants in Ocean Village also reacted to affluent or non-local, investor homeowners, citing them as a reason preventing them from connecting with the area. According to Bella a professional who is a tenant in Ocean Village:

> "The big hotel, it is just going on. I feel, increasingly, it is supposed to be an area for people to live who have lots of money. That is the impression I get. You know, kind of looking at the external, kind of building itself, it looks…you know, these are apartments for people who have lots of money. And, also, from looking ourselves, how much those apartments cost. And also, a lot of time, they are marketing us. If you work in London, you could, you know, live here. Come and live. You are trying to encourage people to come from London to live in Southampton. Really! That is wrong…Yeah it kind of gives the impression that they are just massively overpriced. And it is interesting to find a hotel as well. I kind of thought about it. They might build a budget

hotel. This would be something generically accessible to most people visiting the area. But now I don't know; it is supposed to be five star. But I heard it is like a five-star hotel. And they obviously try to cash in all the people coming with cruises. And it is kind of like, feels like it is becoming a cash cow. Yeah, we can get rich, young people to live there and they all spend all their money there."

These examples clearly illustrate that existing residents, especially tenants, had various reasons for their elective and selective belonging, and yet had difficulties in creating their place and living their lives. Their financial situations influenced their place making activities. Meanwhile, some affluent people, mostly landlords or second homeowners, were happy to use this area as a means of investing or enjoying their time.

If we think of both homeownership and neoliberal urbanism, these reasons for the above observation become clear – neoliberal urban policy creates city space as a field for the market and consumption of the elite in addition to controlling lower social classes (Peck 2010). In previous studies, homeowner residents of Woodlands were motivated by the preservation of property values (Watt, 2009), and in Peckham, new owner residents were worried about the value of their flats (Benson and Jackson, 2012). In neoliberal urban life, people do not avoid the purchase of new flats, even if do not live in them. However, they criticise tenants for affecting daily life. Examples from my fieldwork in Ocean Village indicated that the place of Ocean Village had become important in terms of increasing profit and making investments. While owner-occupiers criticised this situation, they rented out their homes for long periods, and they might themselves buy a second, or even third flat in Ocean Village purely for the purposes of collecting rent and making investments.

In this environment, for residents, living in Ocean Village is a preference that people can afford. According to the survey, 37.4% were married, 39.8% were unmarried, 8.2% cohabited, 9.4% were divorced, and the remaining 5.2%, were either separated, widowed or living with a partner. This means that the most of the people in Ocean Village are not married and some of them are sharing their living space with other people to be able to afford to live in the area. Also, this statistic shows the difficulties with living in Ocean Village as a family, especially those with children. The qualitative data gives further detail about this situation. According to Edward, an owner-occupier:

"The other thing, renting. A one-bedroom flat is about £700 to £800 per month. And, if you are working in retail, the minimum wage is £7.40 to £7.50. If you work 50 hours in a week, you will only earn around £400 per week, and so would be

unable to afford a place to live if you did not want to move in with someone. So, a lot of people share. A lot of people are living with their partners, man-man, man-women, or whatever. They have to live together to afford a small flat here. It is difficult to pay £800 or £900 rent plus council tax. It is tough. And with how much money you have left, it is difficult to drink something here or have a meal. I am not a socialist person, but this is the reality."

These situations affected renters' future decisions. Luiz, a professional who is a single tenant, said:

"Family, potentially. I do not have any children, but if I did, I do not think I could afford to rent anywhere in Ocean Village, even though is I feel it a suitable place for me, because I could not afford it. I would prefer to go and live in one of the major town houses. Probably then I have to move out from Ocean Village in order to live somewhere that is big enough, and it would be better for my family to move away."

These examples illustrate that renters' current and future place making and place maintenance activities were affected by their financial situations. This situation shows a certain parallel with the official statistics which I discussed in the second chapter; while the number of renters is increasing in the UK, the age range of renters is also increasing. Finally, it is necessary to note that this is not only the case for Ocean Village, it is common throughout the UK. What can be observed is an increasing polarisation in Ocean Village. While some owners are able to afford to buy additional property there, due to rising property prices and a lack of capital, it becomes increasingly difficult or impossible for tenants to buy property, and they thus remain renters.

5.3.2   How is the Use of Local Facilities affected by Financial Situation in terms of Place Making and Place Maintenance among Tenure Groups?

The importance of the accessibility and function of online life and offline facilities in terms of place making and place maintenance could be eluded from residents' experiences. According to Thomas, a retired owner-occupier:

"We feel part of a community. There are plenty of good restaurants and we can walk to them. We can walk to do shopping. Everything is just so convenient. So, we were delighted to find this place."

Likewise, Megan, a tenant, stated that:

> "Last month, we had music here [Banana Wharf in Ocean Village]. Everyone in Ocean Village was invited here. It was an association meeting. They offered drinks. That was great. The place was totally full. There was no room to move. People inside and their kids playing outside. It was very like a party."

Not all participants agreed with the idea of using local facilities to create their place and further relationships. Abigail, a tenant, did not think that adding facilities would make a difference to social relationships in Ocean Village, where she stated:

> "If we add more leisure facilities, this can facilitate relationships. I do not think that this is right because it depends on the people. If they want, they can do that…We already have some facilities, but we still do not have any social relationships."

The above examples, mostly pointed out by different tenure groups, highlight the importance of local facilities in building connections and interactions with other people in Ocean Village, but people have different and quite varied opinions in this regard. My findings thus reflect existing research which documents that residents show different reactions to the facilities in their living areas (Pahl 2005, 2008), while existing residents might want to protect their living environment, middle-class workers may want to establish new facilities to extend their job opportunities in London's commuter-belt neighbourhoods. In contrast, Watt (2009) found that the existing long-term owner-occupiers avoided using local facilities (e.g. entertainment or leisure) because of the lower class of newcomer tenants. However, according to Maria, a professional who is a tenant in Ocean Village:

> "Just a bit more growing up lifestyle. We like the restaurants, bars, coffee shops and we intend to, obviously, before we rented our flat here, we spent money and paid a taxi or walked to come here. Now, they [the restaurants] are just on our doorstep. My partner's favourite pub is just over there."

Respondents described how they used the facilities from their individual perspective, they did not discuss that they made an effort to create a community. The facilities helped users create their place in terms of their lifestyle because they could access the same facilities around the city, but the atmosphere in Ocean Village, with the local facilities, both attracted people to move to the area and create their own place within this waterfront environment.

As discussed in chapter 2.2.1, there is a discussion in the current literature in terms of the meaning of waterfront in the contemporary world. While it is a region which represents the interaction between an urban development and water (Yassin *et al*., 2010), its meaning changes based on economic benefits such as tourism, leisure, housing or retail (McCarthy, 2007).

The waterfront location in Ocean Village is attractive to different tenure groups in terms of making their place. For example, according to one landlord, "I feel quite happy because I like being by the water. Stay in boat or look around. It is a nice location. It is quite easy for me." Similarly, another landlord, who was using her accommodation as a second home, noted that "because I think, when I open the door to the apartment, I just get such a lovely feeling to be down there with all the boats in an area; it can be quite busy, but you can feel you've got the view. It is just such a good feeling really." While they did not live in Ocean Village permanently, they built their relationship with the place with the waterfront, especially with the water.

Water seems to matter more for the tenants and owner-occupiers. Edward, an owner-occupier, mentioned certain water-based activities in Ocean Village:

> "Sailing. It is a good place for sailing. You can easily attend such activities in town, and obviously, if you have boat you can use your boat here, like some people do. Going around the Solent is very nice."

Additionally, Adam, another owner-occupier, said:

> "I retired in 1995. At the time, my main activity was wind surfing, and I wanted to live by coast because at the time, I was living in … which is a long way from the coast. So, we sold that property. We come down here, because it gives us everything we wanted."

These owner-occupiers would like to live in a place which offers certain activities, especially water-based activities. Therefore, they chose Ocean Village and created their new place with the help of these activities. Lastly, while tenants also considered the waterfront and water as good reasons to move to a specific place, it is difficult to claim that this attitude is common to all tenants in the area. Bella, a young professional who is a tenant, noted that:

> "I know there is obviously boating staff. There are various boating activities you can do if you are interested, but we do not…we did not come to Southampton for the

water to be honest... So, we know there are lots of boats coming and going. We do not participate in that, really. Again, it kind of feels like there is elite group in there as well. Maybe this is just my perception. You know people who have yachts and boats, and they go and do things that are associated with their boats. That's why you can start to think people have a lot of money. We do not have a lot of money... no boats for us. But we do joke with our friends. When they ask, which yacht is ours? All of them, we rent them to our friends..."

This long quotation shows the major differences between tenants and other tenure groups in terms of financial power. While other tenure groups actively used Ocean Village, tenants lived in the same area without much involvement due to their living standards and/or financial power. The meaning of place, and using it as a way to create their place, has become different from one group to the other.

As discussed before, neoliberalism creates urban space as a field for profit and an environment for elite consumption practices around the world area (Peck, 2010, Sager, 2011). In light of this, Jackson, a second homeowner, said:

> "Unfortunately, we do not have any space to do anything unless we can come to certain arrangements with somewhere like the Royal Yacht Club. Or people pay to come together in retail units. But not everybody can afford to join..."

Another owner-occupier, Olivia, criticised this situation, giving an example from a different place where she could spend time and create her place without spending money:

> "People just go in there. They do not feel they have to buy a meal or whatever…they just go in. We do not have anything like it here. Mostly people have to spend money if they want to go out. I like it, like you get in Spain, you know in the evening, everyone goes out, children play, and you sit around and talk. But there is nowhere like that, so people just run around."

These examples, in particular the last two examples, clearly show that personal situation (e.g. interest, accessibility) or physical environment (e.g. local infrastructure or local context) are important to place making and place maintenance. Financial situation also affects the means of place making and place maintenance activities that individuals can pursue. Renters, in particular, suffer from this problem because of their relatively low financial power. Offline spaces are open to everyone but are not actually accessible to everyone for financial reasons. In addition to this, as a result of neoliberal urban policies,

the lack of public spaces (e.g. parks, libraries, sports facilities, etc.) emerged as another obstacle to place making and place maintenance. People can expend much less effort in terms of time and money to use online spaces. As a result, in online life, financial power differences can be minimised, or are at least less apparent.

5.3.3   What is the Role of Employment Status in Place Making and Place Maintenance for Tenure Groups?

According to Urry (1990), time is one of the most important aspects in influencing people's feeling about a specific place. Similarly, Massey (2005) argued that the meaning of place has been changed over time for both existing people and visitors. It is difficult to place everybody, such as existing residents, in the same category. It is necessary to focus on time in a more detailed manner to better understand people's connection with place and other people in a specific area. In this case, I will assess time as an important aspect in influencing participation in both online and offline communities. As the survey data illustrated, over 71% of the participants in the online questionnaire were actively working. This most probably influenced their contact with other people and the time they spent together in Ocean Village.

Qualitative interviews allowed for a greater understanding of this point. Matthew, a professional who is a second homeowner and only stayed irregularly in Ocean Village, stated that:

> "During the week, usually only one or two nights. Weekends, not so often. I might do more in the future. Usually I am in my apartment or at work."

Conversely, Oscar, a long-term (nearly 25 years) owner-occupier, stated that:

> "I am retired; I spend quite a lot of time in the house. At least half the day, every day. As far as using places here (Ocean Village), I go out to eat and drink. And we use both cinemas here."

Clearly, the type of occupation influences the degree of involvement in Ocean Village neighbourhood. Regardless of their residential status, people spent different amounts of time in Ocean Village due to their occupations. However, different parts of the day, week or year, participants more actively participated in neighbourhood activities or used local facilities. In addition, while it is difficult to assert nationality as a factor influencing time spent in Ocean Village, age must be noted as an important aspect affecting the residents in

terms of their engagement with their living environment. For instance, Oliver, an owner-occupier resident, stated that:

> "In the week, I come back Ocean Village after work and mostly stay in Ocean Village…At the weekend, I leave Ocean Village, visit my friends in town or in … (*in another part of Southampton*). However, in the summer, I expect to spend more time in Ocean Village. In the summer, my family contact me, ask if I want to have a drink in the pub, [name of pub], in Ocean Village."

These different owner-occupiers represent different connections to the offline life in Ocean Village due to their employment status. These findings are completely different from the general expectations one might gain from owners as described in the literature (Saunders, 1990, Mallet, 2004, Soatia, 2015). Briefly, the existing literature states that owner-occupiers spend more time in their living areas or homes and have more connections with their living environments. However, the circumstances in Ocean Village were different because of the professions of its residents. People with the same residential status faced different situations because of their occupations.

Moreover, Urry (1995) and Massey (2005) discussed that the meaning of place was time-dependent; throughout time, the meaning of place can change for both local people and for visitors. The authors formed two main categories, namely local people and visitors. They assumed the meaning of place is similar to members within each group, and that this remained true both in the 1990s and 2000s. However, as noted above, the same person might feel differently and participate in a different manner on a daily, weekly or annual basis or members in a tenure can feel differently because of their personal situation, such as occupation or age.

Additionally, the meaning and function of place must be noted. There is a declining trend in the importance of place in creating strong social solidarity and social relationship (Crow, 2002). Similarly, Katz and Hampton (2016) argue that the meaning of place has become different from that in preindustrial communities because of social media due to increases in closeness among people and watchfulness. People can access online social media groups anywhere they have access to the internet. It could be argued that time limitations in offline life must affect the relationship between online and offline life. Oscar, an owner-occupier (nearly 70 years old) participant, stated:

> "My wife sends emails to our neighbour. I said to her, why don't you just walk over and knock on her door? She sends her email; the neighbour sends her email back.

> All evening they try to find out when we can meet for drink. I said to her to go and knock on the door, and in thirty-seconds you will sort that out. When you come back, leave them alone!"

The findings indicated that because of their different occupations, commitments, and attitudes, people preferred to use the internet and social media to communicate with other people, even if, as in the last example above, they were next-door neighbours. In addition, online communication was used as an alternative means of contacting and creating connection with place.

5.4   Summary and Conclusions

My research questions addressed people's practice in their daily life in terms of tenure status and location. Regarding the residential aspects, I found that tenure status is still important in terms of its influence on personal preferences and interaction in daily life in Ocean Village in a similar manner to previous studies. While owner-occupiers and tenants are more interested in their accommodation and living environment, landlords have a very limited connection with the place of Ocean Village and its people, such as residents or owner-occupiers. These findings show certain similarities to existing studies in the literature regarding the various preferences of tenure groups based on their financial ability and place making activities. However, it is difficult to categorise each tenure group in terms of their choice or practice with the assumption that members of the same tenure group experience monolithic experiences and views.

