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# **Students and the City**

Temporary Population and Real Estate Market in Globalizing  
Milan

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I dedicate this work to my parents and my sister.

## Abstract

Higher education institutions have become a globalized sector in specific locations, serving as significant sources of economic and knowledge enrichment for cities through the student population they attract. These institutions have evolved into dynamic resources facilitated by the influx of students, thereby establishing an international exchange of knowledge and skills. Due to the possibility of top-ranked education that comes with better career opportunities and networking, students pursue education abroad, particularly in global cities, through their mobility across international boundaries. Moreover, they play a critical role in the future development of global cities and the competition among them by serving as a readily available pool of innovative and young professionals, the *contemporary creative class*, poised to make significant contributions to the economies of these urban centers. Besides potential economic benefits, as a notable part of the temporary population in the city, students already bring an ongoing demand for rental housing and influence the city's real estate market. Through their mere presence, they attract investors in specific zones and initiate processes like urban development, studentification, youthification, or displacement driven by the influence of the niche sector of student housing, purpose-built student accommodation, that encourages transformations in urban areas. Building upon this concept, the study aims to investigate the motivations and impacts of students on the real estate market in Milan.

Milan has been following a long-term path towards becoming a global city by developing urban areas, conducting regeneration competitions, implementing gentrification projects in specific zones, investing in universities in metropolitan areas, and increasing international student enrollment numbers. The local government and the state support the private and public collaborative projects of the higher education institutions' development and accommodations. This situation creates a novelty, a direct link between students as the temporary population accommodated in the city and the real estate market with its limited existing stock. The research aimed to investigate the gap between the student demand and the current stock in the real estate market of Milan to understand the extent of the pressure. Furthermore, it sought to explore the outcomes of this pressure on urban areas and how it reflects on the new business strategies of the city. Therefore, it aimed to examine campus expansions, emerging student accommodations, and the large-scale urban regeneration projects and frame the possible urban areas that appear in the globalizing landscape of Milan.

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## 1. Introduction

Globalizing cities are the destinations for the ambitious young population in search of better lives. The precondition for this pursuit is often accepting abandonment of their cultural roots. However, the decision to migrate might not be enough to ensure their positions in globalizing cities since they need to have the qualities to be selected and possess an existing economic advantage to start their new paths. Indeed, the competition starts before they arrive and escalates during their journey, yet in capitalist reality, they have the freedom to stay hungry, homeless, and uneducated.

Even though globalizing cities are evident destinations for students and student accumulation is an acknowledged fact, global cities are in need of young populations as well. It is a way to maintain the circulation of the productive force of the city, and their mere existence brings a great economic contribution and an opportunity to develop strategies for the urban environment.

Each city, responding uniquely to the forces of globalization, follows its own path. The research is specifically concentrated on the urban environment of Milan, where a notable surge in the student population has been observed. The reasoning behind this case study choice is motivated by the urge to understand the city's dynamic development on the path toward the global city title, a status that brings many advantages and disadvantages. Among the many fields developed during this process, the thesis attempts to shed light on the question of the existing student population and the forms of response to their increasing number. The reaction emerged in many ways, yet the thesis focused on the real estate sector. Considering that housing is a basic need, student housing is also a crucial issue as it is directly linked to accessibility to education.

The literature review mainly concentrated on globalizing cities and their relationships with temporary populations and urban functions through the perspective of *global cities* (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982). The turnover was the shift in production from goods to financial assets, which has transformed the economy into a knowledge-based model (Sassen, 1991). This shift changed the geographies of the economy and the relationship between cities on a global landscape (Taylor, 2004). Furthermore, globalization has transformed the relationship between the city and its state, and cities have become evident actors in the global landscape (Brenner, 1998; Sassen, 1991). As cities emerge on the global scale, there is a concurrent

accumulation of social, political, and economic activities in one place, a phenomenon referred to as *territorialization* (Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2003; Brenner, 1998). This phenomenon allowed cities to have the freedom to collaborate with private actors, which strongly affected the urban development process and paved the way for market-oriented decisions (Harvey, 2006). As an urban function connected to the global scale, universities are responsible for enriching communities, bringing young and creative populations, and enhancing knowledge production in globalizing cities. The knowledge-based economy changed their positions in globalizing cities and made them responsible for attracting *the contemporary creative class* (Florida, 2002). Overall, *temporary populations* strongly influence the urban environment and local markets of global cities (Brollo & Celata, 2022). The thesis concentrates on the student segment of this population, investigating the crucial role played by higher education institutions in attracting students to global cities and exploring the intricate relationship between students and the city. Public authorities enacted strategies such as *massification*, referring to university campus expansions within the city, through collaborating with private actors to increase student enrollment numbers (Scott, et al., 2007), which resulted in *studentification* that brought about the issue of social transformation in urban areas (Revington, et al., 2020). Increasing student volume put pressure on the real estate market and resulted in recognizing issues such as *financialized landlords* (August & Walks, 2018). Furthermore, it stimulated the student housing sector and resulted in the emergence of *private-built student accommodations (PBSA)* (Revington & August, 2020).

The thesis employed the global city approach to comprehend the intricate relationship between student populations, higher education institutions, and the real estate market of globalizing Milan. Referring to changing economic language, Milan is not an exception, and it is influenced by the global trends of a knowledge-based economy. The participation in the global city network was already recognized by the first generation of world city researchers, including Friedmann, Knox, and Beaverstick, between the 1980s and 1990s (Taylor, 2004). Indeed, this period was referred to as the process of restructuring the governmental institutions in Italy by Governa and Salone (2004), confirming Milan's territorialization process. Territorialization is a supportive transformation for cities on the way to globalization, allowing them to perform more autonomously within the global city network. Starting from this period, Milan emerged as a *glocal place* where the activity of sub- and



supra-national actors intersect, underscoring the neoliberal orientation of the authorities that foster private and public collaboration (Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2003; Brenner, 1998).

The thesis explored a specific transformation path Balducci (2014) recognized in the Milan higher education institutions field. He addressed the decentralization of Milanese universities, indicating that they followed the economic geography and expanded across the region. Even though Italian scholars did not connect this phenomenon to a global influence, it aligns with the territorialization concept described by Brenner, which is already one of the processes in the globalizing city.

The thesis hypothesis advocates that global cities attract and invite the temporary population, which is referred to as students, specifically in this case, by using higher education institutions. This aspect is connected with the initial part of global cities' need for a young and creative population. Furthermore, the thesis hypothesis continued claiming that public and private actors employ investments and policies by utilizing global city title to develop urban areas in Milan. They foster an attractive environment for students by enriching and expanding higher education institutions, resulting in speculation on the real estate market and growth in the student housing market. By following this hypothesis, the thesis aimed to investigate the impacts of students on Milan and its real estate market.

In global cities, higher education institutions are crucial in attracting a significant portion of the temporary population: students. The increase in the student population within the city puts additional pressure on the local real estate market. The research aimed to investigate the gap between the supply of student accommodation and the demand of the incoming population. Furthermore, the research recognized the phenomenon mentioned earlier, including financialized landlords and PBSA as the actors of the real estate market in Milan.

The research aimed to investigate this gap since some facts have already emerged in the city. The increasing rent prices, manifestations of students, and emerging private-operated student accommodations are the symptoms that oriented the motivation of the research. The reciprocal relationship between the real estate market and students appears to be insufficiently investigated in the context of Milan. The thesis acknowledged the lack of studies on the student population, their impacts on the urban environment, and the response to these impacts by various actors and aimed to provide a base for future research.

As a result, the study identifies firstly the gap in the literature and in the empirical studies in the context of Milan about students and the real estate market, and it objectifies to fill this gap. It intends to recognize the dynamic relationship between students and the real estate market. Furthermore, it has the purpose of exploring reemerging urban functions, supported by the presence of higher education institutions. Following the research path, it has been recognized that the PBSA market is not well explored in the context of Milan, which appears that PBSA aggressively entered the real estate sector of Milan.

The thesis encompasses studies of the dynamic interplay between global cities, higher education institutions, temporary populations and, specifically, the segment of students and their impact on the real estate market. The organization of the structure unfolds in three key components: the international literature review, the study approach that indicated methodology, and the empirical study focusing on Milan.

The thesis initiates the literature review by introducing the global city perspective. It continues to outline the profile of the global city and the nature of the relationship between city, university, and temporary populations, which are investigated in chapters 3, 4, and 5.

Chapter 6, the study approach, introduces the methodology and the reasoning behind selecting and analyzing the data to investigate the specified issues of the thesis.

Chapters 7, 8, 9, and 10 concentrated on the empirical study of Milan by analyzing the demographic structure and economic data, the universities as re-emerging actors with dynamic connections to the city, investigation of the student volume, and the real estate market.

The conclusive chapter summarizes the empirical study of Milan and observes the findings from the international literature review perspective. It aims to bridge the empirical and theoretical dimensions to comprehend Milan's globalizing path with the perspective of temporary populations.

## 2. Global City Perspective

The global city is a notion that has been evolving with the transformation of the world economy and globalization. Urban studies scholars, theorists, and geographers have presented different but parallel notions to this kaleidoscopic developing concept during the growth and crisis period of the world economy. They studied the changing roles and relationships of cities in the world economy by following the geographical redistribution of economic activities. Every city responds to the globalizing economy in a different way depending on what resources they can offer to the world economy. As Sassen argued, cities have particular components in their economic bases that render them unique actors (Sassen, 1991). Those particular components are framed by their cultural, political, and geographic peculiarities. Thus, the relationship between the changing demands of world economy and resources of cities makes global city definition ever evolving. “Urban roles in the world system are not permanently fixed. Functions change; the strength of the relationship changes; spatial dominance changes” (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982, p. 311). Indeed, Sassen followed Castells and Harvey’s revolutionary perspective of linking city forming process to the motion by relations of production (Friedmann, 1986).