The location of Ocean Village is identified as a significant factor in attracting different types of people in terms of tenure groups' ages, gender, cultures, etc. This situation clearly shows how the location affects both choice and practice in a specific place. Depending on their age, participants choose to participate in different kinds of activities (e.g. sport, meeting) or facilities (e.g. pub, gym, and restaurant). They are affected by their age in their choice when creating their place in Ocean Village. For instance, older people tend to use the local pubs less frequently than the younger people in the same area. Culture is also an influencing factor in people's decisions to stay in Ocean Village. While the participants are happy for the most part with Ocean Village's multicultural social environment, they want to see their personal lifestyle and culture being represented. However, the standardisation of urban places in Ocean Village is highly criticised by participants. The overdevelopment of Ocean Village has also been criticised as a negative factor for place making and place

maintenance activities. All tenure groups criticise these situations, although they are all affected to a different extent. While landlords and second homeowners are less affected by developments in Ocean Village, owner-occupiers and tenants experience far more effect of any changes to their living area. Due to the financial situation and occupation, tenants are less active then owner-occupiers in terms of participating in both online and offline life. Tenants' financial situations affect their participation in the same kinds of activities or organisations, such as water- or boat-based activities.

This chapter also illustrated that the location of Ocean Village was extended through the inclusion of online social media groups. It is impossible to look at online life (especially Facebook social media groups) or offline environments (e.g. activities and organisations within the local facilities of Ocean Village) without considering them simultaneously. However, they cannot be considered purely in isolation; both online and offline relationships and environments affect each other. In other words, online communication is embedded in everyday life, thus offline and online are not really separate; they have an overlap and connection. While the younger generation is more active in joining online groups, the older generation, especially people over 50 years of age, are less connected with online groups. This situation is reversed for offline connections and interactions.

Overall, the findings indicated that the waterfront area attracts different tenure groups from different parts of the UK, and, indeed, the world. All participants want to use this area actively and have good accommodation, either to live in or as investment. In particular, investment is an important point for homeowners, whether they live there or whether they rent out their property. This has significant consequences for those renters who, due to rising rent and property prices, are increasingly unable to afford to buy properties in Ocean Village. However, the renters in Ocean Village would be able to find cheaper property to rent or to buy in other areas of Southampton. The quality of living experienced by tenants and owner-occupiers is affected by short-term tenants of properties rented out on Airbnb.

Chapter 6   Conclusions

This research was undertaken to increase our understanding and to examine the role of tenure status (e.g. owner-occupiers, tenants, landlords and second homeowners) within a neoliberal urban (waterfront) environment, and assess whether these are affected by tenure status, location, or both. As noted in chapter 1, this research was based on the same premise underlying Saunders' (1990) resource model, arguing that the home plays a crucial role in creating a sense of self and identity and social class through consumption rather than through employment. Then, I have identified two key limitations to the 'resource model': a) an overemphasis on the role of tenure status when explaining people's choices of, feelings about and attachments to a particular place; and b) a lack of recognition of the importance of location for all tenure groups. Thirty years after the original work by Saunders, my study has used and extended his research model to indicate how tenure status and location are simultaneously of importance to examine people's belonging, feelings, attachment and involvement to a particular place.

As discussed in sections 2.1 and 2.2, profit, privatisation and standardisation has been reported as aspects that are central to neoliberalism. In other words, as Harvey (2008) noted, the urban space is an expression of capitalist system dynamics and changes as a result of neoliberalism. Within this environment, the main purpose is more profit than before and becoming more entrepreneurial. Urban gentrification and transformation emerged as one of the significant results of this purpose. To this end, privatisation, overdevelopment and competition has been increasing within urban environments since the 1970s. As noted in section 2.2.2.1, figure 2.1, while the proportion of homeowners increased from 1979 until the beginning of the 2000s, and indeed is still over 60% in the UK, private renting has also been increasing since 1979. This is due to the fact that social housing has been sold and some homeowners bought additional properties which they subsequently rented out. Therefore, as noted in section 2.2.2.4, figure 2.4, the younger generation (25-34 years old) is experiencing difficulties in buying their own properties and has mostly been renting over the last ten years. In light of this situation, the UK government developed housing policies (e.g. RTB, HTB, and BTL) with privatisation and new developments to create new opportunities for first- and second-home buyers. In particular, waterfront areas and central cities have emerged as significant locations which are highly affected and become attractive due to neoliberal urban policies. Within this neoliberal urban context (e.g. privatisation, overdevelopment, housing policies), while

tenure status is still important, the gap between the younger and older generations in terms of ability to buy or rent is increasing, and the younger generation (25-34 years old) are struggling to buy. Additionally, location has become attractive to all tenure groups in terms of ensuring the highest benefit from their choices.

In chapter 4, I emphasised the importance of tenure status and location by exploring elective and selective belonging in the context of a neoliberal waterfront area. Savage et al.'s (2005) concept of elective belonging and Watt's (2009) concept of selective belonging concentrated on differences in financial ability as the main influencing factor in creating belonging, the boundaries of a specific place, or to other people living in the same place. Without denying the connection between tenure groups' decisions and their financial abilities, the context of location clearly influences both their elective and selective belonging as well.

In chapter 5, the focus was on understanding the role of tenure status in Ocean Village by exploring tenure experience in a particular place in both online and offline life. I argued that in the case of Ocean Village, while tenure status did play a role in the types of place making and place maintenance activities that took place, this was not sufficient in itself to explain the existence of all tenure groups with different lifestyles, age/generation/ gender/sexuality and employment status. For these reasons, the location of Ocean Village with its water and water view, facilities, and proximity to public transportation facilities emerged as key factors influencing their place making and place maintenance activities or experiences. All these aspects work together to allow for an understanding of the role of tenure groups or location in terms of place making and place maintenance. Lastly, depending on the personal interest, the groups preferred different types of activities (e.g. sports activities or types of entertainment) or means of communication (online and offline) to make their place within the location of Ocean Village.

6.1   Empirical Findings to the Research Questions

At the beginning of my thesis, I reviewed community studies of urban life to determine the existing situation, along with its gaps and limitations. Saunders (1990) argued that social divisions relating to tenure were becoming more significant than social divisions relating to occupation, that tenure differences transcend occupational differences, and that tenure groups (1) are divided into two groups, namely homeowners and tenants, and (2) are not affected by a particular place in relation to their choices and experiences about it

(Saunders, 1990). A large proportion of this thesis has been dedicated to addressing the limitations of this model. However, my research findings have confirmed that both tenure status and, equally, location affect people's decisions, feelings and attachment and use of a particular place, regardless of their tenure status alone.

My case-study of Ocean Village shows that this very specific location is important to different tenure groups, which tends to be fairly similar with respect to their class background. As noted in appendix F, figure 9, people described their financial situation as 'comfortable' or 'very comfortable' and most worked as professionals. This applies to all tenure groups, with the exception of a few tenants. In this case, while the tenants are generally middle aged, beginning their professional careers or students, owner-occupiers have started to work before tenants, are retired or are close to retirement in Ocean Village. This means that age and employment status emerge as differences between existing residents of Ocean Village. The location of Ocean Village unifies different tenure groups with different ages, occupations and tenure status. However, because of their age and generational differences, those who are already property owners are more likely to buy additional properties, while those who do not own their own properties are less likely to buy property within Ocean Village. People choose Ocean Village regardless of how expensive it is and rent within in this area rather than buying in other parts of Southampton that are cheaper than Ocean Village as showed with the table 1.2 and 1.3. Because of this, people`s occupation, financial situation and tenure status is not the overriding determinant, and thus location must also be considered when assessing people's feelings, choices and attachment.

In this context, I report table 6.1 below as a summary of the current situation in my case study area, Ocean Village, Southampton. I produced this table using the literature and, in particular, my findings. It is important to show both the principal similarities/differences between tenure groups and the connections between tenure status and location. The following four themes (socio-economic environment, points of interest, built-physical environment and accessibility) emerged from my data as significant aspects of location. These themes illustrate the importance of location with regard to four specific aspects, rather than generalising the importance of location with regard to different tenure groups' feelings and attachments. First, the accessibility of Ocean Village as a location is a matter for all tenure groups, but they highlighted different reasons in relation to this (e.g. being close to work, main home, city centre) depending on their tenure status. This situation can be understood differently, in the sense that Ocean Village as a location offers different

accessibility opportunities to different tenure groups simultaneously. These situations represent the importance of considering location and tenure status at the same time. Second, socio-economic environment emerged as another aspect which attracts different tenure groups' interest in the same location. Regardless of the ability to buy, they want to live in Ocean Village. While the social environment affects existing residents, both owner-occupiers and tenants, to a greater extent, other tenure groups are less interested in this aspect of Ocean Village. In other words, while financial ability and type of residency affect people to some greater or lesser extent, the location of Ocean Village unifies people in the same area. The same situation exists in terms of two other aspects, namely points of interest and the built-physical environment. The existing residents are more concerned with the area of Ocean Village in terms of their lifestyle, interests and built-physical environment. At the same time, the other two tenure group have different opinions in this regard. As noted at the beginning of this thesis, this research was undertaken to increase our understanding and to examine the role of tenure status (e.g. owner-occupiers, tenants, landlords and second homeowners) within a neoliberal urban (waterfront) environment, and assess whether these are affected by tenure status, location, or both. As table (6.1) below illustrates, both the type of tenure status and location-based factors affect people's belonging and place making and place maintenance in Ocean Village.

Table 6.1 Relationship between Tenure Status and Location in Ocean Village

Tenure Groups \ Location	Socio-Economic Environment	Points of Interest	Built-physical Environment	Accessibility
Owner-occupiers	Can afford to buy or live Want to live in a safe neighbourhood Affected by changing population	Want to access local facilities (e.g. entertainment and shopping facilities, school, nursery, GP, recreation and sport areas, park or green areas, transportation facilities both public and private) Want to be close to water and water-based activities	Negatively affected by overdevelopment and limited open space and communal areas Expecting new developments with new entertainment and social facilities	Important to access other parts of places in the city of Southampton and surrounding areas Want to be close to work
Tenants	Trying to afford to buy or live Want to live in a safe neighbourhood Affected by changing population	Want to access local facilities (e.g. entertainment and shopping facilities, school, nursery, GP, recreation and sport areas, park or green areas, transportation	Negatively affected by overdevelopment and limited open space and communal areas Expecting new developments with	Important to access other parts of places in the city of Southampton and surrounding areas

		facilities both public and private) Want to be close to water	new entertainment and social facilities	Want to be close to work
Second Homeowners	Can afford to buy, live or visit and stay short-term Want to buy and live short-term in a safe neighbourhood	Want to access local facilities (e.g. entertainment and shopping facilities, GP, recreation and sport areas, park and green areas, transportation facilities, mainly private) Want to be close to water and water-based activities	Negatively affected by overdevelopment and limited open space Expecting new developments with new entertainment and social facilities	Important to access from their main property and access to other parts of places in the city of Southampton
Landlords	Can afford to buy, live or visit Want to buy within a safe neighbourhood	Want to access some local facilities (e.g. entertainment, facilities, GP, recreation and sport, green areas and parks, transportation facilities, mainly private)	Expecting new developments with new entertainment and social facilities	Important to access from their main property

In other words, table 6.1 describes similarities and differences between tenure groups but for different reasons, which minimises the impact of tenure status and highlights the importance of location. The differences are mainly based on finances and the type of residency, in this regard my thesis confirms previous studies by Saunders (1990) and Watt (2009). Depending on financial power and residential status, tenure groups are more or less active in their use of the local facilities in Ocean Village. While the ability to buy or rent, and also the ability to participate in activities or use local facilities, is related to financial power, at the same time the type of residency, such as living in Ocean Village as a resident or visiting Ocean Village as a second homeowner or having less connection with the same area as a landlord, affects the level of interest and connection with Ocean Village. The time spent in Ocean Village affects this situation. Therefore, as the above table (6.1) shows, location unifies these different people, coming as they do from different backgrounds. Due to offering different opportunities (e.g. being close to work, safe location, being close to the city centre and facilities) at the same time, by location, people can find the different things that meet their interests, feelings and their particular stage in life. For these reasons, while tenure status is still important in terms of explaining people's choices, feelings and

attachment, location emerged as another significant reason that simultaneously both affected and represented their different feelings, identities and attachments.

Secondly, as table (6.1) shows, I propose that the above limitations can be improved by considering well-defined forms of tenure groups to better examine and understand the role of tenure status. In particular, the 'resource model' can be extended by:

i. Recognising owner-occupiers, landlords, second homeowners and tenants as four significant tenure groups within a specific area,

ii. Including landlords and second homeowners as separate groups from owner-occupiers and tenants, because especially landlords pay less attention to the area of Ocean Village and its social-economic life due to their lower connection with Ocean Village.

iii. Including location to examine these tenure groups in terms of belonging and involvement with a particular place.

Thirdly, it is difficult to categorise people's decisions and preferences purely on the basis of their tenure status without considering the location of Ocean Village itself. Location affects people's decisions, and is an indicator of the various differences and similarities between the tenure groups in Ocean Village. In detail, financial factors (e.g. economic capital) were identified as the most important difference between the tenure groups. The purpose of investment in Ocean Village was an indicator of elective and selective belonging, and it was one of the most important reasons for elective and selective belonging for all tenure groups, with the exception of tenants. Owner-occupiers wanted to invest in ownership to live in their properties without paying rent. Similarly, landlords and second homeowners had bought their properties as investments. In other words, the tenure groups, excluding tenants, chose Ocean Village for their investments because of its location and the fact that it was a new development. This clearly influenced their motivations and feelings about Ocean Village as an indicator of their elective belonging. Homeowners perceived Ocean Village more positively than other places (e.g. London) due to the property prices as an indicator of their selective belonging. In other words, they created their justifications (selective belonging) in terms of the local property prices. This situation indicated the affordability to buy within Ocean Village for different tenure groups due to the differences between their financial powers. While tenants, especially young tenants, struggled to buy within Ocean Village, they lived there by using certain personal solutions (e.g. sharing house with friends/students or a partner) because of its convenience and the attractiveness of its location. However, regardless of their tenure status, all these

different tenure groups chose Ocean Village to buy in, or indeed just live in, due to its location, a factor upon which they organised their daily lives.