Not only in literature but also in practice, depending on the aim of its usage, interpretations of global city notion vary. Each discipline employed the global city notion differently to address economic or political issues or relationships. For example, investors, developers, and economists used the global city as a powerful image for competing in the global market. Public authorities transformed this notion into a strategic urban policy for economic resilience. It means that, on the political ground, the global city became strategically a status to claim a position in the global network. However, it is essential to clarify the division of global city meaning in phenomena and in the literature. Globalization and the physical emergence of the global city are directly linked to social forces, how these are managed, and how they manage their lives. All these examples mentioned before about economy, politics, urban policy issues, and the global city image built in minds attached to existing phenomena. On the other hand, global city has been used in literature to examine the impacts of capitalism first on the political and social structures within cities and then on relations among them. “The world city ‘approach’ is, in the first instance, a methodology, a point of departure, an initial hypothesis. It is a way of asking questions and of bringing footloose facts into relation” (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982, p. 320). The global city approach

brings phenomena into a debate and creates a lens for scholars from different fields to perceive issues, which eventually brings the necessity to have a transdisciplinary approach.

Therefore, the initial phase of the thesis builds on the general framework of the global city. In this way, it aims to establish a foundation to investigate selected issues at a territorial level within the context of Milan. This research employs the mainstream global city approach to analyze the economic, social, and political changes resulting from globalization in the urban area of Milan.

### **3. Global City and University**

#### **3.1 Language of Economic Geography**

For first-generation scholars, world cities' finance and trade activities were structured in the national context. Cities were defined according to their command-and-control functions that emerged in the industrial period and the surplus value was produced in one national economy (Keil & Ren, 2018). The majority of consumer goods were manufactured within a single national economy, either for domestic consumption or export to other foreign markets (Smith, 2002). Yet "the downturn in the world-economy in the 1970s resulted in an economic restructuring that transcended individual states. Multinational corporations were identified as new major players on the world scene" (Taylor, 2004, p. 21). Traditional production locations became harder to spot, and the language of economic geography lagged behind.

Sassen referred to the 1970s to the early 1980s as the 'transition period' in which large corporations and headquarters shaped the global economy. However, in the 1980s, the United States' international banks faced a crisis (III. World debt crisis) and lost their shares to foreign companies. The turmoil in the existing order changed the domination of national capital. Taylor's interpretation of Knight might provide an understanding of what actually shifted during this period. The aggressive activity of capital caused the seeking of new geographies for investing surplus value and market expansion. Thus, world cities emerged "in a world where development is driven more by globalization than nationalization" (Taylor, 2004, p. 24).

This new configuration of economic activities on global level caused 'complex duality,' referring to being "spatially dispersed, but globally integrated" (Sassen, 1991, p. 3). Even though economic activities are decentralized in different territories, ownership and profit occupation are not distributed. An example can be given to explain: various industries of the 1970s era, including automobiles, electronics, clothing, computers, and more, are decentralized from nations and reorganized across international borders globally. In this case, traditional nodes of import and export, which were tied to belonging countries, had to integrate into global trade.

#### **Production as a Global Force of Evolution**

One of the biggest turnovers was the transformation of the production concept. The definition of production became innovation-oriented, and the product itself went beyond being mere physical goods but an outcome of financial capital. According to this concept, global cities became more than nodes for the coordination process but also particular sites of 'production.' In this case, the production activity needs to be located where there is accumulated information intersecting with advanced 'professional/creative' expertise to produce a 'financial product.'

Sassen introduced innovation and outputs of finance as another form of production that belongs to only a few major cities. She defined them as sites for, firstly, the production of specialized services required by complex organizations for governing dispersed economic activities and, secondly, referring to financial innovation as products, creating a market for internationalization and expansion of the financial industry (Sassen, 1991). This made these major global cities the most 'advanced' production sites in global cities network. Since these financial products can be utilized internationally, they accelerate transaction activities and enhance the global market.

The outcome of this evolution of economy based on financial products changed the hierarchy between cities. Few major cities, historically dominant in the global economy, remained the sites of production for new global control capability. On the other hand, decentralization of production degraded many of the major cities, which were centers of industrialization. Moreover, multinational firms located in those major cities reorganized parts of their production to make use of Third World cities with their low wages through computers and telecommunications, which rendered decentralized production manageable (Taylor, 2004). This situation brought a change in the work organization and influenced social forces in a way that caused polarization in the distribution of income.

"Global cities are not to be conceived as uniquely globalized urban nodes within unchanged national systems of cities and state power, but rather as sites of both socioeconomic and institutional restructuring in and through which a broader, multi-scalar transformation in the geography of capitalism is unfolding" (Brenner, 1998, p. 2). Brenner's argument puts evidence on the fact that the dependency on the world economy puts world cities in a dynamic position, which means they have to be perceived as an outcome of urban adaptation to external changes. However, this argument is partially valid for the core cities. Core cities, in their upper network, are being influenced by only inner forces since they are

the decision mechanism or world economy organization. However, by decentralizing production, they turned the periphery countries, which were developed by scholars like Wallerstein and carried on with next-generation scholars like Taylor to indicate the countries that are dependent economically on core cities, into global economy actors.

### **3.2 Global, City, Network**

In an era defined by global interconnectivity, cities have emerged as focal points of dynamic transformations, where the urban development process is strongly linked to the cities' economies. This juxtaposed relationship between dynamic transformations of cities and economic capacity is reinforced by the fact that cities are not isolated entities; rather, they are nodes in a global network. They are connected through globalized economic activities, including international trade, finance, and production (Keil & Ren, 2018).

Starting from the 1980s, studies on cities became more connected to the world economy, which required the extension of research on the spatial articulation of economy. Globalizing economy, and the main actors -cities- became less connected to nations but more to a hierarchy system that goes beyond national boundaries. In this context, cities vary in terms of their political background, which defines national strategies and the way they integrate with the world economy.

Friedmann and Wallerstein focused on “the spatial organization of the new international division of labor” through hypotheses of world cities (Friedmann, 1986, p. 70). Initially, cities were perceived as “a spatially integrated economic and social system located at a specific place or within a metropolitan region.” (1986, p. 70). Furthermore, their integration with the world economy is defined according to their urban economies and the way of connecting the network of markets. Wallerstein (1974) suggested the term “single division labor,” which was employed after by Friedmann to develop his argument on the function distribution across cities. It indicated the over-national interconnectedness of regions and cities and their economic interdependency. According to him, the world operates as a unified economic system where production, trade, and specialization are coordinated on a global scale, which provided a framework for a ‘network’ system among cities. Friedmann, within this framework, distinctly underlined the fact that various urban systems assumed specialized roles. “Besides the vast set of activities that make up their economic base, many typical to all cities, these global cities have a particular component in their economic base (a

component rooted in those spatial and technical changes) that gives them a specific role in the current phase of the world economy” (Sassen, 1991, p. 126).

These discussions initially introduced the concept of ranking major global cities, also known as core cities, “as ‘basing points’ in the spatial organization and articulation of production and markets,” which provided linkages that enabled the configuration of “world cities into a complex spatial hierarchy” (Friedmann, 1986, p. 71). Taylor (2004), elaborating on Friedmann’s thesis, defined the characteristics that major cities need to have: being a finance center and accommodating corporate headquarters, international institutions, business services, manufacturing, transportation, and population size.

During industrialization, one of the determining characteristics was the city's size and population. Even though this statement changed over time, categorizing European world cities remained complicated due to relatively smaller populations and functions. Friedmann addressed this by dividing core cities into two categories, primary and secondary, defining Milan as a secondary core city.

Wallerstein’s theory, which influenced both Friedmann and Taylor, made a notable contribution to establishing a hierarchical structure and needs to be mentioned. He introduced the 'three-level hierarchy' theory to explain this structure in three major regional components: 1)core areas, referring to post-industrial regions that contain various important corporations and headquarters and leading world economy, originating mostly from Northern Europe and Northern America; 2)the semi-peripheries indicate fastly growing industrialized areas with an economy dependent to the core areas’ capital and their technical knowledge; 3)world peripheries are the areas where the rest of the economic activities are located apart from financial capital (Wallerstein, 1974).

Friedmann and Wolf argued the role of semi-periphery regions as the key actors in expanding markets into the world periphery, which causes struggles between them over the political autonomy of world peripheries (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982). This argument resonates with Harvey’s Marxist approach to market expansion. He stressed the expansion towards world peripheries as a way of preventing crisis due to the overaccumulation of capital activities in a single location (Harvey, 2006).

In summary, scholars like Wallerstein, Friedmann, and Taylor developed the world city network theory, perceiving cities as interconnected nodes shaping the world economy.



They agreed on the fact that the greater the accumulation of capital in urban regions, the stronger the region's domination within the hierarchy. Furthermore, the network theory was appealing to policymakers, and investors engaged in over-national markets in pursuit of income optimization. Therefore, they were willing to understand the relationship between cities and the global economy, which translated the network between private firms into a hierarchical power relation among cities.

### **3.3 Global Cities and Territorial States**

Generally, world city studies contributed to analyzing dominant socio-economic trends in these cities, including deindustrialization, the spatial organization of capital flow, expansion of markets and spatial agglomeration of financial services, and polarization, to connect them to urban hierarchy structure and global economic forces that come with it (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982; Friedmann, 1986; Brenner, 1998; Taylor, 2004). These studies focused on global and local duality but postponed the examination of the state, its institutional and policy reconfigurations, and its role in the global system. Even though the state was examined in the research, it was perceived “either in terms of its local/municipal institutions or as a static, unchanging background structure” (Brenner, 1998, p. 8).

Brenner perceived globalization as a reconfiguration and merging of conflicting spatial scales, which arise from territorial states' (re)organization of activities. From this perspective, “state territorial power is not being eroded, but rearticulated and reterritorialized in relation to both sub- and supra-state scales” (1998, p. 3). In other words, reterritorialization implies states' restructuring and reforming powers as a strategic alignment to create a favorable environment for capital flow.

For Friedmann (1995), the relationship between territorial state and global city was a geoeconomic conflict between mobile and immobile, transnational corporations and territories of states. As he discussed in his subsequent articles, the more the economy becomes interdependent on the global scale, the less the ability of regional and local governments have—states' traditional structure of control mechanisms over development and work undermined by global economy.

Sassen (1991) stressed the possibility of a ‘systemic discontinuity,’ addressing the difference between national growth before the 1980s and the forms of growth expressed in global cities after. According to her, the formation of cities was not based on competition but

more on constructing a system; further, a growing city within the network did not necessarily mean that it contributed to the growth of its nation as well. Indeed, she contextualized this issue on two levels: global cities network and cities' geographic positions within their territories and nations. In their national context, these cities and their regions have relatively more financial services, which can be interpreted as an employment shift within the nation. In a globalizing world, this issue should be revised. Overall, Sassen presented a complex understanding of territorial state and global city relations. On the one hand, she argued the 'extraterritoriality' of global cities, indicating their emerging presence inside and outside of state boundaries; on the other hand, the core cities' 'denationalization,' referring to the adaption of state to changing conditions of globalization. The first statement indicated a static view of the nation, which is traditionally understood as a relatively unchanging background. Instead, the latter suggested the dynamic character of regulatory frameworks of states of core cities in relation to capital.