All these findings illustrate that tenure status alone is not sufficient to explain and understand people's decisions and experiences in a particular place. It is vital to also take location into consideration. Examining and understanding tenure groups has become more complicated in our contemporary neoliberal urban context than in traditional rural environments due to diverse financial situations, lifestyles, interests and demands. It is necessary to examine tenure groups in more detail in terms of their tenure groups (e.g. second homeowners, landlords, tenants and owner-occupiers). In addition, the importance of a waterfront location (Ocean Village) has become a key factor since it attracts different people or tenure groups at the same time with available different place making and place maintenance activities. In other words, it is difficult to categorise people according to only one identity and form or type of belonging. Community studies of urban life (Saunders, 1990, Ronald 2008, Mallett, 2004) highlighted financial power as the main factor affecting tenure status. This situation differently occurred for all the tenure groups in Ocean Village. Specifically, home-owners preferred Ocean Village as a place in which to invest, live or stay for a short time rather than other places in Southampton that are cheaper than Ocean Village, or indeed other cities (e.g. London) which also provide opportunities for investment. Similarly, tenants preferred to rent in Ocean Village rather than buying, through a mortgage, in other areas of Southampton which are cheaper than Ocean Village.

The same location attracts different tenure groups at the same time, despite the differences in their financial resources. Additionally, people coming from different backgrounds in terms of age, gender, lifestyle, occupation, and nationality still prefer to live in this same place. Depending on these differences, they find some aspect (e.g. beauty of the area, being close to water, water-based activities, city centre or other places, work and facilities) which unifies people in the same location. In other words, these are important to both showing the difficulties in categorising people when ignoring location as a key factor in both creating people's belonging and their connection with a specific place.

6.2   Implications for Research

The thesis represents a significant contribution to knowledge in community studies of urban life'. In the literature, there is an ongoing debate regarding the creation of and progress in various types of communication. While some scholars criticise online

communication and highlight the importance of offline communication in terms of individualism and closeness (Krueger, 2006), it is clear that offline relationships, with their norms and rules, cannot be ignored as factors affecting online communication (Kavanaugh *et al*., 2005). Besides, other scholars regard online social media groups as factors extending social solidarity (Crow, 2002), offering alternative ways and places to communicate (Wellman, 2002 and Hampton, 2016). This thesis directly contributes to this area by focussing on both the online and offline life of Ocean Village. The findings demonstrate that it is impossible to arrive at a general view about both online and offline life. Whether or not particular tenure groups participate in them depends on personal interest, purpose, age and employment status. In addition, online and offline life cannot be regarded as being completely separate; they influence and affect each other. Lastly, online social media groups can be used as an additional way to understand and examine tenure groups in a different manner based on the 'resource concept'. These can be used to understand offline life from another perspective.

In contrast to existing place and belonging studies (Savage *et al*., 2005, Elias and Scotson, 1994), my thesis included online platforms, especially Facebook groups, to better understand offline life and the connection between online and offline life. While the above well-known studies (Savage *et al*. 2005, Elias and Scotson, 1994) focussed on offline life and old, established communities, my study included online, virtual platforms to cover different parts of life in recently established neighbourhoods. As previously noted in section 2.5, while existing studies discussed how internet and social media affect offline life, they mainly highlight two principal situations: people are isolating themselves (Hampton, 2007), or creating new relationships and networks within daily life (Gruzd *et al*., 2016, Wellman *et al*., 2002). I analysed offline life in Ocean Village with the help of online Facebook groups due to use of the internet and social media essentially being embedded in everyday life. I focussed on what people think about these tools and how they use them in order to reach my aim. In particular, Facebook groups are highlighted in my both online questionnaire and by my interview participants in terms of various general issues (e.g. parking problems, safety issues) or activities (e.g. monthly meetings, parties, breakfasts) in Ocean Village. The social media groups make the representation, in the virtual sense, that Ocean Village is an attractive location for people coming from different backgrounds. The variety of organisations, activities and interaction through Facebook groups demonstrates this situation. Regardless of their tenure status or personal situation (e.g. their stage of life, occupation or gender), people who live in Ocean Village or have

properties there want to derive some form of benefit from the location. While people from different backgrounds represent different types of lifestyles or reason(s) to move into or buy within Ocean Village, at the same time location emerged as a significant factor that unified these people in the same area. Depending on their motivations, they can follow or actively use general Ocean Village groups, the neighbourhood watch group or run a group on Facebook.

Additionally, my findings also indicate the popularity and impact of online social media groups and accessibility due to location and transportation. The existing discussion regarding the significance of length of stay (Elias and Scotson, 1994, Savage *et al.*, 2005) needs revision, because my study shows that with online platforms being easily accessible, the role of length of stay has been effectively minimised, both virtually and physically. Regardless of length of stay, depending on personal interest, through the medium of the internet and social media people can interact and build up their connection with the place, and indeed other people who are connected with the same place as homeowners or renters.

The connection between homeownership and mobility is another issue that demonstrates the differences between my study and the existing studies in the literature (Elliott and Lemert, 2006, Mallet, 2004). According to these latter studies, tenants are flexible in terms of renting or moving from one place to another as compared with property owners. Homeowners are defined as being more stable than tenants. While the waterfront area of Ocean Village attracts different tenure groups simultaneously, tenants can move more easily than homeowners. Specifically, tenants can easily find properties to rent in Ocean Village or indeed move out, as existing studies (Elliott and Lemert, 2006, Mallet, 2004) have noted. As noted in chapter 5.2.5, table 5.3, homeowners remain for a longer time in Ocean Village than tenants. The location of Ocean Village, close to transportation facilities and city centre, allows tenants (e.g. students, short-term professional workers and stayers) to live and organise their short stay there easily. In other words, geographical mobility is easier for renters than owner-occupiers due to their particular stage of life course.

The third important implication of these findings is that this research used mixed methods. If it had only used only the survey method, like Saunders (1990), or only qualitative interviews, like Savage (2005, 2008) and Benson (2001), it is likely that it would have missed some significant points or achieved results that did not represent the lived reality. Mixed methodology allowed me to recruit large numbers of participants for online questionnaires and interviews. In addition, to represent different views and different participants, mixed methods provided rich data whose different aspects complemented

each other. For instance, in cases where there may have been limited responses to online questionnaires, in interviews, the participants gave fuller responses.

Another implication is the importance of case study in achieving rich data and comparing findings with previous studies. While there are well-known studies in community studies of urban life' (Saunders, 1990), place making and maintenance (Benson & Jackson, 2011), elective belonging (Savage, 2005) and selective belonging (Watt, 2009) that have used comparative methods across several neighbourhoods, this thesis used just one case study. This did not pose any limitations, and due to the richness of the demographic profile and historical changes in the area, various attributes could be examined to show their relationships within the same environment. Ocean Village has been continuously redeveloped since the 1980s, and there are various types of establishments such as residential accommodation (e.g. detached houses, apartment buildings with one- or two-bedroom flats), leisure facilities (e.g. restaurants, a cinema, a five-star marina hotel) and offices. This thesis recruited diverse participants in terms of their length of stay (from 30 years to 6 months), nationality (from 25 different countries), age (from 22 to 75 years old), and employment status (both retired and working in assorted jobs). Moreover, unlike existing studies, this research examined the waterfront area as an important place that attracts diverse people. In addition to this, Ocean Village, as a redeveloping waterfront area, allowed me to examine neoliberal urbanism in terms of privatisation, overdevelopment and lack of public venues in practice. The changes to the waterfront area of Ocean Village also unify those tenure groups who are most affected by the neoliberal urban policies being enacted in this area. In other words, the physical changes and physical limitations affect all tenure groups to some greater or lesser extent. While existing residents (owner-occupiers and tenants) are more affected than landlords and second homeowners, the above is important to all tenure groups, albeit to different extents, because all the tenure groups are trying to derive the maximum benefit from, and use of, the location of Ocean Village for their own purposes. Regardless of their tenure status, they are interested in the location of Ocean Village, such as being close to water and water-based activates, or being close to the city centre and local facilities. While landlords and second homeowners do not generally live in Ocean Village, at the same time, in a similar manner to owner-occupiers and tenants, they are also interested in the location of Ocean Village in terms of building their motivation regarding their choice of this location and in surviving their connection with the area. This demonstrates how location unifies people from different backgrounds with regard to tenure status, age, nationality and occupation.

The use of Ocean Village as a case study means that the findings contribute to both waterfront studies and housing studies with its location-based differences rather than only tenure status. Taken together, this study has three significant messages for the broader academic audience:

i. It is necessary to analyse and consider different factors (e.g. impact of tenure status and location) to understand tenure groups' decisions and experiences within contemporary neoliberal urban environments. The inclusion of online social media could help further understand these decisions and experiences.

ii. It is important to use a variety of research methods to obtain diverse views and facts, and to minimise possible methodological limitations.

iii. The selection of an appropriate case contributes to and extends the richness of the data and the evaluation of the findings in terms of the different factors (e.g. profile of participants, location of case study area) considered.

6.3   Implication for Policy

The housing market in the UK has changed significantly in neoliberal urban times. The RTB housing policy started during the Thatcher era in 1979 and, since that time, continued under other housing policies (BTL since 1996 and HTB since 2013). While there has been a fall in the percentage of homeownership since 2008 with the financial crisis, homeownership is still over 60%. Nevertheless, the number of tenants, especially young tenants, is increasing in the UK (Office for National Statistics: Labour Force Survey: 2015). This means that despite ongoing policies, the authorities cannot find a satisfactory solution to housing problems in the UK. While the current younger generation is struggling to buy their own properties, existing owners are using the current housing policies, especially RTB, BTL and HTB schemes, to buy their second or third properties. As a result, housing prices are increasing and making the existing situation even worse for younger people (Office for National Statistics: Labour Force Survey: 2015). In this thesis, while tenants planned to move to other places due to financial problems, some owners had already bought their second or third properties or were planning to buy another property in Ocean Village. The financial gap between tenants and other tenure groups continues to widen, and yet existing housing policies cannot find adequate solutions to this situation within the neoliberal urban context. In terms of elective and selective belonging or participants' place making and place maintenance activities, while the differences in financial power were not the only issue affecting people, it still considerably shaped tenure

groups' choices. In other words, while the state's role remains prevalent in the private market through its housing policies, the financial gap between owners and renters is increasing, rather than leading to some form of solution.

This thesis also suggests that neoliberal urban policies in Ocean Village were significant in terms of their effects on tenure groups' decisions and participation in daily life and activities. The manner and type of participation and people's personal reasons were strongly influenced by the neoliberal urban/housing policies being enacted in Ocean Village. This study found that as a result of new establishments in Ocean Village, especially in the 2000s and from the beginning of 2010, the number and size of communal areas have been steadily reduced (e.g. green areas, limited walking space in the marina area) and that commercial developments have been predominantly established (e.g. a cinema, café, restaurants, a hotel, and offices). These new constructions have destroyed the otherwise attractive development in Ocean Village. Therefore, people's choices and practices are not independent of neoliberal urban policies within the contemporary world. This situation appeared more clearly and stronger than in the existing literature, which is focussed on the countryside and on established neighbourhoods, such as in Savage *et al*. (2005), Benson (2014) or Benson and Jackson (2012).

As Peck (2010) noted, urban spaces have become a means through which to gain profit within a neoliberal urban context. Similarly, Ocean Village has been developing since the 1980s and is currently close to completion as a development because there is very little space remaining in the area. The area would be considered overdeveloped without open and communal areas, a non-commercial activity centre (e.g. community centre) or appropriate facilities (e.g. GP, school). These kinds of problems were highly criticised by all tenure groups in the area, and indeed, all groups were affected by this situation to some greater or lesser extent. Because of this, all tenure groups were increasingly finding it difficult to live there and build their daily relationships in this environment. The city council should consider the different users of the neighbourhood when they approve developments.

Lastly, social media groups were used by tenure groups in Ocean Village to increase connections or awareness with the place and other people in the same area. While some tenure groups used these platforms actively (e.g. socialising, organising activities), some just followed them passively (e.g. accessing information and observing what is going on in Ocean Village). Depending on personal choice, online and offline life affect each other, be it passively or actively. Due to the impact of online social media groups in offline life in

Ocean Village (e.g. socialising, awareness of living area, sharing/obtaining information), the city council should consider the use of social media to build a better connection within the current neoliberalised and individualised urban environment.

6.4   Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

There are two significant limitations to this study. One is that I recruited only a few landlords (3) and second homeowners (3) for my research (interviews), yet contacted 20 owner-occupiers and 16 tenants in Ocean Village. To attempt to reach the first tenure groups, I used various means (e.g. a local estate agent, tenants, and social media groups). However, I was unable to increase the number of participants because they only lived temporarily in Ocean Village.

Another important aspect is that social housing projects are common in the UK and other European countries. Social housing projects were established to provide affordable housing to middle- or lower-class people through both state and non-profit organisations. These projects might be extended to the findings from my research due to similarities between the privatisation of social housing (Aalbers, 2012) and the increasing popularity of neoliberalism in the UK. As I discussed earlier in the literature review, from Thatcher's RTB housing policies, a significant number of council houses were privatised and sold to tenants who had been living in these accommodations (Hodkinson *et al*., 2012). Because of privatisation, the mixture of tenure groups increased, and this affected the formation of connections with different types of tenure groups (Wallace, 2010). In this environment, there is some discussion about the theoretical situation behind privatisation (e.g. push tenants to buy and not give them the choice, they have to live as a tenant in order to buy) (Ginsburg, 2005). Therefore, there is some discussion about the social problems connected with social housing such as stigmatisation, racial and ethnic segregation, clustering, social exclusion, inadequate management and care for residents, and poor design and construction (Morris, 2012). Creating a social mix offered one of the most important solutions to social problems (*ibid*. 398). In this case, Carnegie *et al*. (2018) have recently focussed on three different neighbourhoods in Dublin (Ballymun in the northern periphery, which is publicly rented, Clarion Quay in the regenerated docklands and mixed dwellings that are both publicly and privately rented, and Fatima Mansions in a mixed income district, all publicly rented). According to this research, creating a social mix community with a regeneration project does not negate all the problems that exist between social housing residents and other privately renting residents (Carnegie *et al*., 2018). While

public housing residents feel more stigmatised within their mixed living areas, they enjoy less stigmatisation in terms of outsiders (e.g. people from other neighbourhoods and other parts of the city) due to the reputation of area (*ibid*. 3). Based on the above examples, in a similar manner to different types and results of neoliberalism around the world area, it is difficult to generalise the situation pertaining to social housing in each place, all users, and other residents living in the same neighbourhood.

There is a social housing organisation in Ocean Village. To extend the richness of my data and evaluate existing research, I would have liked to include the residents of this building in my research. While I distributed study leaflets there five times to invite participants to my research, contacted them through the local estate agent and met some residents outside the building to invite them to join my research, unfortunately I was unable to recruit any residents. Therefore, in this thesis, I was not able to represent the views of social housing residents in Ocean Village. It would have been interesting to include social housing tenures to extend this study's findings.