### **Territorialization and Rescaling the State**

Core characteristics of states are established by their structured organization concentrated on a specific territory, termed state territoriality, which is a crucial organizational and geographical component of world capital (Brenner, 1998).

The capitalist movement has self-contradictions on the urban ground (Harvey, 2006); to exist, it requires market expansion towards diverse territorial grounds. It is a way to prevent the overaccumulation of surplus value in a single space. Therefore, it aims to shift its surplus investment to diverse fixed capital, which refers to the built environment, such as housing and factories, under this context. On the other hand, investing in fixed capital, since it is an immobile entity that cannot be transformed or moved, is not convenient for this notion. Furthermore, even though investment in the flow of the economy, including the finance sector and the contemporary type of social force -contemporary globalized population that includes individuals working in multinational companies- requires a center, it aims to eliminate spatial boundaries located in to facilitate its transnational trading activities. Harvey terms these locations that capture the surplus value as a "spatial fix," indicating a temporary solution to avoiding the crisis of over agglomeration of market activities. This phenomenon brought about a crucial topic in urban studies. Through development, these territories started to face a revalorization process, referring to a temporary economic increase and reterritorialization of subject location. These spatiotemporal contradictions of capitalist

behaviors have been reshaping urbanization and state territorial organization. Depending on time and space, it intervenes in different ways but with the same purpose.

The constructing, deconstructing, and reconstructing processes, which can be interpreted as “making a market for itself” (Revington & August, 2020), posited what Schumpeter called ‘creative destruction,’ and defined territories as containing “relatively fixed and immobile infrastructures within and upon” (Brenner, 1998). Similarly, Lefebvre argued the contradiction in which the “territorial fixity” of state territories inevitably needed a stabilized location for increasing “transient” labor and goods on intra- and over-state levels (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 388)

The need to invest surplus value and market expansion towards diverse fixed capital grounds increased the role of territorial states in restructuring global, national, regional, and local relations. Therefore, they reformed their institutional powers and hierarchies by transferring rights between state-region-municipalities. In this case, states played a mediating role between supra-national institutions like the European Union and regions or cities by devolving their powers toward a sub-national scale.

Under these circumstances, states became operators for preparing the complier, market-oriented landscapes. They facilitate environments for public and private partnerships, labor training programs, conferences, and knowledge and technology circulation, which are the construction of immobile assets of territories (Amin & Thrift, 2002), to increase economic development strategically. “This dynamic of state re-scaling can be viewed as an accumulation strategy through which contemporary neoliberal states are attempting to promote their cities and regions as favorable territorial locations for transnational capital investment” (Brenner, 1998).

At this stage, state strategies aimed at the accumulation of fixed and immobile assets can be evaluated in two scales: increasing the global competitiveness of its cities and regions and being a mediator to insert supra-national organizations such as the European Union in territorial space. This bilaterality was referred to as ‘glocalization’ by Swyngedouw in urban studies literature to underline the “superimposition and interpenetration of global political-economic forces” (Brenner, 1998). It augmented the role of urban-regional scales in stimulating capital agglomeration. ‘Glocalization’ was a strategy employed by states to rescale their power at regional and local levels. Urban and regional restructuring was strongly linked to state rescaling, and emerging political and economic environments from

this phenomenon facilitated public and private collaborations. The European answer to glocalization had a specific pattern; their regional and local governments were linked to revalorizing ex-industrial areas through public and private partnerships.

The table is a composition of Brenner's 'Urbanization, State Forms and the World Economy' figure with a summary of the Italian context prepared by author. The italic part is the addition to the original version of the table by the author. The first and second sections of table called territorial state form and spatial organization of the world economy demonstrate Brenner's state power transformation notion. It follows the Italian context later on to indicate how these discussed issues emerged during this transformation period.

*Table 1 Composition of 'Urbanization, State Forms and the World Economy' of Brenner with a summary of the Italian context.*

TERRITORIAL STATE FORM		
CITY AS COORDINATE OF STATE POWER	NATIONAL TERRITORIAL STATE	"GLOCAL" TERRITORIAL STATE
	National-developmentalism: city as a transmission belt for national economic policy; Keynesian "managerial" city	"Glocalization" of state power city politics oriented toward the promotion of endogenous accumulation strategies; re-scaling of state power toward supra- national and local-regional institutions
	(1950s-1970s)	(post-1970s)
URBANIZATION		
	<i>Italian National State</i>	<i>Glocal Territorial State of Italy</i>
	(1950s-1980s)	(post-1980s)
		<i>Movement of decentralization and reformation of government; strategic promotion of a contractual model for interaction between public and private actors redefinition of principles and main goals</i>
SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WORLD ECONOMY		
CITY AS NODE OF ACCUMULATION	city as engine of national economic growth: Fordist industrial city; city as a "growth machine"	Global city formation: uncoupling of urban growth from the growth of national economies; intensified inter-spatial competition among cities and regions on a world scale
	INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY	GLOBAL ECONOMY
ITALIAN CONTEXT		
	<i>Italian cities as national economic growth</i>	<i>State territorialization process around Lombardy and the core city of Milan</i>
	<i>National developments based on cities; economic contribution of port and industrial cities such as Genoa, Venice, Livorno, Turin, Milan</i>	<i>Milan, a city that asymmetrically grows compared to Italy through its accumulating financial sector, is positioned in the wealthiest region of Italy, Lombardy</i>

### 3.4 Not a Global City?

Even though the literature drew an ambiguous and unclear image of the global city, it has always been the focal point for investigating economic and political issues worldwide. Its evolving and dynamic nature is intertwined with capital and reshaped by the transformation of the economy and production. Therefore, instead of defining what a global city is, it would be better to explain what is not a global city anymore.

Firstly, global cities are not responsible for their nations' economic development. Unlike what was assumed as an outcome of uplifting the national economy, the industrialization of core areas did not dilute polarization between regions/cities; on the contrary, it increased the income distribution gap. Furthermore, after the industrial period, as Sassen underlined, there has been an asymmetry in the increase of core cities and their nations' economies.

Secondly, they are not enclosed entities in a one-dimensional national economic structure but are situated directly in a broader urban hierarchy system. The emerging production model and the economy's transformation have changed their sub and supra-national positions. They became a global stage located in their nation rather than the nation being the focal in the global landscape.

Thirdly, global cities are not homogenous in their reactions to economic and spatial restructuring. They do not follow the same path of creative destruction. Their political and economic responses to the spatial restructuring cycle have always been diverse, depending substantially on the territorial structure of their state power, economic resources, and cultural background. From a multi-scalar perspective, these structural changes within cities depended upon the integration into the world economy and the functions assigned to cities, which arranged their positions hierarchically on a global scale.

Lastly, globalization rendered global cities more interconnected economically that the way states operate internally was forced to change. At this point, they are no longer a part of a traditional and vertical governmental hierarchy system but a global urban hierarchy structure. Being situated within capital flow made them crucial for both transnational economy and national political strategies. From the internal political point of view, states strategically rescaled their position by transferring theirs to sub- and supranational organizations to

reinforce the direct connections of their major cities to the global hierarchy, which resulted in revalorization and territorialization of these locations.

The thesis structured its arguments based on these specific outcomes and their contemporary interpretations within the context of site-specific research in Milan. It investigated urban policies that pursue the construction of the global city title. It examined the strategies employed by public institutions to collaborate with private actors, analyzing large-scale investments, the real estate market, and the temporary population.

In this case, the rescaling of state power and territorialization are the key issues that connect international literature to the context of Italy and Milan. Therefore, the research focuses on the decision of territorialization built around Milan and its region. It investigates the rescaled role of the Italian state as a strategy to transfer its rights to sub-national organizational levels for facilitating cooperation between public and private actors and stimulating urban development (Governa & Salone, 2004). The emerging role of the Italian State in the mid-1980s is studied to interpret current issues, including temporary population and urban development investments in the context of Milan. The thesis narrows its focus on specific issues of students and the real estate market. In this case, students are presented as an emerging category of temporary population to be used strategically for generating the global city identity. Furthermore, in terms of market, the thesis argues that students are perceived as a pretext by public and private actors to stimulate urban development and expand the real estate sector. Since their mere existence has a contribution to the national economy, their path of pursuing higher education is a way of training them as a potential creative group that will develop economies. Therefore, the thesis suggests perceiving the student population as a contemporary extension of social forces.

### **3.5 Territorial Dimension of Italy**

Globalization, as a transformative phenomenon, united various fields of the economy on a global market and simplified the diversity; however, it maintained the distinguishability of places (Storper, 1997). This process led to a structural reconfiguration in power organization, which brought about the deterritorialization and reterritorialization of locations by selecting them in favor of market-oriented activities. Correspondingly, the transformation in the global economy brought about an evolution in the territorial organization. As mentioned previously, this change is directly linked to the influences of globalization and the convergence of political, economic, and social factors. The territorial dimension as an

emerging concept during the 1980s and 1990s, starting from the context of Europe, is discussed by scholars like Brenner and Scott and underlined the phenomenon of territorial dimensions that emerged with the rescaling of the state (Brenner, 1998; Scott, et al., 2007). The reconfiguration of power structures within nation-states and their territories is argued as a strategic positioning of authorities to access the benefits of globalization. Furthermore, the dispersion of centrality and restructuring of nation-state institutions are linked through supra- and infra-national mechanisms, resulting in the proliferation of territorial subdivisions and policy-making places (Governa & Salone, 2004).