In this thesis, I focussed on particularly owner-occupiers and private renters, who represent the majority of the residents of Ocean Village. I was unable to recruit anyone who held a social rental or who were living rent-free. Owner-occupiers are somewhat overrepresented in my fieldwork, whereas private tenants are somewhat underrepresented; landlords were underrepresented as well. Lastly, my study included a few second homeowners in Ocean Village. While my study is important in terms of representing different tenure groups at the same time, due to the above limitations I was unable to represent all tenure groups, especially social rented tenants, in an egalitarian manner (see chapter 3.5 for details).

Lastly, I would like to highlight two points for further research. As discussed earlier, in this research, social media was identified as a new way to influence people's communication and socialisation. While age and generation affect this type of communication in Ocean Village as a heterogeneous neighbourhood, it is important to examine the impact of social media within various neighbourhood environments, especially homogeneous and long-term communities, to investigate its impact on a variety of aspects (e.g. culture, education, nationality).

This study used neoliberal urbanism to understand the current situation and changes in Ocean Village in terms of tenure groups. It should be noted that each place and its populace are not necessarily influenced to the same extent by neoliberal urban policies (Harvey, 2005). I anticipate that there are some locations that are significantly influenced

by such local aspects. It would be useful to focus on different locations to examine both the importance of location and tenure status at the same time. This would likely constitute an interesting area of further research.

Appendix A   **Participant Information Sheet**

Participant Information Sheet

Study Title: Sense of Place and Belonging in a Redeveloping Waterfront Area

Researcher: Yahya Aydin   Ethics number: 23711

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

I am a research student at the University of Southampton. This project forms part of my training, which will lead to a PhD degree in Sociology. I am interested in finding out about how landlords, owner-occupiers and tenants feel about Ocean Village. The aim of this project is to learn from the above groups of people as to the perspectives and experiences that contribute towards an explanation of the relationships and ties with place and other people in Ocean Village.

Why have I been chosen?

I have approached you because I am interested in talking to landlords, owner-occupiers and tenants in Ocean Village.

What will happen to me if I take part?

I would like to set up a date for an interview in order to learn about your experiences and views regarding the place and community of Ocean Village. Furthermore, I am interested in understanding the differences between the perspectives of landlord/owner-occupier/tenant in relation to the meaning of place and social relationships in Ocean Village. The interview should take about 60 minutes and, with your permission, will be recorded. Before the interviews, you will be first requested to read and sign a consent form. For phone/skype and e-mail interviews, this form will be sent via e-mail. You can return the signed consent form via e-mail or send a response e-mail affirming that you read and agreed to the consent form. If it is a phone/skype interview, your consent may be obtained orally at the start of the telephone/skype interview, when audio-recording starts

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

I hope that you will find taking part in this study an interesting experience. By consenting to take part in these interviews, you will help to enhance knowledge and understanding of the differences/similarities between landlords, owner-occupiers and tenants in terms of their perspectives and experiences in Ocean Village.

Are there any risks involved?

There are no safety issues or risks involved in the participation of this study.

Will my participation be confidential?

Information will be kept safe in line with UK law (the Data Protection Act) and the University of Southampton policy. The information will be stored on a password-protected computer and remain confidential (for example, data will be encoded and kept on a password-protected computer). If I should use a quote from an interviewee, I will remove any identifying information (family name, friends, house name, etc.).

What happens if I change my mind?

Participation in this research project is entirely voluntary. You are free to change your mind as to the use of any information your provide at any time during or after the interview. You have the right to withdraw at any time, which will not affect any of your rights.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely case of concern or complaint, please contact the Head of Research Governance (rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk, 02380 595058).

Where can I get more information?

If you have further questions, please contact Yahya Aydin (ya2g14@soton.ac.uk, 07478323959) or Dr. Silke Roth (silke.roth@soton.ac.uk, 02380 594859)

Appendix B   **Consent Form**

Consent Form (Version: 4)

Study title: Sense of Place and Belonging in a Redeveloping Waterfront Area

Researcher name: Yahya Aydin

Ethics number: 23711

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this study about the Ocean Village.

Please read the statements below carefully and initial the relevant boxes, if you agree with the statement(s). If you have any questions or would like further information, please do ask.

1. I have read and understood the information sheet (15.09.2016 / Version: 4) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.
2. I confirm that I consent to take part in this research, but I understand that I am free to withdraw at any stage in both documents.
3. I understand that my responses will be kept confidential and that any reference to my interview will be anonymised in all work
4. I understand that my responses will be audio-recorded and transcribed to assist in later interpretation
5. I understand that the recording and full written transcript will not be shared with the other homeowners, owner-occupiers and tenants from Ocean Village.

Data Protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password-protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study. All files containing any personal data will be made anonymous.

Name of participant (print name)……………………………………………………………

Signature of participant…………………………………….Date……………………………..

Appendix B

Appendix C   **Survey Questions**

Online Questionnaire

Dear Participant,

Title of Project: Sense of Place and Belonging in a Redeveloping Waterfront Area
Researcher: Yahya Aydin, PhD Student
Supervisors: Dr. Silke Roth

Prof. Derek McGhee

Ethics number: 23711

You are invited to take part in a research study. Your participation is voluntary; your responses, if you do choose to take part, are extremely important to the outcome of the study.

- The purpose of this study is to investigate how landlords, owner-occupiers and tenants feel about Ocean Village.
- You will be asked to complete an anonymous online survey.
- Participation in this study will require approximately 15 minutes of your time.
- You must be 18 years of age or older and must currently be a landlord, owner-occupier and/or tenant in the Ocean Village to take part in this research study.
- **Participation to this survey is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the survey at any time.**
- Any details given will remain confidential. This means nobody will ever be made aware, or become aware, of your individual participation.
- The departmental ethics committee at the University of Southampton has approved this survey. This survey is for my PhD thesis. I would be extremely grateful if you would be prepared to make what will be a significant contribution my thesis. For more information, any questions, concerns, or complaints regarding with this study, please e-mail: ya2g14@soton.ac.uk

    Supervisor: silke.roth@soton.ac.uk

    rginfo@soton.ac.uk
- Thank you for your time and support!

I have read the above statements regarding the purpose and nature of the study, and I freely consent to participate.

☐   Yes   ☐   No

1. When did you move to Ocean Village?

   _____

2. What is your current residential status? (please tick the appropriate box)

   ☐ Landlord ☐ Owner-occupier ☐ Tenant

   ☐ Other _____ (please state)

3. Which aspects below were important to you when you chose to live in Ocean Village? (Please tick the appropriate)

	Very Important	Moderately important	Not important
Near to work			
Maritime environment			
Public image of the area			
Location of the area			
Facilities in the area			
Accessibility of the area			
Safety of the area			
Flat or house characteristics			
Price/rent of the flat			
Condition of flat/house (new)			
Design and architecture of the area			
Friends/family living in or nearby			
Other factor(s); which?			

4. How satisfied are you with the following facilities/aspects Ocean Village?

	Fully satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Completely dissatisfied
Public services			
Community relations			
Security			
Neighbour relations			
Private transportation			
Public transportation			
Cultural services			
Entertainment services			
Natural environment			
Design and architecture			

5. How satisfied are you with the recent construction in Ocean Village?

	Fully satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Completely dissatisfied
New hotel			
Restaurant(s)			
Coffee shops			
Residential apartments			
Offices			

6. How much do you agree that the following aspects describe Ocean Village?

	Totally agree	Somewhat agree	Totally disagree
Waterfront area			
Small neighbourhood			
Luxury area			
Safety place			
Friendly			
Representative of other cultures			
Representative of your culture			
Close residential community			
Other thing(s); which?			

7. Please tick a box for each statement based on your current residential status (e.g., landlords, owner-occupiers and tenants) in Ocean Village.

	Totally Agree	Somewhat agree	Totally Disagree
There are no differences between landlords, owner-occupiers and tenants as parts of the community			
I visit my neighbours/tenants in their homes			
I meet with my neighbours/tenants outside our homes			
Ocean Village is a great place in which to live			
In general, I feel happy, when I am in Ocean Village			

8. Please use this space to give any other experiences and opinions about the place, environment, and community of Ocean Village.

_____

_____

Finally, I would like to ask you some demographic questions.

9. Please tick the appropriate box.

   ❑ Female ❑ Male ❑ Other _____

10. What year were you born? _____

11. Please state your nationality _____

12. What is your present marital status? (please tick the appropriate box)

   ❑ Never married ❑ Separated ❑ Married ❑ Widowed

   ❑ Divorced ❑ Other _____ (please state)

13. What is the highest level of education you have attained? (please tick one box)

   ❑ No schooling completed

   ❑ High school

   ❑ Bachelor's degree

   ❑ Master's degree

   ❑ Professional degree

   ❑ Doctorate degree

   ❑ Other _____ (please state)

14. Please indicate your current employment status. (please tick the appropriate box)

   ❑ Employed _____ (please state)

   ❑ Homemaker

   ❑ Unemployed

   ❑ Student

   ❑ Retired

   ❑ Other _____ (please state)

15. Which best describes your current annual household income? (please tick one box)

❑ Not enough for basics

❑ Struggling

❑ Maintaining

❑ Just Comfortable

❑ Very Comfortable

❑ Prefer not answer

❑ Other_____ (please state)

16. Would you be willing to participate in qualitative interview to discuss your answers to the above questions further? (This would take about 60 minutes).

YES ☐   NO ☐

If yes, please provide your contact information:

Email:

Thank you for your time and support.

Appendix D   **Interview Questions**

1- **Interview Guide for Tenants**

Thank you very much for agreeing to this interview. I greatly appreciate that you are taking the time to talk to me. I am a research student at the University of Southampton. This project forms part of my training, which shall lead to a PhD degree in Sociology. I am interested in finding out about how landlords, owner-occupiers and tenants feel about Ocean Village. The aim of this project is to learn about the perspectives and experiences of the above groups and their relationships and ties with Ocean Village and the people who live there.

A) Motivation to Move Ocean Village

1. How did it come about that you decided to move to Ocean Village?
    a) When did you move to Ocean Village?
    b) What led to the decision to rent your house/apartment (rather than buy it)?
    c) Where did you live before you moved to Ocean Village?
2. Please describe Ocean Village to me.
3. What did you expect from Ocean Village before moving?
4. To what extent did Ocean Village meet your expectations? Please describe.
    a) To what extent did Ocean Village not meet your expectations?

B) The Involvement and the Use of Ocean Village

5. How much time do you spend in Ocean Village, both during to week and at the weekend?
6. How do you spend your time both during to week and at the weekend in Ocean Village?
    a) Do you go to restaurants, cinemas or other such leisure facilities in Ocean Village?
    b) How often do you use these leisure facilities in Ocean Village?
    c) How do you feel about these leisure facilities in Ocean Village?
    d) What kind of additional leisure and socio-cultural facilities would you like to see in Ocean Village?

C) Online and Offline Communities

7. How would you describe the contact you have with your neighbours?

   a) Do you have contact with your neighbours? Can you please describe the kind of contact you have with your neighbours?

   b) Are you friends with your neighbours?

   c) What kind of activities do you do together?

   d) If you do not have contact with your neighbours, is that your preference or would you like to have more contact with your neighbours?

   e) What kind of contact with your neighbours would you like to have?

8. How would you describe the everyday social relationships in Ocean Village?

   a) Would you describe the community of Ocean Village as harmonious?

   b) Have you observed any conflicts in the community of Ocean Village?

   c) Do you think it is necessary to improve social relationships in Ocean Village? If so, how could this be accomplished?

9. What kind of organised activities are you aware of in Ocean Village?

   a) Do you participate in these activities?

   b) Who organises these activities?

   c) For what reasons do you participate in these activities in Ocean Village?

   d) What are the reasons that you not participate in these activities in Ocean Village?

   e) What kind of additional or alternative activities would you like to see in Ocean Village?

10. Do you use social media and the internet to connect to people in Ocean Village?

    a) Do you know of any Facebook group(s) specifically created for the Ocean Village community?

    b) Which Ocean Village Facebook group(s) do you belong to?

    c) If not, are you interested in participating in any of these group(s)?

    d) What role does the internet and social media play for social relationships in Ocean Village?

    e) How would you describe the debate and communication on the Ocean Village Facebook group(s)?

       a. Have you observed any conflicts between members of the Facebook group(s)? Can you give examples?

       b. Have you observed that people support each other on the Facebook group(s)? Can you give examples?

D) Safety

11. Do you feel safe in Ocean Village?

    a) In terms of safety, how do you feel in your apartment both during daytime and night-time in Ocean Village.

    b) In terms of safety, how do you feel in your apartment building (entrance, hallway, stairs, lift and other shared areas in the building) both during daytime and night-time in Ocean Village.

    c) In terms of safety, how do you feel outside your building: in the street, parking area, marina area, etc., during both daytime and night-time in Ocean Village?

    d) Can you list any security measures (e.g., cameras, lights, gates) in Ocean Village?

    e) Do you think these security measures are sufficient to ensure safety within Ocean Village?

    f) In your opinion, how should the security measures in Ocean Village be improved?

E) Changes and Developments in Ocean Village

12. Would you say that Ocean Village has changed since you first moved here? Can you please describe the changes?

    a. How do you feel about these changes in Ocean Village?

F) Reason to Leave

13. What would be reasons for you to move away from Ocean Village?

G) Demographic Questions

Finally, I would like to ask you some demographic questions. Please feel free not to answer if you would prefer not to.

14. What year were you born?

15. What is your nationality?

16. How would you describe your ethnicity?

17. What is your marital status?

18. What is your highest level of education?

19. What kind of job training do you have?

20. What do you do for a living?

21. Where do you work or study?

22. How would you describe your financial situation?

Thank you very much for sharing your experiences with me. Is there anything else that you would like to add that I have not touched upon?

2- Interview Guide for Landlords

Thank you very much for agreeing to this interview. I greatly appreciate that you are taking the time to talk to me. I am a research student at the University of Southampton. This project forms part of my training, which shall lead to a PhD degree in Sociology. I am interested in finding out about how landlords, owner-occupiers and tenants feel about Ocean Village. The aim of this project is to learn about the perspectives and experiences of the above groups and their relationships and ties with Ocean Village and the people who live there.

A) Motivation to Buy

1. How did it come about that you decided to buy your house/apartment in Ocean Village?
   a) When did you decide to buy your house/apartment?
   b) What led to the decision to buy your house/apartment?
   c) Where are you living now?
2. Please describe Ocean Village to me.
3. What did you expect from Ocean Village before buying apartment?
4. To what extent did Ocean Village meet your expectations? Please describe.
   a) To what extent did Ocean Village not meet your expectations?

B) The Involvement and the Use of Ocean Village

5. How much time do you spend in Ocean Village?
6. How do you spend your time in Ocean Village?
   a) Do you go to restaurants, cinemas or other such leisure facilities in Ocean Village?
   b) How often do you use these leisure facilities in Ocean Village?
   c) How do you feel about these leisure facilities in Ocean Village?
   d) What kind of additional leisure and socio-cultural facilities would you like to see in Ocean Village?