This transition towards more decentralized governance through globalization has influenced public policy, especially within the European context. It reshaped the traditional vertical relationship of governmental authorities, granting increased autonomy to local governing bodies. Governa and Salone argued Faure's principle of 'subsidiarity' and investigated these changing relationships and the territorial dimension in Italy. The concept of subsidiarity advocated decision-making at the most localized level possible, emphasizing that territories defined by administrative boundaries exhibit a dynamic and active nature; indeed, the boundaries are not fixed but rather shaped through collaborative actions (2004). In this context, "collective action" refers to coordinated efforts and initiatives taken by various actors, including governmental bodies and civil society organizations, to address common issues or achieve shared goals. Furthermore, "territorialization" suggested that these collective actions are not uniform but are shaped and influenced by the specific characteristics and needs of the territories or regions involved. Therefore, their argument about territories not having a definitive boundary was to underline the fact that the limits are reshaped through shared economic activities of various enterprises.

Swyngedouw, Soja, and Brenner stressed the globalization process on the local level by referring to it as 'glocalization,' which refers to the place where local and global interact reciprocally. In this case, 'glocalism' provided an alternative perspective that demonstrates the conjunction between deterritorialization and the following process of territorial reconfiguration defined by globalization. However, "not all territories are in a position to organize such a collective response strategy, joining in global processes in their own way, maintaining a high level of integrity and autonomy and playing a specific role in current processes of globalization" (2004, p. 799). As Pile and Keith advocated, emerging territories are not just passive spaces where global dynamics are localized but territories where new



forms of resistance to global forces occur (Pile & Keith, 1997). Therefore, as underscored by Governa and Salone, the strategic selection of the location for reterritorialization carries significance on both economic and political fronts, contingent upon the responsive capacity of the chosen location to the forces of globalization.

The territory is generated on the foundations of that specific place as a result of activities carried out by entrepreneurial actors, meaning that these actors territorialize locations through their entrepreneurs. Not only do these entrepreneurial actors engage in the process of territorialization, but it's also essential to perceive the territory itself as an aggregation of local actors. The collective behavior of external actors, sharing the common motivation of profit-making, prompts local actors to move collectively as well. As a result, the territorial local system is not a mechanical and predictable dimension that only responds to government, but it takes form according to the subjective actors' decisions.

At this stage, the thesis recalled the article of Governa and Salone to understand the territorial dimension in Italy and employed it to convey the positioning of Milan in this context. Understanding the changing structure of the Italian institutional system is the key point to investigate how Milan is one of the most important locations that hold significant collective actions in its territory. As mentioned earlier, territorialization, indicating the activities on a global scale that reshapes the location through collective actions between locals and outsiders, requires a strong foundation and compatible institutional reorganization for these activities. The reformation of the conventional Italian institutional organization permitted Milan to emerge as a potential location, more open to collaborations, which can also be interpreted as more open to globalization.

The movement towards decentralization and gradual local government reform in Italy emerged during the mid-1980s and early 1990s, referred to as a period marked by "deep crisis in the institutional and political systems" (Governa & Salone, 2004, p. 801). The reforms aimed at transforming the institutional system, restructuring in the monitoring process, and redistributing competencies and powers between the state and local authorities. Changes in the autonomy of local authority and the principle of subsidiarity represented a shift towards decentralization of administration and political actions. These reforms affected urban and territorial policies, giving local authorities a central role in promoting territorial development. These reforms established a more flexible governing landscape on territories; instead of following the conventional decision-making process, they emphasized negotiations and joint

planning, meaning adopting a collaborative process that involves various investors. Therefore, territories serve as an intermediary level where local actors, such as economic interests and government institutions, structure their connections with the global level (2004).

According to this concept, the thesis considered Milan as a territorial location in terms of being capable of allowing a suitable landscape for various actors' activities especially over the past two decades. Furthermore, it emerges as a glocal place that interconnects infra and supranational organizations' activities. It holds the dominance in its metropolitan city and region by hosting the majority of economic activities both nationally and internationally. One of the significant moments that allowed Milan act more flexible was the beginning of the 1990s, a new legal framework was established for provinces, announcing transforming them into the institution of metropolitan cities, which was a way of following the European trend. The reason to activate a new formation for provinces was simplifying the administrative process and diminishing the load of bureaucracy. In the Italian context, for the metropolitan cities, the subsidiarity concept entered in this moment by delegating state authority towards locals to ease administrative processes. This allowed local authorities to collaborate directly with public, private, and global actors. Furthermore, it permitted local authorities to negotiate with these actors and to imply joint planning. This was also a way for adaptation of competition on European level for funding allocation.

### **3.6 Territorialization of Higher Education Institutions**

The territorialization concept was recalled for university hierarchies by Scott and Harding. They researched higher education institutions' relationship with their hosting cities and the inter-cities landscape. In their article, higher education institutions were described in a transformative context of their 'marketing strategy,' which aligned with the notion of being a financial actor. They categorized institutions according to their capacity to be a notable actor in higher education institutions' hierarchy by primarily considering UK cases. This is a reflection of globalizing cities' network notion on their institutions; therefore, as explained by Scott and Harding, it follows a similar path: Firstly, they argued that universities primarily advertised themselves to potential students by using course contents and amenities. However, these self-promotions are expanded by including marketing strategies such as benchmarking exercises, annual reports, and corporate mission statements to demonstrate their relevance and impact not just to students but to a broader audience. They became responsible for enriching communities and producing knowledge. In this context, they categorized

universities into three: first, “world-class” universities that have an international reputation and serve cities and regions culturally, socially, and economically; second, “national or civic” institutions with fewer international connections, which mainly focus on serving their local communities and contributing to economic, social, and cultural aspects; and third, universities that emerge for students with their affordability (Scott, et al., 2007).

Through the transformation toward a knowledge economy, universities became more concerned about the ‘relevance’ of information production. Besides following the globalizing world trends, they became more responsible and ‘relevant’ to their local and regional development. The argument of Scott and Harding can explain the hypothesis about the emerging position of universities; “... universities are to the ‘information age’ what coal mines and steel mills were to the industrial economy, that is to say spatially rooted engines of economic, social, and environmental change. ... there is such a thing as the ‘knowledge economy,’ that universities play a crucial role in servicing the needs of people, organizations and firms that operate within it, and that – arguably –it is at the sub-national, rather than national, scale that we find the critical sites where this key function is articulated and delivered” (2007).

The term ‘globalization’ has been a subject of debate among scholars for years who analyze phenomena occurring in urban areas. However, over time, the term has evolved into an explanation (Albrow, 1997, p. 85) used by public and private actors as a pretext for their actions. In this thesis, globalization is understood as a complex system of processes (Appadurai, 1990) involving the movement of people across the world, transactional activities, services, and the reformation of governmental institutional organizations rather than serving as a uniform, definitive explanation. Appadurai (1990) argued that universities, along with other organizations, have become more globalized by attracting international scholars, especially international students. The statement underlined that the concept of the ‘global university’ has settled in principle with international ranking assessments. The development of global networks among elite institutions, international degree program expansion, movement of scholars, and online learning are examples of globalizing universities’ expansion in a competitive environment (Scott, et al., 2007). However, besides ranking or interconnectedness, knowledge and its production have evolved into a core subject for the economy and society, resulting in the emergence of knowledge production in universities, including in traditional ones. Indeed, the foundation of universities’ globalization derives from the fact that knowledge exhibits heightened dynamism, constantly updating

itself, that requires an organization for emerging trends. At this point, it is crucial to recall Brenner's notion of 'rescaling state power' to perceive how it affects universities in this dynamic environment. The rescaled state intervention, referring to giving the floor to supranational and private actors, affected the traditional role of governments in providing higher education. States, rather than employing policies aimed at redistributing wealth and promoting economic development in challenged regions, according to Brenner, national governments are now more inclined to (a) foster growth in already successful sub-national metropolitan areas and (b) disengage from responsibility for the consequences of unequal spatial development through decentralization and devolution (Brenner, 2004). Even though Brenner did not refer to universities directly in his statement, his argument can be reflected in higher education. Furthermore, he suggested the variability of this statement in terms of implying different contexts and required empirical research.

In conclusion, even though most of the studies related to the emerging role of universities are conducted in the American, British, and Canadian contexts, the transformation of the economy toward knowledge changed the positions of universities overall and in the European context. Adopting Brenner's rescaling hypothesis of states (1998) to investigate higher education institution organizations would be acceptable for this thesis since he conducted materials in a European context. In globalizing urban contexts, universities emerged as international actors within an interconnected landscape. For example, in the European context, this phenomenon is exemplified by supranational organizations like the European Commission, which provides funding for resilience and education development in EU countries. In this case, the European Commission is a common global actor for EU universities that interconnect them through financial organizations. Another instance of interconnectedness is programs like Erasmus, which promotes student and academic mobility across EU universities. Therefore, these globalizing universities exhibit circulation like global cities and become a place of culture exchange and knowledge production. In this context, expanding universities from their historical sites toward new campuses is understood as a way to pursue global trends through incrementing enrollment numbers. In the contemporary trend of realizing expansion projects, states facilitate partnerships and collaborations with private organizations; at the same time, these private actors, in turn, utilize education as a motivation to realize such projects. On the other hand, these projects, contributing to urbanization, have different patterns compared to mainstream study locations. Scott and Harding stressed the globalizing of higher education in the European context by underlining

that European universities are likely to maintain strong ties to their regional contexts even if they adopt a global role, which signified that location remains a significant subject for universities (Scott, et al., 2007).

### **3.7 Rethinking University's Relationship to Global City**

The relationship between universities and global cities is changing due to globalization, following changes in government policies, and the rapid growth and transformation of urban areas. In globalizing cities, they facilitate the exchange and flow of ideas, highly skilled individuals, and the production of innovation. They are strategic spaces for urbanization in globalizing contexts (Addie, 2018). Their function is directly related to the intake of temporary populations, mostly students. Therefore, they have the power to trigger processes including studentification and youthification of neighborhoods. They have also been significant 'financial actors' in terms of holding properties and expansion programs within globalizing cities (McNeill, 2023). Rescaling the territorial state shifted the role of their institutions as well. Consequently, universities, once majorly financed by governments, became partners of private organizations (2023). All of these aspects render universities important actors and places where public and private actors collaborate and arrange their strategic movements of urbanization (Addie, 2018).

Universities and core cities shifted their relationship based on the emerging demands of a knowledge-based global economy (Addie, 2016). This transformation reflects the role of universities as hubs for knowledge production and curation in an urbanized knowledge-based economy (Addie, 2018). Governments and higher education have always had an interconnected relationship through their public financing. Therefore, the changes in the political and economic ground of the government, starting from the 1980s, brought about new terms for universities and their relationships with cities through emerging demands and expectations. Collini argued that universities across Europe and North America have reacted to these transforming conditions by employing various actors, including entrepreneurs, that have reorganized their institutional and territorial profiles (Collini, 2017). Besides these political and economic changes, with globalization, higher education institutions have become unattached from their local territories and entered into a global web of higher education institutions. In European cases, the evolution of universities is different from American, Canadian, and Australian ones. "European universities, which formerly received almost their entire income from government subventions, are undergoing the painful process

of diversification, forming alumni associations to connect with their graduates and establishing fundraising offices, long a staple of US academia” (Etzkowitz, 2013, p. 488). This process signified a transition towards greater financial independence for European universities. Universities are influenced by external orientation and actively contribute to the development of localized knowledge-based economies. Correspondingly, policymakers encourage universities to take an active role in their urban surroundings by contributing to local economic development, providing skill training, and facilitating networking. The traditional image of universities where intellectuals are detached from the practicalities has evolved into being contributors to regional economic growth.

McNeill argued the role of universities in a similar way; besides being involved in the real estate market within cities, they started to operate as financial actors by collecting private funding to keep up with challenging economic backgrounds. He argued that the expansion strategy of American higher education institutions affected lower-income neighborhoods and resulted in displacement (McNeill, 2023). Furthermore, not only for American cases, but the development projects of innovation districts are also often considered to be constructed in undesirable areas with the aim of revalorizing the city. In this process, collaboration involves not only private actors such as real estate sectors and investors but also public institutions, which serve as collaborative actors of territorialization through the revalorization of urban areas. The strategy of expansion can be interpreted as a strategic movement of public and private actors for raising the market values of surrounding land (Addie, 2018), which aligns with the student housing market as an asset class for investors through studentification process (Holton, 2016).

In the discourse of globalizing higher education institutions, universities started to portray themselves as innovation centers that transformed their traditional image of merely focused on studies to a more dynamic version that offer knowledge to market. This inclination of universities is directly linked to global city notion and their status of being hubs of economic and knowledge-driven activity and results in attracting the students, which is one of the categories of temporary population.

## **4. The Global City: An Attraction Point for the Temporary Population**

### **4.1 Similarities Arising from Different Motivations**

Temporary populations have been one of the most notable issues in globalizing cities. The emergence of these groups has been studied under the umbrella of urbanization processes of tourism, transnational gentrification, and studentification. Their inflow within the city transforms urban areas and generates socio-spatial polarization. Before focusing on the group of students and studentification, this chapter aims to give an insight into what temporary population refers to in literature.

In a globalizing world, temporary populations have become more notable within cities by accelerating individuals' mobility. This faster circulation made it harder to identify them. The distinction between temporary and permanent populations within cities is no longer solely determined by the duration of their stay. Instead, it is increasingly influenced by their perspective and intention of them. Temporary populations' motivations and reasons to reside in a city is the point that needs more attention rather than the issue of a period of time. Scholars traditionally concentrated on one section of the temporary population to develop an emphasizing study. However, Brollo and Celata synthesized these classifications under one title to investigate emerging similarities between their characteristics, such as age group, consumption patterns, motivations and decisions, and the outcomes they produce for the city. Therefore, this section is majorly built on the studies of Brollo and Celata, Storper, Moos, and Martinotti.

Initially, the concept of migration does not always have to be a permanent movement from one place to another (Zelinsky, 1971). Depending on the situation, it might emerge as a 'circular migration,' indicating a movement pattern between two or more locations. Short-term periods such as periodical student movements, vacations, traveling for professional reasons, and social visits are examples of circulation migration (1971). Moreover, global cities are the preferred destinations for people who relocate for economic reasons and 'lifestyle migration' (Benson & O'Reilly, 2016). According to Benson and O'Reilly, besides economic opportunities, these places draw attention through their appealing lifestyles and change the migration concept into a form of consumption. In 2018, Storper conducted contemporary research on 'creatives,' aligning with Florida's concept of the 'creative class.' This research demonstrated the significant outgrowth of the 'lifestyle migration' concept. It

indicated a certain quality of life, which serves as a strong motivation factor for more qualified and wealthy migrants who are also part of the creative class. These individuals of the creative class and the creative class itself form a substantial part of the increasing flow toward global cities (Storper, 2018).

One of the dominant parts of the creative class is the commuters, which can be co-occurred with the lifestyle migrants. Commuters that move transregionally or transnationally create a constant flow, referred to as a ‘state of flux,’ and do not have a deep connection with the city where they consume. Martinotti theorized the ‘city user’ concept to describe groups of individuals who consume cities without residing or working in them (Martinotti, 2005). The division between consumption and production through the mobile category of the creative class is addressed by scholars like Martinotti, including tourists, second-homers, non-resident students, and commuters in this category (2005).

Besides the various reasons and motivations, one crucial point that Brollo and Celata stressed is that temporary populations exhibit commonalities, which are crucial for understanding their practices and outcomes. Firstly, students, commuters, tourists, and lifestyle migrants share a demographic structure formed by a relatively young age group, and all of these groups commonly drive the gentrification process. Furthermore, typically, they have higher incomes or budgets than the average residents. In most cases, they stay for work, education, or sometimes a concurrence of these two incidents. Therefore, they are attracted by economically stronger cities with a concentration of highly skilled individuals (Brollo & Celata, 2022).

From the demographic point of view, temporary populations are relatively younger than the average inhabitants, which initially indicates the case for the group of students. Even though they have a lower budget than other categories, those who can afford higher education abroad are from at least upper/middle-income families (2022). Frändberg addressed this issue by underlining the fact that “going abroad to live, work, or study for a period when young has long been part of the transition to adulthood among certain, privileged social groups” (Frändberg, 2014, p. 1). This sentence confirmed two aspects of students: firstly, abroad experiences have become common in the contemporary era; secondly, as mentioned earlier, students often possess robust economic conditions to cover expenses. Secondly, Brollo and Celata reinforced their idea of the temporary population being predominantly young by pointing out that transregional or transnational labor movements generally take place during



the early stages of an individual's career. In addition, even though tourists have a more homogeneous age distribution, the latest Eurostat data has shown that almost half of this population is between 25 and 40. At this point, they underscored that temporary populations mostly have similar ages, and their inflow contributes to the “youthification” of cities (Brollo & Celata, 2022, p. 6).

#### **4.2 Temporary Population of Students as a Part of *Contemporary Creative Class***

In recent decades, there has been a growing significance attributed to creativity and culture in relation to urban value creation and the competitive dynamics among global cities. This shift has notably influenced the establishment and enhancement of creative industry clusters, as articulated by Richard Florida’s concept of the ‘creative class.’ Florida’s notion emphasized the critical role of creative professionals in driving innovation and economic growth within urban environments (Florida, 2002). These clusters provide an environment where creative professionals can interact, exchange ideas, and collectively contribute to the knowledge economy, reinforcing the transformation of global cities into hubs for the production of ideas and high-value services.

These clusters primarily comprise transient populations from diverse cultures, encompassing not only professionals employed in international firms but also students enrolled in top-ranked higher education institutions. In this context, the accumulation of creative individuals is particularly coherent with the socio-economic landscape of Western societies, where high-added value and innovation are recognized. Further, this accumulation is supported by global cities to sustain economic progression and used for strategic movements to shape urban settlement.

Global cities exist within a hierarchical framework where various factors shape their relative importance and influence. In this global city network, some hold more economic power and influence than others regarding their economic output, financial services, and innovation capacity (Taylor, 2004). Commencing from the 1970s, the dynamics between global cities started to change regarding their ability to be financial centers and production of ideas rather than goods. By increasing the production value through a transformation or enhancement process, these financial hubs achieved a final output with a higher price or market value, reinforcing the competition among them. To this end, culture and creativity became important driving forces to increase economic growth. In the following years, mainstream empirical studies on global cities showed that the interest reached out from

producing goods to producing ideas and a knowledge-based economy. This evolution brought to light the significant position of new actors, encompassing not only corporations and companies but also knowledge workers, artists, professionals, and entrepreneurs, thereby defining these creative individuals as the *creative class* of cities that increase the level of productivity, create job opportunities, and overall expand the economies of cities and enhance the urban development (Florida, 2002). Within this context, culture and creativity have become significant values as driving forces to increase economic growth and, consequently, develop urban areas and the global image of cities within the competitive network of global cities. For this reason, the creative class has been one of the crucial parts of societies for global cities.

Adapting Florida's concept to the present day requires a revised interpretation of the creative class, which can be termed as a transient/temporary population. In the competitive economic environment of the global city network, the contemporary creative class can be perceived as a relatively mobile and transient population. Aspects like economic opportunities, diverse experiences, and the prospect of international education compel the contemporary creative class to frequently relocate between distinct locations. Consequently, this trend transforms global cities into appealing destinations, which are under the influence of globalization and have become increasingly interconnected and interdependent on a global scale in terms of their economies, cultures, and societies.

The lifestyle of the temporary population provides an overview of the profile of this group. For instance, frequent relocations to different global destinations driven by short-term job opportunities, new economic offers in international companies, the pursuit of international education in prominent cities, and subsequently seeking employment in these global hubs demonstrate a lifestyle predominantly suitable for students and young professionals. Based on this description, it is reasonable to infer that the predominant composition of the contemporary creative class consists of young professionals and students. In accordance with the concept of Florida, this class makes substantial contributions to the city economy by working and studying through their active participation in the business environment. Furthermore, their mere presence simply generates a multiplier effect by attracting or creating complementary businesses and services and driving demand for retail and housing. Therefore, this dynamic relationship is perceived as encouraging for economic activities and urban development, and it is supported by states and local governments of global cities.

Moreover, the influx of young people and students affects demographic and socioeconomic trends in urban areas. Their increasing presence initiates the ‘youthification’ process which is convenient for cities to increase their attractiveness and urban revitalization (Moos, et al., 2019). Opening the way for new student intakes is a way to improve the young population in cities. The significant increase in student population in certain neighborhoods gives rise to the studentification process. On one side, studentification through youthification is supported by local institutions and governments since they bring along investments and make the place more appealing, on the other, their increasing presence causes issues like speculating local housing market through running out the existing housing stocks and decreasing the rate of housing affordability.