C) Online and Offline Communities

7. How would you describe the contact you have with people living in Ocean Village?
   a) Do you have contact with people living in Ocean Village? Can you please describe the kind of contact you have with these people?
   b) Are you friends with people living in Ocean Village?
   c) What kind of activities do you do together?

    d) If you do not have contact with people living in Ocean Village, is that your preference or would you like to have more contact with these people?

    e) What kind of contact with people living in Ocean Village would you like to have?

8. How would you describe the everyday social relationships in Ocean Village?

    a) Would you describe the community of Ocean Village as harmonious?

    b) Have you observed any conflicts in the community of Ocean Village?

    c) Do you think it is necessary to improve social relationships in Ocean Village? If so, how could this be accomplished?

9. What kind of organised activities are you aware of in Ocean Village?

    a) Do you participate in these activities?

    b) Who organises these activities?

    c) For what reasons do you participate in these activities in Ocean Village?

    d) What are the reasons that you not participate in these activities in Ocean Village?

    e) What kind of additional or alternative activities would you like to see in Ocean Village?

10. Do you use social media and the internet to connect to people in Ocean Village?

    a) Do you know of any Facebook group(s) specifically created for the Ocean Village community?

    b) Which Ocean Village Facebook group(s) do you belong to?

    c) If not, are you interested in participating in any of these group(s)?

    d) What role does the internet and social media play for social relationships in Ocean Village?

    e) How would you describe the debate and communication on the Ocean Village Facebook group(s)?

        a. Have you observed any conflicts between members of the Facebook group(s)? Can you give examples?

        b. Have you observed that people support each other on the Facebook group(s)? Can you give examples?

D) Safety

11. Do you feel safe in Ocean Village?

    a) In terms of safety, when you visit Ocean Village, how do you feel in your apartment both during daytime and night-time?

b) In terms of safety, when you visit Ocean Village, how do you feel in your apartment building (entrance, hallway, stairs, lift and other shared areas in the building) both during daytime and night-time?

c) In terms of safety, when you visit Ocean Village, how do you feel outside your building: in the street, parking area, marina area, etc., during both daytime and night-time?

d) Can you list any security measures (e.g., cameras, lights, gates) in Ocean Village?

e) Do you think these security measures are sufficient to ensure safety within Ocean Village?

f) In your opinion, how should the security measures in Ocean Village be improved?

E) Changes and Developments in Ocean Village

12. Would you say that Ocean Village has changed since you first bought your property in Ocean Village? Can you please describe the changes?

a) How do you feel about these changes in Ocean Village?

F) Reasons to Leave

13. What would be reasons for you to sell your house/apartment in Ocean Village? Please describe.

G) Demographic Questions

Finally, I would like to ask you some demographic questions. Please feel free not to answer if you would prefer not to.

14. What year were you born?

15. What is your nationality?

16. How would you describe your ethnicity?

17. What is your marital status?

18. What is your highest level of education?

19. What kind of job training do you have?

20. What do you do for a living?

21. Where do you work or study?

22. How would you describe your financial situation?

Thank you very much for sharing your experiences with me. Is there anything else that you would like to add that I have not touched upon?

3- Interview Guide for Owner-Occupiers

Thank you very much for agreeing to this interview. I greatly appreciate that you are taking the time to talk to me. I am a research student at the University of Southampton. This project forms part of my training, which shall lead to a PhD degree in Sociology. I am interested in finding out about how landlords, owner-occupiers and tenants feel about Ocean Village. The aim of this project is to learn about the perspectives and experiences of the above groups and their relationships and ties with Ocean Village and the people who live there.

A) Motivation to Move Ocean Village

1. How did it come about that you decided to buy your house/apartment in Ocean Village?
   a) When did you move to Ocean Village?
   b) Did you initially rent your apartment?
   c) How did it come about that you decided to buy your house/apartment?
   d) Where did you live before you moved to Ocean Village?
2. Please describe Ocean Village to me.
3. What did you expect from Ocean Village before you moved to Ocean Village?
4. To what extent did Ocean Village meet your expectations? Please describe.
   a) To what extent did Ocean Village not meet your expectations?

B) The Involvement and the Use of Ocean Village

5. How much time do you spend in Ocean Village, both during to week and at the weekend?
6. How do you spend your time both during to week and at the weekend in Ocean Village?
   a) Do you go to restaurants, cinemas or other such leisure facilities in Ocean Village?
   b) How often do you use these leisure facilities in Ocean Village?
   c) How do you feel about these leisure facilities in Ocean Village?
   d) What kind of additional leisure and socio-cultural facilities would you like to see in Ocean Village?

C) Online and Offline Communities

7. How would you describe the contact you have with your neighbours?

   a) Do you have contact with your neighbours? Can you please describe the kind of contact you have with your neighbours?

   b) Are you friends with your neighbours?

   c) What kind of activities do you do together?

   d) If you do not have contact with your neighbours, is that your preference or would you like to have more contact with your neighbours?

   e) What kind of contact with your neighbours would you like to have?

8. How would you describe the everyday social relationships in Ocean Village?

   a) Would you describe the community of Ocean Village as harmonious?

   b) Have you observed any conflicts in the community of Ocean Village?

   c) Do you think it is necessary to improve social relationships in Ocean Village? If so, how could this be accomplished?

9. What kind of organised activities are you aware of in Ocean Village?

   a) Do you participate in these activities?

   b) Who organises these activities?

   c) For what reasons do you participate in these activities in Ocean Village?

   d) What are the reasons that you not participate in these activities in Ocean Village?

   e) What kind of additional or alternative activities would you like to see in Ocean Village?

10. Do you use social media and the internet to connect to people in Ocean Village?

    a) Do you know of any Facebook group(s) specifically created for the Ocean Village community?

    b) Which Ocean Village Facebook group(s) do you belong to?

    c) If not, are you interested in participating in any of these group(s)?

    d) What role does the internet and social media play for social relationships in Ocean Village?

    e) How would you describe the debate and communication on the Ocean Village Facebook group(s)?

       a. Have you observed any conflicts between members of the Facebook group(s)? Can you give examples?

       b. Have you observed that people support each other on the Facebook group(s)? Can you give examples?

D) Safety

    11. Do you feel safe in Ocean Village?

        a) In terms of safety, how do you feel in your apartment both during daytime and night-time in Ocean Village?

        b) In terms of safety, how do you feel in your apartment building (entrance, hallway, stairs, lift and other shared areas in the building) both during daytime and night-time in Ocean Village?

        c) In terms of safety, how do you feel outside your building: in the street, parking area, marina area, etc., during both daytime and night-time in Ocean Village?

        d) Can you list any security measures (e.g., cameras, lights, gates) in Ocean Village?

        e) Do you think these security measures are sufficient to ensure safety within Ocean Village?

        f) In your opinion, how should the security measures in Ocean Village be improved?

E) Changes and Developments in Ocean Village

    12. Would you say that Ocean Village has changed since you bought your apartment in Ocean Village? Can you please describe the changes?

        a) How do you feel about these changes in Ocean Village?

F) Reason to Leave

    13. What would be reasons for you to move away from Ocean Village? Please describe.

    14. What would be reasons for you to sell your apartment in Ocean Village? Please describe.

G) Demographic Questions

Finally, I would like to ask you some demographic questions. Please feel free not to answer if you would prefer not to.

    15. What year were you born?

    16. What is your nationality?

    17. How would you describe your ethnicity?

18. What is your marital status?

19. What is your highest level of education?

20. What kind of job training do you have?

21. What do you do for a living?

22. Where do you work or study?

23. How would you describe your financial situation?

Thank you very much for sharing your experiences with me. Is there anything else that you would like to add that I have not touched upon?

Appendix E   **Interview Participant Profiles**

Table 1: General Overview about the Interview Participants

Residential Status	Owner-occupiers	Tenants	Landlords	Second Homeowners
The number of participants	20	16	3	3
Gender	13 Male and 7 Female	8 Male and 8 Female	3 Male	2 Male and 1 Female
Age	From 22 to 75	From 27 to 54	From 39 to 61	From 55 to 56
Marital Status	11 Married, 5 Single, 1 Divorce, 1 Cohabiting, 2 Civil Partnership	3 Married, 7 Single, 3 Divorced, 2 Civil Partnership, 2 Cohabiting	1 Married, 1 Single, 1 Living with partner.	2 Married, 1 Single
Nationality	14 British, 6 non-British	9 British, 7 non-British	3 British	2 British, 1 non-British
Education	Mainly they have master or PhD degree	Mainly they have master or PhD degree.	2 bachelor's degree, 1 postgraduate degree	2 bachelor's degree, 1 PhD
Job	Professional and Retired	Professional and Student	Professional and Retired	Professional
When buy/move in/ rent	From 1988 to 2016	From 2013 to 2016	From 2015 to 2017	From 2007 to 2015
Financial Situation	Comfortable	Good	Comfortable	Comfortable
Length of Interview	From 20 minutes to 110 minutes	From 19 minutes to 80 minutes	From 22 minutes to 33 minutes	From 20 minutes to 33 minutes

Table-2: Owner-occupier Participants

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Education	Job	Marital Status	Length of Interview (minutes)	When moved in	Financial Situation
Oliver	33	M	Bachelor's Degree	Professional Worker	Single	47	2015	Good
George	55	M	Master	Professional Worker	Single	62	2012	Stable
Thomas	74	M	Professional Accounted	Professional Worker /Retired	Married	32	2014	Comfortable
Emily	75	F	Secretarial Study	Professional Worker /Retired	Married	40	2014	Comfortable
Olivia	65	F	Postgraduate Diploma	Academician/Retired	Divorce	75	2004	Manageable
Oscar	66	M	Primary School	Retired	Married	88	1994	Comfortable
Elliot	26	M	PhD	Student	Married	32	2013	Comfortable
Edward	63	M	Degree	Self-employed	Married	110	1994	Comfortable
Robert	22	M	Bachelor's Degree	Professional Worker	Civil Partnership	60	2012	Comfortable
Amelia	70	F	A level	Professional Worker /Retired	Married	39	1995	Fine

Name	Age	Sex	Education	Occupation	Relationship		Year	Financial
Adam	61	M	Technical College	Professional Worker /Retired	Married	38	1995	Happy
Isabella	57	F	Bachelor's Degree	Professional Worker	Married	64	1995	Good
Jacob	66	M	A Level	Professional Worker	Living with Partner	30	2014	Comfortable
Ruby	65	F	Bachelor's Degree	Professional	Married	115	1988	Comfortable
Joey	53	M	Master's Degree	Professional Worker	Civil Partnership	70	2016	Comfortable
Alice	46	F	Master	Academician	Cohabiting	22	2011	Comfortable
William	35	M	PhD	Academician	Single	24	2014	Fine
Harry	70	M	Professional qualification	Professional worker/Retired	Married	20	1998	Good
Lucy	36	F	PhD	Academician	Married	45	2015	Comfortable
Samuel	55	M	High school	Professional Worker	Single	22	1996	Good

Table-3: Tenant Participants

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Education	Job	Marital Status	Length of Interview (minutes)	When moved in	Financial Situation
Bella	27	F	BSc	Professional Worker	Single/ living with partner	43	2013	Medium
Joshua	53	M	A Level	Professional Worker	Single	80	2016	Very poor
Henry	34	M	PhD	Student	Married	32	2013	Fine
Abigail	36	F	PhD	General Manager	Married	27	2013	Good
Molly	51	F	PhD	Academician	Single	59	2015	Good
Maria	54	F	Secondary School	Business Manager	Single and Cohabiting	36	2016	Maintain
Leo	48	M	Degree	Teacher	Divorced	36	2016	Comfortable
Megan	37	F	Master's Degree	Professional Worker	Married	19	2016	Comfortable
Luiz	30	M	GSE School	Professional Worker	Not Married/ living with partner	46	2013	Stable
Max	27	M	Master's Degree	Student	Single	37	2013	Fine

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Education	Job	Marital Status	Length of Interview (minutes)	When moved in	Financial Situation
Hannah	37	F	PhD	Student	Divorced	16	2013	Comfortable
Benjamin	28	M	Master's Degree	Student	Single	33	2015	Maintaining
Zara	32	F	PhD	Student	Single	29	2015	Comfortable
Anna	38	F	Collage Education	Business Developer	Divorced	18	2015	Good
Theo	37	M	Associate Degree	Professional Worker	Single/living with partner	21	2014	Good
Lewis	35	M	Bachelor's Degree	Professional Worker	Cohabiting with Partner	30	2014	Maintaining

Table 4: Landlord Participants

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Education	Job	Marital Status	Length of Interview (minutes)	When moved in	Financial Situation
Albert	61	M	Bachelor's Degree	Retired/ Professional Worker	Married	23	2017	Comfortable
Owen	50	M	Degree Level	Professional Worker	Living with partner	28	2015	Comfortable
Michael	39	M	Postgraduate Degree	Professional Worker	Single	33	2009	Comfortable

Table 5: Second Homeowner Participants

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Education	Job	Marital Status	Length of Interview (minutes)	When moved in	Financial Situation
Matthew	61	M	PhD	Academician	Married	30	2015	Fine
Sara	61	F	Bachelor's Degree	Professional Worker	Married	22	2015	Comfortable
Jackson	62	M	Bachelor's Degree	Professional Worker	Single	45	2007	Comfortable

Appendix F   **Frequencies of the Online Questionnaire**

1. What is your current residential status?
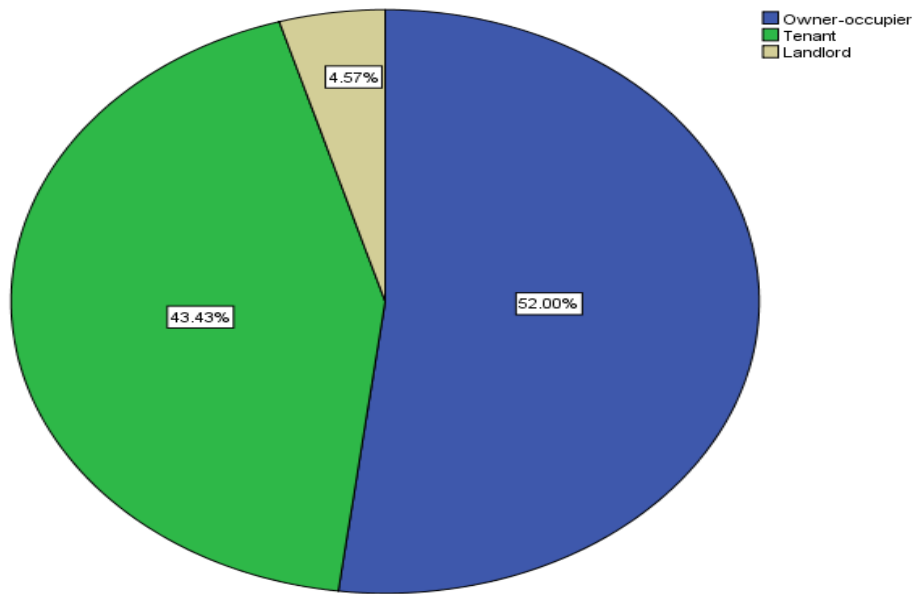
Residential Status

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Owner-occupier	91	51.4	52.0	52.0
	Tenant	76	42.9	43.4	95.4
	Landlord	8	4.5	4.6	100.0
	Total	175	98.9	100.0	
Missing		2	1.1		
Total		177	100.0		