#### **4.3 Knowledge and Education as a Way of Developing Global Cities**

This chapter delves into the contemporary dynamics between higher education institutions and students in globalized cities. In the modern education landscape, globalization has reshaped students’ motivations for pursuing higher education and the post-education expectations. It has fundamentally altered the aspirations of individuals seeking higher education and their corresponding interests. At the same time, local authorities and their private partners are influenced by this process and started using knowledge-based entities and educational institutions as a way of developing their economies and urban areas. Therefore, this section will focus on motivations and strategies of different sides.

From the perspective of those seeking education, there is a willingness to incur certain educational expenses and even consider studying abroad in pursuit of the specific benefits offered by globalized education. Students and families are increasingly open to taking on the financial risks associated with education and possible further expenses that come along with it to obtain certain potential advantages globalized universities bring. From the students’ point of view, pursuing an education in one of those urban centers’ universities can be perceived as a feasible way to gain a place in the global economy. These institutions, like global cities, are interconnected by exchanging programs, collaborating on intercollegiate studies, supplying internship opportunities, and, most importantly, guaranteeing international recognition in global cities. Especially for non-European students or those from underdeveloped countries, they can see this as an opportunity to obtain international recognition that they may not have had in their own countries. On the other hand, global cities offer the chance to engage with *transnational elites* (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982) and

work in primary roles through the accumulation of economic activities. Shortly, students have strong motivations to pursue their studies in globalized institutions.

On the other hand, educational institutions have gained recognition as tools for the development of global cities, both by state entities and private stakeholders. Firstly, these institutions serve as incubators of a highly skilled workforce, *contemporary creative class*, bolstering economic activities. “One can argue that economic development contributes to higher education and vice versa, since higher education contributes to economic development through training human resources and providing a knowledgebase... The countries with the fastest growing higher education also have the fastest growing economies” (Shin, 2011). Economists and policymakers approach human capital development positively. “Skills developed by education and training increase worker productivity and generate higher wages and better employment prospects” (Holmes & Mayhew, 2016). Even though Holmes and many scholars found this assumption too strong, the approach served for higher education expansion to support human capital development.

Furthermore, when the intricate economic relationships between global cities are assessed in detail, higher education institutions assume a strategic role in forming a global city network. These institutions act as gates enabling access to the pool of highly skilled individuals contributing to global cities’ economies. To ensure a continuous stream of the present-day creative workforce, public and private entities have actively supported the globalization process of higher education institutions. This support turned these institutions into global cities’ strategic partners and rendered them attractive hubs for students. How global cities have become the control centers of the worldwide economy, universities and campuses have transformed into valuable globalized resources by attracting and retaining potential members of the contemporary creative class.

Moreover, by attracting a diverse and international student body, universities and campuses draw the attention of private investors keen to invest in the city and exert influence over urban development strategies. The presence of these educational institutions has a significant impact on the local real estate market. In 2016, Addie reconsiders shifting concentration from ‘the urban university’ to ‘universities in urban society’ which the latter acknowledges the active roles universities play in shaping the urban environment (Addie, 2016). “Indeed, post-secondary institutions are increasingly important political-economic

actors within urban areas in the context of the expansion of the knowledge economy” (Moos, et al., 2019).

#### **4.4 Studentification through Massification**

To understand the consequences of temporary populations on the urbanization process, it is significant to describe the youthification and studentification hypothesis. “The youthification hypothesis posits that young adult geographies are highly centralized, particularly in metropolitan regions with gentrified, amenity-rich downtowns successful in the knowledge economy” (Moos, et al., 2019, p. 1). This hypothesis was primarily put forward and well documented in cities of Canada and America, where young adults are inclined towards residing in central areas.

According to this hypothesis, young adults have a higher tendency to dwell in central neighborhoods. At the same time, metropolitan areas that accommodate young adult residents are already gentrified and rich in possibilities, and they are developed in terms of the knowledge economy and have become more centralized. Compared to earlier generations, the increased education level showed why the central locations and their amenities and opportunities attract this group. The abundance and diversity of opportunities are crucial for young adults who have faced increased vulnerability to an unstable job market, economic uncertainty, and housing affordability challenges, often linked to neoliberal policies and globalization in metropolitan areas (2019). Because of these reasons, scholars like Moos discovered the correlation between education level and the urbanization process of neighborhoods. All these phenomena related to economic amenities made urban areas crucial points for young people and caused youthification process.

Even though youthification and studentification are coincident phenomena, when universities and their expansions are included in the analysis, they emerge as two distinct concepts related to each other. Studentification is identified as a subcategory of youthification, and both concepts have a mutual impact on the urban area. Initially, Moos, Revington, and Wilkin (2019) defined this phenomenon as an outcome of university expansion and branch campus development. “Studentification refers to the influx of post-secondary students to a neighborhood, often related to increased enrolment at a nearby institution, and all its attendant effects, including social, cultural, physical and economic changes to the area” (Smith, 2005). In the 2000s, American and British scholars addressed this strong relationship between campus branches and growing student body as an influence

of knowledge economy on the urban areas and referred to higher education institutions as urban functions acting autonomous and playing significant role in the urban transformation (Balducci & Fedeli, 2014; Moos, et al., 2019).

The knowledge economy has presented new entities of built forms, indicating innovation hubs and research centers along with universities and their facilities. In exploring these transformations, scholars argued the “reterritorialization of higher education institutions in the form of new branch campuses” as a significant aspect generated by globalization, emphasizing the expansion of universities with different strategies, which affects the physical and social urban environment (Revington, et al., 2020, p. 190).

Universities introduce their presence in urban areas as global, internationally active, and competitive institutions, which therefore, require local expansion through opening new branch campuses. In this way, they not only hold a significant portion of land and possess real estate value in the built environment but also invite the student population within the city, which turns them into powerful actors for their locales. Scholars addressed this agglomeration of universities as ‘massification’ of higher education institutions (Scott, et al., 2007). Correspondingly, it increased the enrollment number and resulted in an increment in student population in the city. Therefore, besides the evident physical phenomena, studentification through massification generated a social transformation in urban areas (Revington, et al., 2020).

Studies on studentification mainly concentrated on Canadian and British examples and demonstrated the notable impact of residential concentrations of students in specific urban areas (Smith, 2005; Revington, et al., 2020). The student accumulation brought about alterations in urban amenities, commercial enterprises, and services, thereby increasing the value of the neighborhood and resulting in the displacement of existing residents, including families, while transforming existing urban functions that serves the permanent residents of the area and replacing them with those meeting the needs of the student population, like pubs and gyms.

Studentification is a contextual process influenced by local factors, including the provision of on-campus student housing by institutions and housing market characteristics. In various global examples, such as Spain and China, unique forms of studentification have emerged, showcasing the adaptable nature of this phenomenon (Garmendia, et al., 2011; He, 2014). However, scholars agreed that this phenomenon is not a universal occurrence and has

limitations in fully understanding the broader impacts of students on various locations. On the other hand, studentification poses a significant planning challenge congruently, intertwining with aspects of the relationship between the temporary populations brought by the university and the permanent residents, including local knowledge transfer, community and economic development, research partnerships, and university-led real estate development or gentrification. In the UK, studentification is a dominant urban transformation phenomenon and a major issue for cities which have faced political opposition and received limited effectiveness from local regulation and its frameworks. This resulted in the consideration of purpose-built student accommodation developments as a planning solution (Revington, et al., 2020, p. 191). The rise of privatized student housing is a reflection of larger trends in higher education, driven by factors like expansion, shifts in funding models, and heightened competitiveness. While different models of private involvement exist, those without formal ties to universities are becoming more prevalent. Some of these trends emerge in the case of Milan. On the further sections, the presence of some of these solutions and their market maturity will be discussed.

Scholars including Moos and Revington who worked on the cases of Canada such as the mid-size town Waterloo, came to the conclusion that the studentification process has a crucial impact on urban development. Inefficient policies that could not respond to issues regarding studentification lead authorities to find solutions in purpose-built student accommodation (PBSA) sector, which also have financial negative effects on the real estate market. They suggested treating studentification phenomenon as a fact that does not merely belong to a neighborhood but also covers the entire urban planning, referring urban dormitory (2020). They discover the fact that over time, through the expansion of universities, the areas referred to as student zones have grown and created corridors in the city between other urban functions. Therefore, they suggested a broader perception that could supply flexible solutions and longer vision. The examples that demonstrate the mature student housing market formation are crucial to examine, since Milan's PBSA sector is also accelerating its pace of growth. Furthermore, they came to the conclusion that PBSA does not fully address concerns related to studentification. While planning efforts to attract private capital for high-density student housing can alleviate shortages, they may not resolve broader town-gown conflicts, which indicates the relationship between the temporary population attracted by higher education institution and the permanent residents around these facilities.

## **5. Ambitious Newcomers: Temporary Population and Permanent Effects**

### **5.1 Students as Driving Force of Real Estate Market**

Temporary residents actively utilize the city through its services, infrastructure, public spaces, and amenities. Therefore, they are visible through using city functions and impact on the real estate market. Yet, their visibility within the city contrasts with their invisibility in formal records and official statistics, presenting challenges for the urban realm (Martinotti, 2005). Residing is an ambiguous issue for temporary populations due to their nontraditional way of living. Their needs and dwelling time span are limited compared to traditional residents. They often prefer accommodation types that include co-living to reduce expenses that have consequences on the real estate market (Brollo & Celata, 2022). It creates a behavior pattern among landlords who desire to maximize rental income by renting their properties to multiple young adults for a short-term period. Correspondingly, dividing rental income into several tenants is convenient for those who prefer to spend less in a better location as well. The combination of these market-oriented behavior patterns results in a concentration of temporary populations in specific locations that trigger the process of youthification and gentrification. It speculates the real estate market and negatively affects permanent inhabitants. Additionally, due to the temporariness, these populations, and the city struggle to create a socio-cultural connection, and the relations between them remain superficial (Zelinsky, 1971).