2. When did you move to Ocean Village?
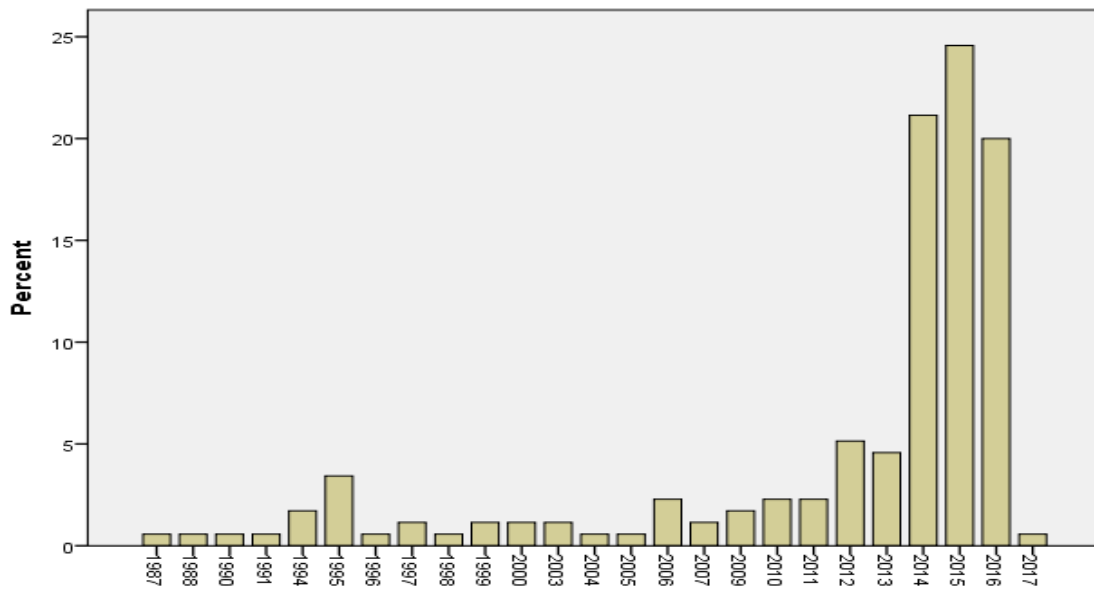
3. What is your gender?
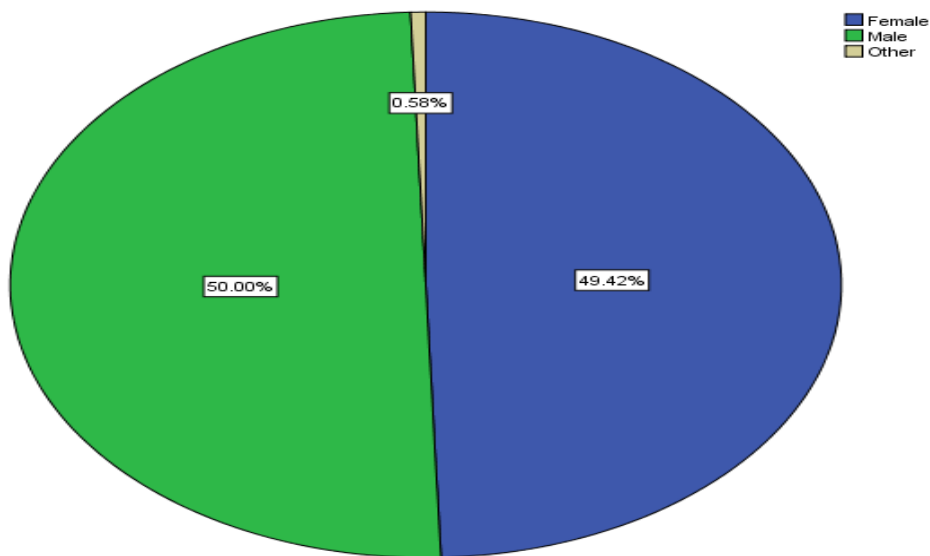
Only one participant has identified herself with the word "mixed".

4. What year were you born?
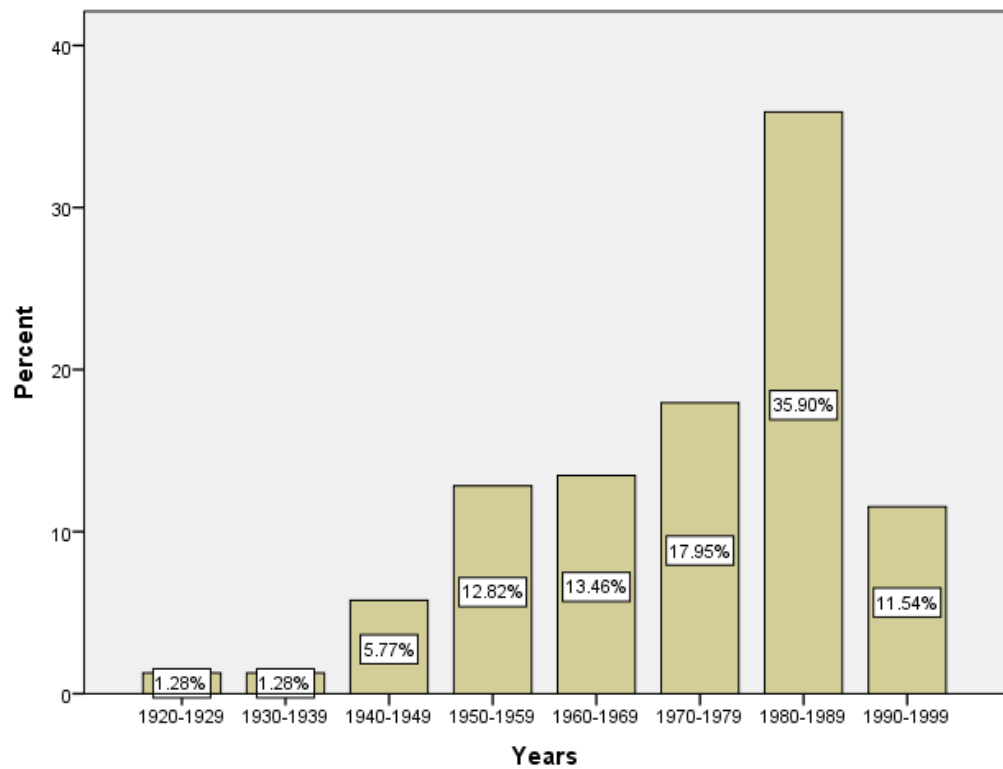
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1920-1929	2	1.1	1.3	1.3
	1930-1939	2	1.1	1.3	2.6
	1940-1949	9	5.1	5.8	8.3
	1950-1959	20	11.3	12.8	21.2
	1960-1969	21	11.9	13.5	34.6
	1970-1979	28	15.8	17.9	52.6
	1980-1989	56	31.6	35.9	88.5
	1990-1999	18	10.2	11.5	100.0
	Total	156	88.1	100.0	
Missing		21	11.9		
Total		177	100.0		

5. Nationality
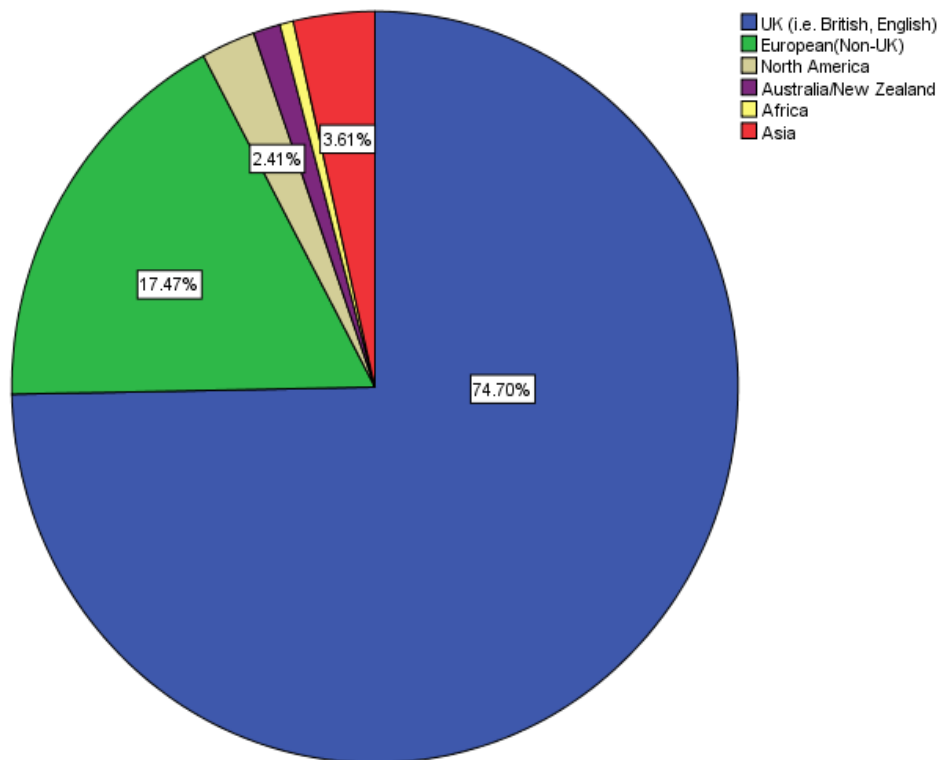
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	UK	124	70.1	74.7	74.7
	European (Non-UK)	29	16.4	17.5	92.2
	North America	4	2.3	2.4	94.6
	Australia/New Zealand	2	1.1	1.2	95.8
	Africa	1	.6	.6	96.4
	Asia	6	3.4	3.6	100.0
	Total	166	93.8	100.0	
Missing		11	6.2		
Total		177	100.0		

6. What is your present marital status?
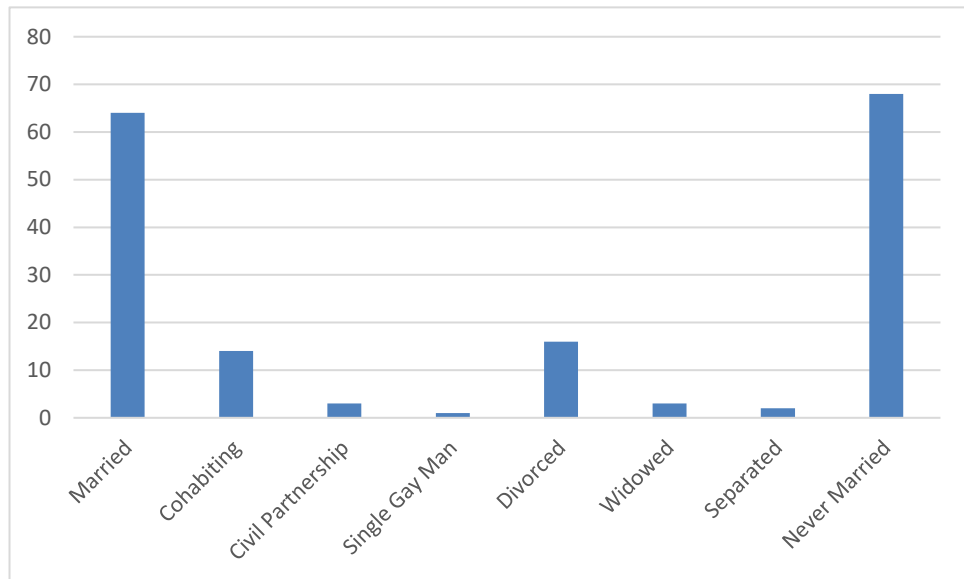
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never Married	68	38.4	39.8	39.8
	Married	64	36.2	37.4	77.2
	Separated	2	1.1	1.2	78.4
	Divorced	16	9.0	9.4	87.7
	Widowed	3	1.7	1.8	89.5
	Cohabiting	14	7.9	8.2	97.7
	Civil Partnership	3	1.7	1.8	99.4
	Single Gay Man	1	.6	.6	100.0
	Total	171	96.6	100.0	
Missing		6	3.4		
Total		177	100.0		

7. What is the highest level of education you have attained?
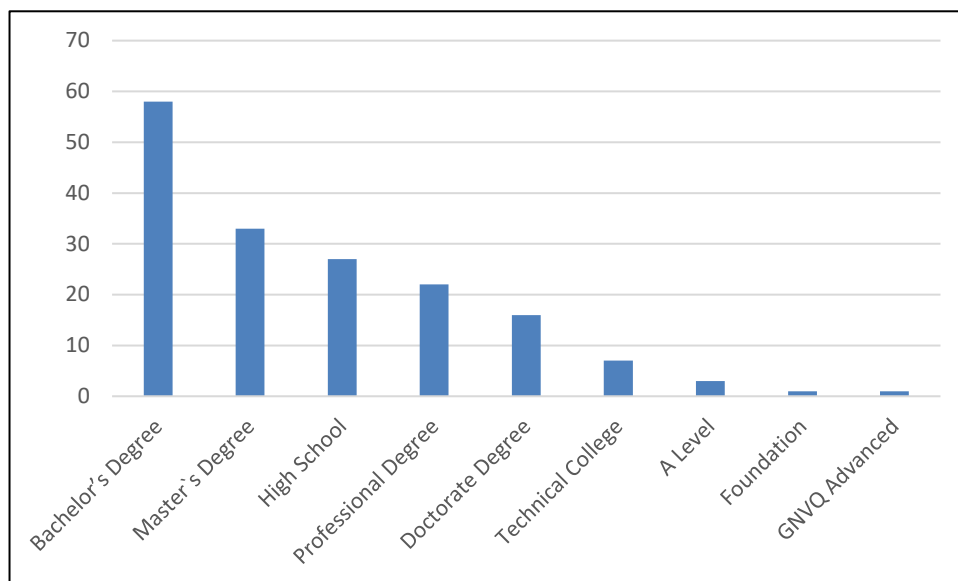
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	High School	27	15.3	16.1	16.1
	Bachelor's Degree	58	32.8	34.5	50.6
	Master`s Degree	33	18.6	19.6	70.2
	Professional Degree	22	12.4	13.1	83.3
	Doctorate Degree	16	9.0	9.5	92.9
	Foundation	1	.6	.6	93.5
	Technical College	7	4.0	4.2	97.6
	GNVQ Advanced	1	.6	.6	98.2
	A Level	3	1.7	1.8	100.0
	Total	168	94.9	100.0	
Missing		9	5.1		
Total		177	100.0		

8. Current employment status
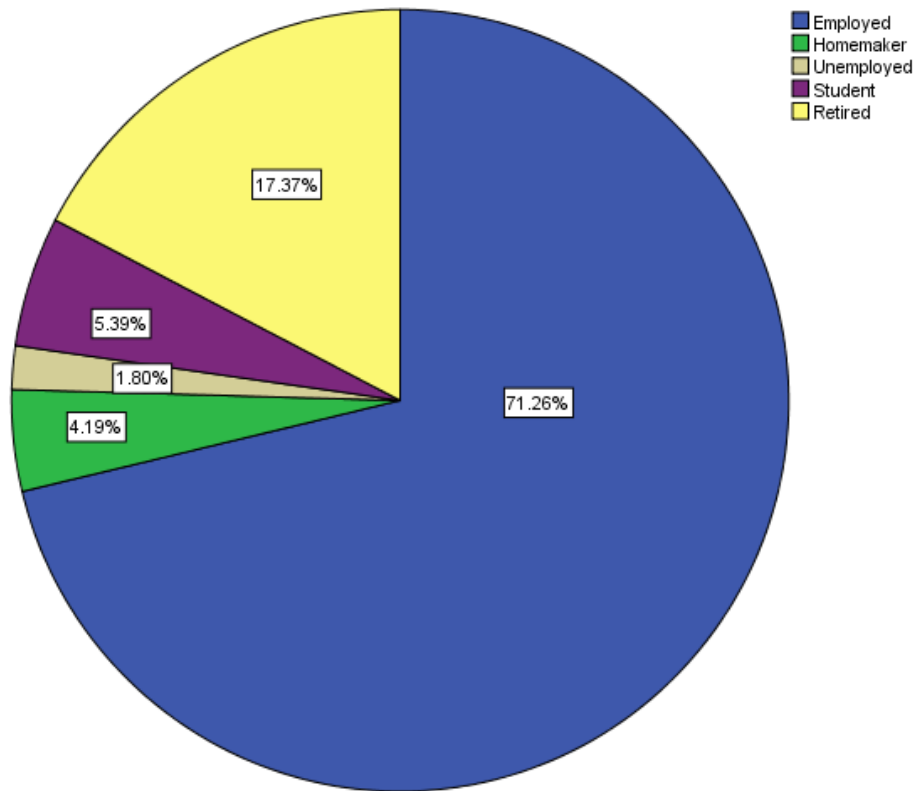
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Employed	119	67.2	71.3	71.3
	Homemaker	7	4.0	4.2	75.4
	Unemployed	3	1.7	1.8	77.2
	Student	9	5.1	5.4	82.6
	Retired	29	16.4	17.4	100.0
	Total	167	94.4	100.0	
Missing		10	5.6		
Total		177	100.0		

9. Which best describes your current annual household income?
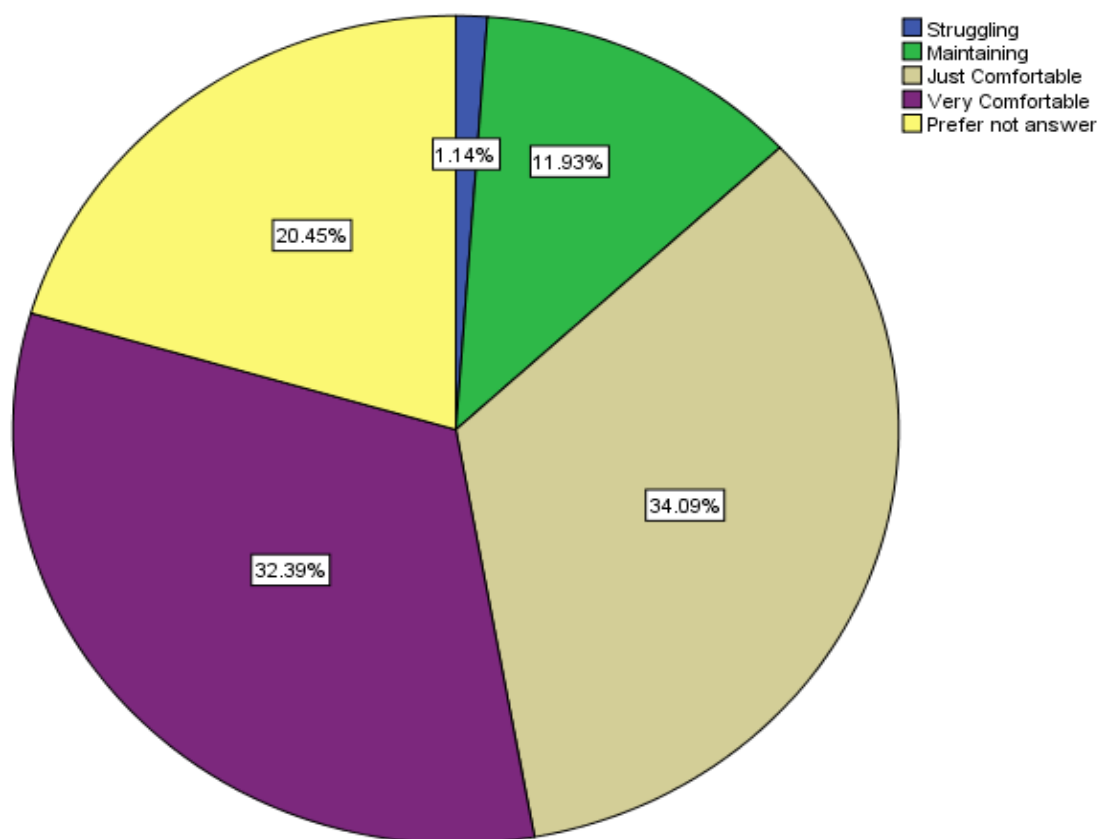
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Struggling	2	1.1	1.1	1.1
	Maintaining	21	11.9	11.9	13.1
	Just Comfortable	60	33.9	34.1	47.2
	Very Comfortable	57	32.2	32.4	79.5
	Prefer not to answer	36	20.3	20.5	100.0
	Total	176	99.4	100.0	
Missing		1	.6		
Total		177	100.0		

10. Which aspects below were important to you when you chose to live in Ocean Village?
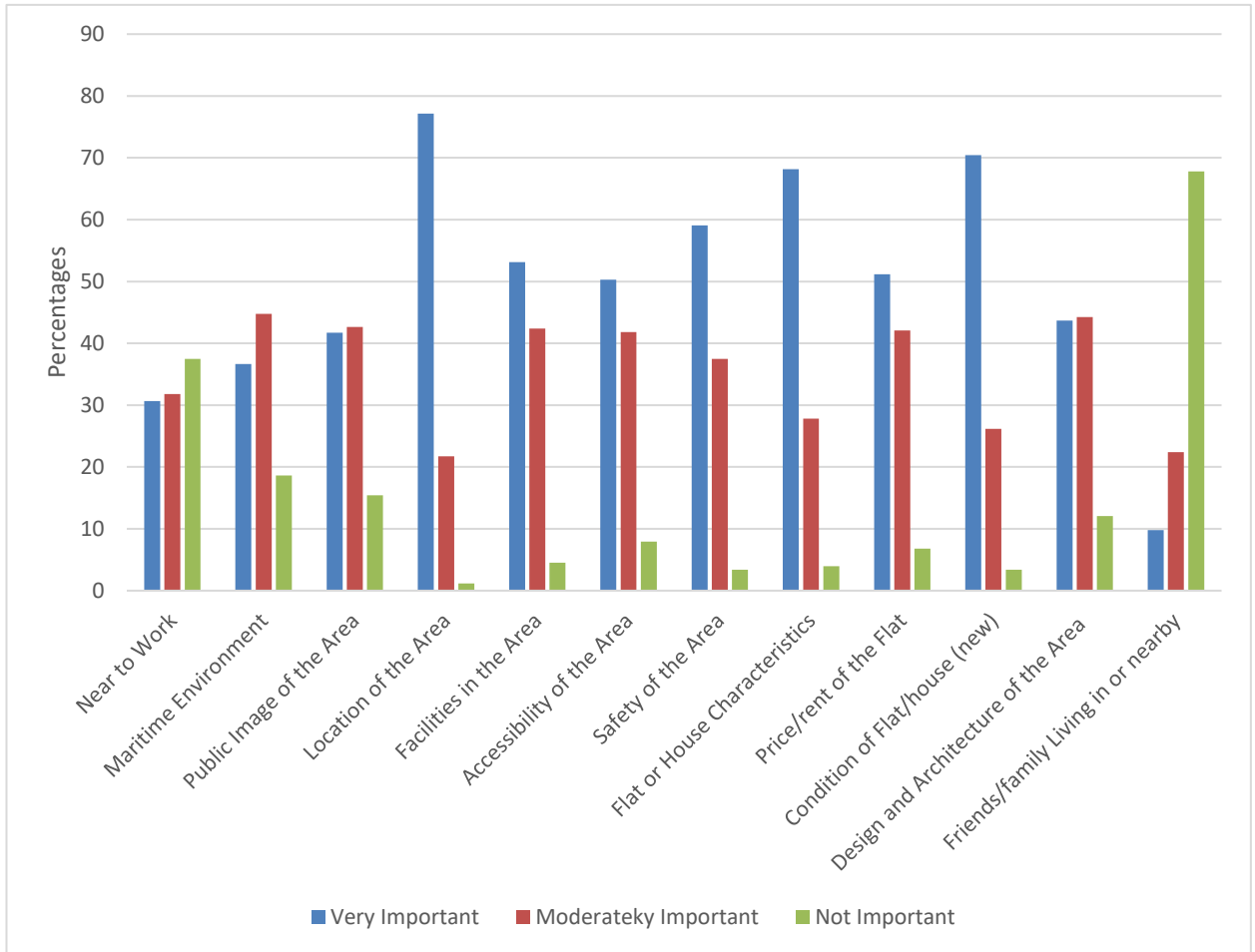
Frequency Tables

1) Near to Work

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very important	54	30.5	30.7	30.7
	Moderately important	56	31.6	31.8	62.5
	Not important	66	37.3	37.5	100.0
	Total	176	99.4	100.0	
Missing		1	.6		
Total		177	100.0		

2) Maritime Environment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very important	63	35.6	36.6	36.6
	Moderately important	77	43.5	44.8	81.4
	Not important	32	18.1	18.6	100.0
	Total	172	97.2	100.0	
Missing		5	2.8		
Total		177	100.0		

3) Public image of the area

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very important	73	41.2	41.7	41.7
	Moderately important	75	42.4	42.9	84.6
	Not important	27	15.3	15.4	100.0
	Total	175	98.9	100.0	
Missing		2	1.1		
Total		177	100.0		

4) Location of the area

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very important	135	76.3	77.1	77.1
	Moderately important	38	21.5	21.7	98.9
	Not important	2	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	175	98.9	100.0	
Missing		2	1.1		

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Total	177	100.0		

5) Facilities in the area

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very important	94	53.1	53.1	53.1
	Moderately important	75	42.4	42.4	95.5
	Not important	8	4.5	4.5	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

6) Accessibility of the area

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very important	89	50.3	50.3	50.3
	Moderately important	74	41.8	41.8	92.1
	Not important	14	7.9	7.9	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

7) Safety of the area

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very important	104	58.8	59.1	59.1
	Moderately important	66	37.3	37.5	96.6
	Not important	6	3.4	3.4	100.0
	Total	176	99.4	100.0	
Missing		1	.6		
Total		177	100.0		

8) Flat or house characteristics

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very important	120	67.8	68.2	68.2
	Moderately important	49	27.7	27.8	96.0
	Not important	7	4.0	4.0	100.0
	Total	176	99.4	100.0	
Missing		1	.6		
Total		177	100.0		

9) Price/rent of the flat

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very important	90	50.8	51.1	51.1
	Moderately important	74	41.8	42.0	93.2
	Not important	12	6.8	6.8	100.0
	Total	176	99.4	100.0	
Missing		1	.6		
Total		177	100.0		

10) Condition of flat/house (new)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very important	124	70.1	70.5	70.5
	Moderately important	46	26.0	26.1	96.6
	Not important	6	3.4	3.4	100.0
	Total	176	99.4	100.0	

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Missing		1	.6		
Total		177	100.0		

11) Design and architecture of the area

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very important	76	42.9	43.7	43.7
	Moderately important	77	43.5	44.3	87.9
	Not important	21	11.9	12.1	100.0
	Total	174	98.3	100.0	
Missing		3	1.7		
Total		177	100.0		

12) Friends/family living in or nearby

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very important	17	9.6	9.8	9.8
	Moderately important	39	22.0	22.4	32.2
	Not important	118	66.7	67.8	100.0
	Total	174	98.3	100.0	
Missing		3	1.7		
Total		177	100.0		

11. How satisfied are you with the following facilities/aspects in Ocean Village?
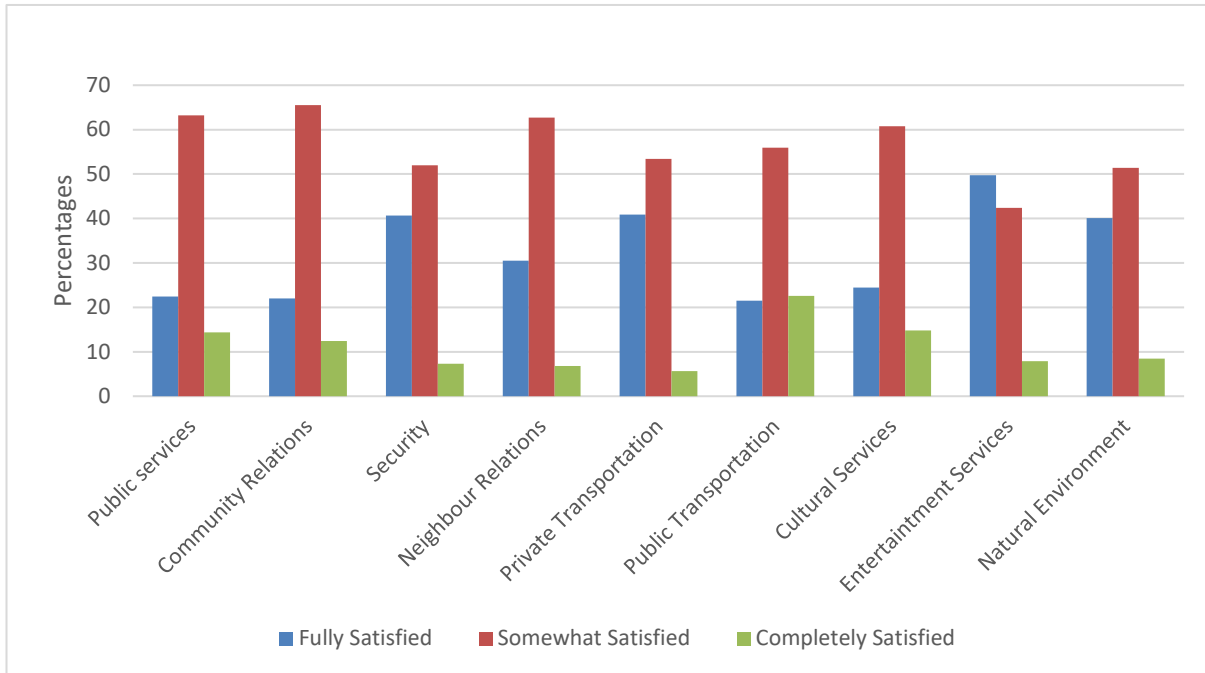
Frequency Tables