From the economic point of view, scholars have examined the reasons for the convenience and preferability of short-term rentals with multiple tenants. Brollo and Celata identified optimized space utilization and maximum economic benefits as key reasons. In addition to this, Moos suggested that "even though individual incomes may be lower, young adults living with roommates may outbid larger single- or dual-earner households with children" (Moos, et al., 2019, p. 2). He continued his argument that first-time homeowners employ this strategy to secure a steady income from young adult renters who contribute to the gentrification process and trigger the affordability of the real estate market (2019). Given the profitability of renting properties to multiple young adults for a short-term period, temporariness brought about the question of the sharing economy and its impact on urbanization. These market-oriented strategies cause "monetize human effort and consumer's assets," which indicates that short-term rentals allow homeowners to derive economic value



from their real estate assets. Brollo and Celata underlined this issue by arguing that “[T]he inflow of temporary inhabitants dramatically affects the housing market by increasing real estate values and the rent gap” (Brollo & Celata, 2022, p. 13). This effect is particularly challenging to confront since temporary residents support a distinct market segment that is dedicated merely to them and is appealing to property owners and the real estate sector. Transforming a significant portion of available housing stock in short or medium-term rentals results in displacing middle and even high-income residents, including those who had previously gentrified the area (2022).

## **5.2 *Financialized Landlords Running Urban Dormitory***

"Over the past few decades, housing markets have become increasingly intertwined with finance, connecting the destinies of homeowners and renters to volatile financial markets and housing has always been a unique commodity, where the tension between its ‘use value’ as a home and its ‘exchange value’ as a tradable commodity can create complexities in housing markets, policies, and the daily experiences of homeowners, landlords, and tenants" (August & Walks, 2018, p. 2). This section aimed to underline the changing perception of housing through financial activities regarding student accommodation. It underscored the specific behavior type of landlords in developing urban areas in terms of studentification and explained the possible alterations and outcomes of this issue.

The presence of students and their concentration in specific urban areas is a concept perceived differently by public and private actors and permanent residents. Their positive contribution to the urban economy has been seen as an advantage by public and private organizations and institutions. However, the body of students concentrated in areas within the city may change conditions for permanent inhabitants, including their displacement through the process of studentification.

The accumulation of students starts an urban process in which the economy, culture, and physical environment of the neighborhood go through a period of transformation (Smith, 2005). In literature, this phenomenon is referred to as ‘studentification,’ first mentioned by English and American scholars. The studentification phenomenon varies according to the urban and the institutional context of the place, and correspondingly, as a result of these factors, the opportunities that their higher education institutions offer students. The combination of these particular components of cities may result in active usage of the existing

stock of houses by students and the development of private student accommodations (Revington, et al., 2020).

In globalizing cities, as the city improves economic conditions through capital accumulation and becomes more appealing for the young generations. Universities have become crucial for the knowledge economy, correspondingly, they have expanded their campuses due to the increase in enrollment numbers. These branch and satellite campuses with the emerging ones evolved with the requirement of knowledge economy and initiated to possess more influential power on the city. As mentioned, due to the shift in knowledge economy along with globalization, local places and local urban functions gained and enhanced their position in global landscape by bypassing their states (Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2003). This phenomenon occurred through not only *glocalization* of urban areas but also their urban functions (Brenner, 1998; Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2003).

Higher education institutions in local/global places became crucial partners of cities and support urban development. As an attraction point for students through the strategies of public authorities and the glocal elites, they increased the student body living within the city. Therefore, some cities started to experience positioning university students off-campus in the stocks of real estate market and private housing markets rather than conventional student accommodations operated by universities. Revington, Moos, Henry and Haider argued this phenomenon by using the term *urban dormitory* referring to “privately rented off-campus student housing within an urban region” (Revington, et al., 2020, p. 189). This term included both the occupation of existing real estate stocks of the location and the private-built student accommodations that allow students to rent short and mid-term rooms in facilities.

The increasing student volume in the city through massification can be perceived as a financial potential for landlords. The massification of higher education institutions without offering sufficient supply for student housing demand results in seeking accommodation solutions on the local real estate market. In this case, a *financialized landlord* is a property owner or entity in the real estate market that approaches property management from a financial perspective (August & Walks, 2018). These landlords treat homes as financial assets traded on international markets, emphasizing asset management strategies to maximize profits for investors. “Financialized landlords have shifted from a focus on *property* to *asset* management – treating homes as financial assets that can be traded on international markets, and which are valued according to their yield to investors” (2018, p. 5). These individuals or

entities often invest in student housing because it can be profitable, given the consistent demand from a transient student population. This market-oriented behavior of property owners prioritizes profit and brings about affordability and housing quality issues in areas affected by studentification and the knowledge economy.

A financialized landlord, also known as a financialized housing investor or financial speculator, is an individual, entity, or organization that views real estate, particularly housing, primarily as a financial investment rather than as a means of providing housing for individuals or communities. These landlords focus on generating financial returns and profits from their real estate holdings. They often prioritize financial gain, such as rental income, property appreciation, or short-term speculative gains, over the long-term well-being of tenants and the broader community.

This phenomena brought about a new form of gentrification especially in the globalizing cities, driven by financialization of rental properties and reduced tenant protections, resulting in displacement of lower-income renters with students.

### **5.3 Student Housing Market**

For this chapter, the thesis employed the study of Revington and August, investigating the emergence of purpose-built student accommodation in Waterloo, Canada. This study concentrated on one of the most developed student housing markets and represented motivations behind the occurrence of purpose-built student accommodation (PBSA) and the behavior of the PBSA market in Canada. It aimed to reveal the business strategies and geographic distributions of investment in the sector, influencing the approach of the thesis case study, Milan.

In the study of Waterloo, scholars stressed that in 2011, investors noticed an opportunity to invest in underdeveloped areas and decided to create a market for high-quality student accommodations in Canada, with a specific focus on secondary markets. The secondary market is referred to as the places that are not primarily invested and relatively outside the city center yet have the potential to develop PBSA. In this paper, Revington and August presented particular dynamics of demand and supply, addressing that unlike the ‘new-build studentification’ observed elsewhere, which is typically *driven by student* demand for housing in a knowledge-based economy, in Canada, the creation of PBSA is propelled by *finance-driven* demand for an investment product (Revington & August, 2020, p. 857). In this

case, PBSA functions as a spatial fix that might cause social segregation, displacement, and affordability issues at the local level (2020).

The presence of temporary populations, which under this context indicates specifically students, has changed the perception of housing from being a fundamental need to an asset that could increase its value through population circulation and their demand for short-term rents. Distinctly, in the case of Canada, even though there was not sufficient demand, this niche sector used students as a pretext to invest in the built environment and diversely expected to have student inflow related to the emerging PBSAs.

As a result, the case represented the transformation from demand-driven to finance-driven new build student accommodations. As Nakazawa (2017) argued, the transformation in urban environment related to student accumulation is insufficient to justify the emerging geographies of private student accommodations. New student housing does not only occur due to growing post-secondary enrolment in a city where a knowledge-based economy is restructuring. It might arrive from the deliberate efforts of firms to create derivatives for investors. Additionally, Revington and August addressed student accumulation as a transformative phenomenon for UK towns, triggering the gentrification process driven by the market-oriented perception of investors seeing students as consumers. Correspondingly, the emergence of PBSA in less developed zones of the city provides a possibility to overcome barriers such as high land costs in the city center, serving as a profitable investment with the expectations of higher yields compared to alternative investments.

This study case is employed since it provided a different perspective for the PBSA motivation and behavior in a different context. In the following chapters, where the findings of the Milan case study are under discussion, this research is strategically utilized to compare various approaches and to gain insights into potential outcomes.

## 6. Study Approach

Investigating the impact of students on the real estate market may seem a straightforward task to complete by conducting a quantitative database. Yet, before narrowing down the research to data collection and interpretation, it was essential to establish connections between crucial points in urban studies literature. Therefore, the study was conducted using a mixed-method approach, which encompassed both theoretical and empirical studies. Furthermore, by using a transcalar approach, it considered phenomena and interactions at the global level as well as within a specific territorial context, referring to Milan.

By following mainstream studies and scholars, firstly, the thesis employed the global city approach to investigate social, economic, and political issues that emerged due to student presence in Milan. Therefore, it started by sketching a background of the global city notion in literature. It aimed to arrive at the point that cities are the global actors/locations directly linked to the worldwide economy.

Urban studies scholars and theorists studied the global city approach on two different scales: global and territorial. The global scale is crucial for understanding the temporary population and its interest in global cities; vice versa, it illuminates the interest of global cities in temporary populations. This approach is employed to comprehend the temporary populations as students, a notable part of the young and creative population in circulation, and their contribution to the economy of cities and their urban developments. The territorial scale is used as a framework to study policies of the local context that enable temporary population flow within cities. It provided a perspective to comprehend public and private actors' actions as being the arena of investments and collaborations.

The thesis employed these methods to investigate initially why core cities attract temporary populations by underlining their knowledge-based economy. This economic model also brought about the importance of higher education institutions for globalizing cities. Therefore, the global city approach was essential to construct a triangle of globalizing cities, their universities, and temporary populations. Using a transcalar approach, the study aimed to comprehend the intricate relationship between students and globalizing cities and build a bridge between them to understand the impact on the real estate market.

The thesis hypothesis advocates that global cities attract and invite the temporary population, which is referred to as students, specifically in this case, by using higher education institutions. This aspect is connected with the initial part of global cities' need for a young and creative population. Furthermore, the thesis hypothesis continued claiming that public and private actors employ investments and policies by utilizing global city title to develop urban areas in Milan. They foster an attractive student environment by enriching and expanding higher education institutions, resulting in speculation on the real estate market. These hypotheses brought about the questions related to these issues in the context of Milan and required an empirical study.

1. Do the existing student accommodations adequately cover the demand?
2. Are there specific zones in Milan already affected by students and the studentification process?
3. In what ways do these affected zones experience the impact – through rent price increases, financialized landlords, growing rented rooms, or shifts in the student housing market?
4. Are there ongoing campus expansions or large-scale projects hosting new branch campuses?
5. In new student accommodation projects, do private entities or universities dominate?
6. Do these dominant parties have an accumulation in a specific zone or direction?
7. In which phase is the student housing market in Milan?
8. Is the temporary population of students in Milan considered a positive or negative phenomenon?

The thesis framed these questions by drawing insights from the literature review, confronting them against the context of Milan, and addressing them through empirical research. Initially, the study delved into statistical data concerning universities, focusing on student enrollment figures and available university accommodations. This approach sought to illuminate the intricate dynamics between demand and supply. The thesis identified the term 'demand,' indicating the sum of the students who come outside of their regions and countries. The term 'supply' pertained to accommodation options provided by only universities. The

thesis assessed the foremost and most populated universities and their accommodations in Milan by employing the dataset of MIUR.