1) Public services

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fully satisfied	39	22.0	22.4	22.4
	Somewhat satisfied	110	62.1	63.2	85.6
	Completely dissatisfied	25	14.1	14.4	100.0
	Total	174	98.3	100.0	
Missing		3	1.7		
Total		177	100.0		

2) Community relations

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fully satisfied	39	22.0	22.0	22.0
	Somewhat satisfied	116	65.5	65.5	87.6
	Completely dissatisfied	22	12.4	12.4	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

3) Security

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fully satisfied	72	40.7	40.7	40.7
	Somewhat satisfied	92	52.0	52.0	92.7
	Completely dissatisfied	13	7.3	7.3	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

4) Neighbour relations

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fully satisfied	54	30.5	30.5	30.5
	Somewhat satisfied	111	62.7	62.7	93.2
	Completely dissatisfied	12	6.8	6.8	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

5) Private transportation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fully satisfied	72	40.7	40.9	40.9
	Somewhat satisfied	94	53.1	53.4	94.3
	Completely dissatisfied	10	5.6	5.7	100.0
	Total	176	99.4	100.0	
Missing		1	.6		
Total		177	100.0		

6) Public transportation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fully satisfied	38	21.5	21.5	21.5
	Somewhat satisfied	99	55.9	55.9	77.4
	Completely dissatisfied	40	22.6	22.6	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

7) Cultural services

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fully satisfied	43	24.3	24.4	24.4
	Somewhat satisfied	107	60.5	60.8	85.2
	Completely dissatisfied	26	14.7	14.8	100.0
	Total	176	99.4	100.0	
Missing		1	.6		
Total		177	100.0		

8) Entertainment services

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fully satisfied	88	49.7	49.7	49.7
	Somewhat satisfied	75	42.4	42.4	92.1
	Completely dissatisfied	14	7.9	7.9	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

9) Natural environment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fully satisfied	71	40.1	40.1	40.1
	Somewhat satisfied	91	51.4	51.4	91.5
	Completely dissatisfied	15	8.5	8.5	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

10) Design and architecture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fully satisfied	63	35.6	35.6	35.6
	Somewhat satisfied	106	59.9	59.9	95.5
	Completely dissatisfied	8	4.5	4.5	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

12. How satisfied are you with the recent construction in Ocean Village?
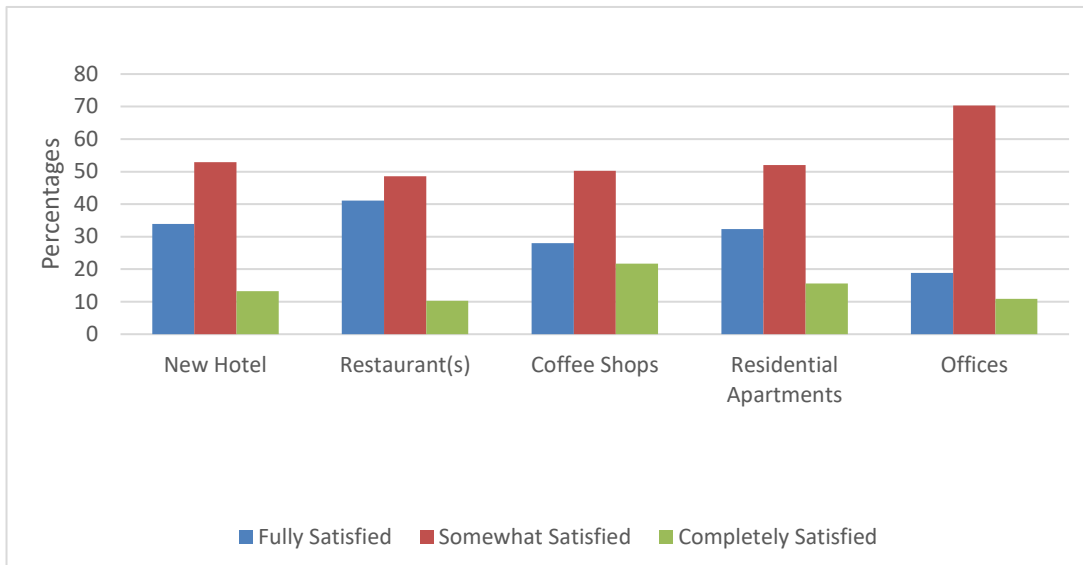
Frequency Tables

1) New hotel

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fully satisfied	59	33.3	33.9	33.9
	Somewhat satisfied	92	52.0	52.9	86.8
	Completely dissatisfied	23	13.0	13.2	100.0
	Total	174	98.3	100.0	
Missing		3	1.7		
Total		177	100.0		

2) Restaurant(s)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fully satisfied	72	40.7	41.1	41.1
	Somewhat satisfied	85	48.0	48.6	89.7
	Completely dissatisfied	18	10.2	10.3	100.0
	Total	175	98.9	100.0	
Missing		2	1.1		
Total		177	100.0		

3) Coffee shops

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fully satisfied	49	27.7	28.0	28.0
	Somewhat satisfied	88	49.7	50.3	78.3
	Completely dissatisfied	38	21.5	21.7	100.0
	Total	175	98.9	100.0	
Missing		2	1.1		
Total		177	100.0		

4) Residential apartments

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fully satisfied	56	31.6	32.4	32.4
	Somewhat satisfied	90	50.8	52.0	84.4
	Completely dissatisfied	27	15.3	15.6	100.0
	Total	173	97.7	100.0	
Missing		4	2.3		
Total		177	100.0		

5) Offices

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fully satisfied	33	18.6	18.9	18.9
	Somewhat satisfied	123	69.5	70.3	89.1
	Completely dissatisfied	19	10.7	10.9	100.0
	Total	175	98.9	100.0	
Missing		2	1.1		
Total		177	100.0		

13. How much do you agree that the following aspects describe Ocean Village?
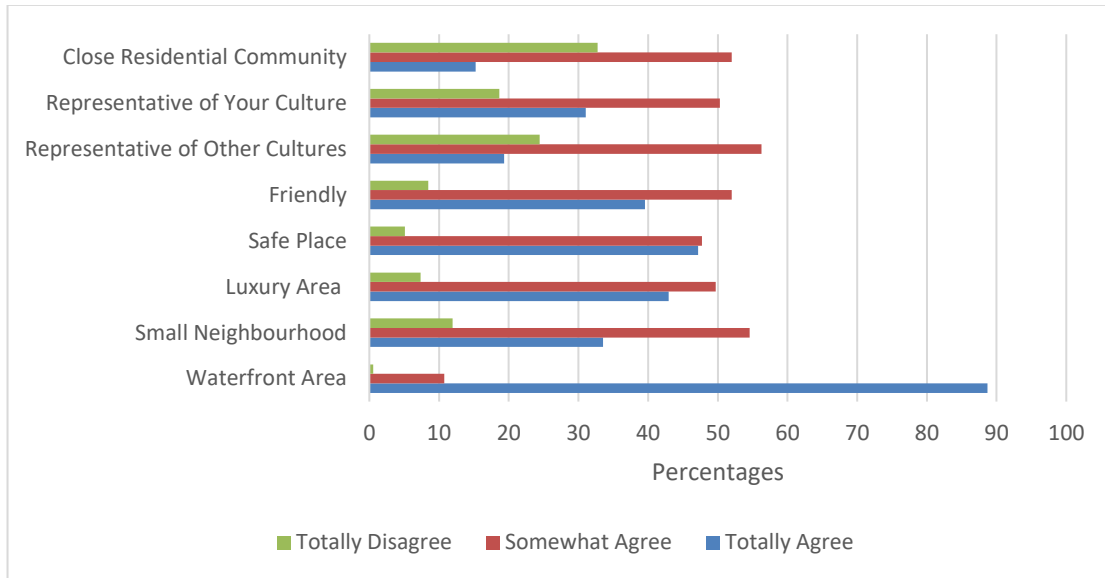
Frequency Tables

1) Waterfront area

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Totally agree	157	88.7	88.7	88.7
	Somewhat agree	19	10.7	10.7	99.4
	Totally disagree	1	.6	.6	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

2) Small neighbourhood

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Totally agree	59	33.3	33.5	33.5
	Somewhat agree	96	54.2	54.5	88.1
	Totally disagree	21	11.9	11.9	100.0
	Total	176	99.4	100.0	
Missing		1	.6		
Total		177	100.0		

3) Luxury area

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Totally agree	76	42.9	42.9	42.9
	Somewhat agree	88	49.7	49.7	92.7
	Totally disagree	13	7.3	7.3	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

4) Safety place

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Totally agree	83	46.9	47.2	47.2
	Somewhat agree	84	47.5	47.7	94.9
	Totally disagree	9	5.1	5.1	100.0
	Total	176	99.4	100.0	
Missing		1	.6		
Total		177	100.0		

5) Friendly

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Totally agree	70	39.5	39.5	39.5
	Somewhat agree	92	52.0	52.0	91.5
	Totally disagree	15	8.5	8.5	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

6) Representative of other cultures

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Totally agree	34	19.2	19.3	19.3
	Somewhat agree	99	55.9	56.3	75.6
	Totally disagree	43	24.3	24.4	100.0
	Total	176	99.4	100.0	
Missing		1	.6		
Total		177	100.0		

7) Representative of your culture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Totally agree	55	31.1	31.1	31.1
	Somewhat agree	89	50.3	50.3	81.4
	Totally disagree	33	18.6	18.6	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

8) Close residential community

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Totally agree	27	15.3	15.3	15.3
	Somewhat agree	92	52.0	52.0	67.2
	Totally disagree	58	32.8	32.8	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

14. **Evaluate each statement based on your current residential status (e.g., landlords, owner-occupiers and tenants) in Ocean Village.**
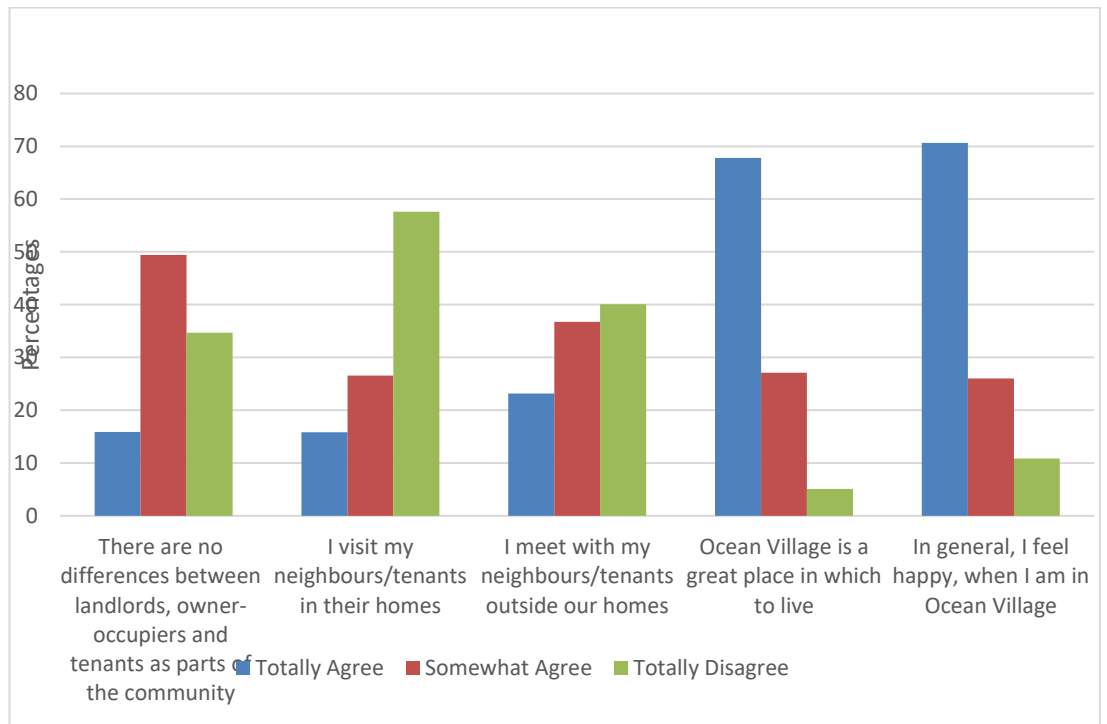
Frequency Tables

1)There are no differences between landlords, owner-occupiers and tenants as parts of the community

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Totally agree	28	15.8	15.9	15.9
	Somewhat agree	87	49.2	49.4	65.3
	Totally disagree	61	34.5	34.7	100.0
	Total	176	99.4	100.0	
Missing		1	.6		
Total		177	100.0		

2) I visit my neighbours/tenants in their homes

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Totally agree	28	15.8	15.8	15.8
	Somewhat agree	47	26.6	26.6	42.4
	Totally disagree	102	57.6	57.6	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

3) I meet with my neighbours/tenants outside our homes

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Totally agree	41	23.2	23.2	23.2
	Somewhat agree	65	36.7	36.7	59.9
	Totally disagree	71	40.1	40.1	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

4) Ocean Village is a great place in which to live

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Totally agree	120	67.8	67.8	67.8
	Somewhat agree	48	27.1	27.1	94.9
	Totally disagree	9	5.1	5.1	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

5) In general, I feel happy, when I am in ocean village

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Totally agree	125	70.6	70.6	70.6
	Somewhat agree	46	26.0	26.0	96.6
	Totally disagree	6	3.4	3.4	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

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