The obtained findings were then visually represented on maps to establish the geographical distribution of universities and their accommodations, enabling the examination of potential studentification zones. The maps are prepared with the coordination dataset provided by Geoportale of Comune di Milano and Regione Lombardia and developed during the research process.

Furthermore, these statistical and geographical analyses were utilized to assess their correlation with the overall real estate market. This investigation aimed to understand the potential impact of students on specific zones and to examine how it might contribute to fluctuations in rent prices over the years. Additionally, it analyzed the room prices rented by private individuals on the common real estate platforms. This section's statistical dataset was sourced from the Idealista platform and transformed into geographical visualization. Findings are gathered with the program QGIS and represented as maps.

To understand the sequence of events from a broader perspective, the research examined campus expansion projects. This effort sought to interpret the anticipated rise in student enrollment in the coming years. Thesis evaluated new campus projects as the potential revalorization urban functions for the urban realm and paid attention to their new positioning within the city. Their emergence and positioning provided valuable insights of the private and public actors' motivations on the urban development and real estate market.

The potential increase in student enrollment brought about the question of the student housing market. To grasp the future dynamics between supply and demand, the study concentrated on the student housing accommodation projects. It aimed to investigate the emergence or expansion of privately built student accommodations by identifying the dominant operators. In revealing whether private entities or universities operated the majority of new projects, the aim was to gain insight into the future trajectory of the purpose-built student accommodation sector in Milan. Moreover, examining their geographical distribution and investigating potential concentrations in specific zones may identify areas at risk of urban transformation. Overall, all these statistical and geographical data collections are utilized to understand the real estate and student housing market in Milan.

## 7. The Case Study of Milan

### 7.1 The General Territorial Plan, a Strategic Tool for Milan

Before delving into the general territorial plan of Milan, it is advisable to briefly explain the local planning mechanism in Italy. Within the framework of The General Territorial Plan, *Piano di Governo del Territorio (PGT)*, each city possesses a set of urban planning documents, encompassing strategic planning, service planning, regulation plans, and strategic environmental assessment reports tailored to the city's unique characteristics. The PGT of Milan 2030, therefore, holds validity exclusively within Milan and addresses implications related to demographic structure, economic activities, principles, and future objectives for 2030. These objectives delineate future investments and guide the city's direction in alignment with the goals of public authorities and, on a supranational level, following the criteria of the European Union. The study utilized the PGT and its supportive documents, along with statistical data from ISTAT and MIUR, to investigate issues arising from the processes of a globalizing economy, increasing temporary populations, and changing trends in the real estate market.

Milan was illustrated by important Italian scholars as “the most dynamic city in Italy, a former industrial center, and now a city that concentrates the headquarters of important international companies, famous worldwide for design, fashion, media, and research” (Balducci, 2020). The changing economic structure of the city towards knowledge-based model provided space for new establishments related to the globalizing trends and international companies, multinational firms became significant actors in this landscape (Balducci, et al., 2016). The events that the city hosts periodically influence the city's reputation such as design week and fashion week, enhance the profile of the city in the global landscape. Furthermore, there are crucial moments that emerged by specific events like Expo 2015 and changed the recognition level of the city. “In 2015 Milan was the site of the World Expo on the theme ‘Feeding the planet, energy for life’ which was visited by 20 million people. The success of the exhibition was the beginning of a very positive period for the city which has been considered since then an exceptionally active and attractive place in a country that, particularly after the crisis of 2008, is still quite problematic” (Balducci, 2020).

Initially, PGT identifies Milan as a global city and envisions the city's future shaped by its connectivity with a compact core that expands northward along major infrastructure



corridors. This urban expansion extends beyond traditional administrative boundaries, creating a broader regional urban hub characterized by different urbanization phenomena. Not only territorial but also on the regional scale, Milan is designated as a regional development pole by the Territorial Plan of Lombardy, and its metropolitan area serves as pivotal and driving forces, exerting influence beyond Lombardy's borders through a web of international relations within Northern Italy's urban fabric.

The PGT indicates Milan's role in multidisciplinary trans-European networks and projects a version that embodies the capacity to intercept knowledge and values from broader markets, reprocess them, and reintegrate them into international circuits. According to the report, Milan continues to support its infrastructural base, reinforcing connectivity by expanding service offerings and transit interchange nodes. The completion of the line M4, which connects the city center to Linate Airport, and extension of metro lines beyond the city's administrative boundaries are the evidence for domination and accessibility on a larger scale. Besides investments in public infrastructure, the city aims to regenerate the periphery by attracting international investments and creating job opportunities. This approach accelerates neighborhood revitalization and development in the marginalized areas.

According to PGT, the city concentrates on the activities related to universities, innovation, sports, culture, and healthcare which were traditionally the driven forces of metropolitan area. By relocating these activities strategically and organizing major events like the 2026 Winter Olympics support not only enhancement the city's appeal but also improvement and modernization of infrastructure system. Furthermore, by investing in higher education and innovation it encourages the emergence of spaces for the economy 4.0, primarily benefiting young individuals. It specifically addresses the provision of housing services for temporary living arrangements and affordability. The common ground of globalization for those global cities is the formation of new upwardly mobile groups-students, young professionals with moderate incomes, economically disadvantaged segments, single individuals, and newcomers which is valid for Milan as well.

The latest statistics of ISTAT 2020 demonstrate that in Milan there are currently 208,261 active businesses, approximately half of them is located in the metropolitan area. In the private sector only, there were 192,482 businesses in 2015, showing a 2% increase compared to 2012. Milan is home to 8% of medium-sized Italian companies and 34% of all multinational companies in Italy (Milan Municipality, 2022) evidencing metropolitan city of

Milan's global city identity in Italy and for its region. The General Territory Plan of Milan mentioned that during the 2008 financial crisis, Milan played a significant role in recovering its metropolitan area and the overall region's economy. Currently, over 49% of the workforce commutes from outside Milan while 20% of residents work elsewhere which underscores Milan's role as a regional and international employment hub, and its characteristic of a global city. During the two last decades, particularly the sector of tourism has been expanding in Milan. In the early 2000s, according to the ISTAT statistics, the domestic tourists were the major group that was visiting Milan. However, the percentages are inverted that the presence of international tourists has surpassed with a notable augmentation, from China and Russia. (Milan Municipality, 2022)

Despite Milan's renewed attractiveness, especially in fields like fashion, design, life sciences, catering, higher education, and high-level services, there are concerns about increasing economic and social polarization (Milan Municipality, 2022). New affluent groups have emerged, but at the same time, the middle class, particularly under-35 individuals with higher education, often find themselves in precarious employment situations with inadequate pay. Additionally, there has been a growth in "working poor" individuals, often foreigners, in low-paying, low-skilled service jobs in less stable labor market segments.

## **7.2 Demographic Structure**

### **7.2.1 Population Analysis**

Understanding demographic trends and changes in Milan's population provides an overview of globalization's impact on urbanization, immigration patterns, cultural diversity, and economic development. The study delves into historical and current data on the general population, the younger demographic, and the influx of foreign residents. Data collection for this chapter primarily relies on the PGT of Milan 2030

Table 2 provides a historical overview of the total resident population and the foreigners and their percentages over the years 1999 and 2022. The discrepancies in growth between total and foreign residents might provide a perception of the transition of the demographic structure of Milan, indicating a significant inflow of foreign residents. Since 1999, the total number of residents has growth, from 1.335.515 to 1.396.673. This growth is generated by the foreign population, which constituted 7.9% of the total residents in 1999 and the current percentage of this group has reached 20.6%.

*Table 2 Total and Foreign Resident Population Data for 1999-2022 with Foreign Resident Percentage of City of Milan.*

<b>Year</b>	<b>Total Residents</b>	<b>Foreign Residents</b>	<b>Foreign Residents (%)</b>	<b>Permanent Residents (%)</b>
<b>1999</b>	<b>1,335,515</b>	<b>105,082</b>	<b>7.9%</b>	<b>92.1%</b>
2000	1,336,364	117,816	8.8%	91.2%
2001	1,340,418	132,792	9.9%	90.1%
2002	1,324,821	134,817	10.2%	89.8%
2003	1,270,964	108,289	8.5%	91.5%
2004	1,297,901	143,265	11.0%	89.0%
2005	1,307,545	162,897	12.5%	87.5%
2006	1,302,753	170,731	13.1%	86.9%
2007	1,298,196	176,036	13.6%	86.4%
2008	1,294,503	181,376	14.0%	86.0%
2009	1,306,561	199,372	15.3%	84.7%
2010	1,322,750	217,284	16.4%	83.6%
2011	1,341,830	236,855	17.7%	82.3%
2012	1,366,409	261,412	19.1%	80.9%
2013	1,353,882	264,238	19.5%	80.5%
2014	1,350,680	253,334	18.8%	81.2%
2015	1,359,905	259,020	19.0%	81.0%
2016	1,368,590	260,421	19.0%	81.0%
2017	1,380,873	266,862	19.3%	80.7%
2018	1,395,274	275,818	19.8%	80.2%
2019	1,404,431	281,582	20.0%	80.0%
2020	1,392,502	280,310	20.1%	79.9%
2021	1,386,285	280,819	20.3%	79.7%
<b>2022</b>	<b>1,396,673</b>	<b>287,954</b>	<b>20.6%</b>	<b>79.4%</b>

*Source: Data is taken from the website of Comune di Milano, under the section of Popolazione residente.*

Considering the slower pace of total residents' growth, the table indicates that permanent population of Milan was substituted by foreigners. Additionally, according to the report *Una Nuova Strategia per la Casa*, published by the Municipality of Milan in 2023, underlines that only 40% of the residents in Milan has been living in the city more than 15 years (Milan Municipality, 2023). Permanent residents' substitution with foreigners also is indicated in the strategic environmental assessment report of PGT. This fact indicates the issue that permanent residents of Milan initiated to move out from the city and when the

comparison made between the decreasing age group of 19-34 and this statement, the foreign population might be replaced with the young Milanese within the city (see also Table 3).

The total resident population has grown by +2.2% over the past decade, reaching approximately 1.4 million inhabitants. According to PGT, this trend has been influenced by various factors. Until 2019, the population was steadily increasing. However, during the pandemic period, which is referred to as the period of “break” in the document, between the years 2019 and 2021, resident numbers declined. The year 2022 is described as the recovery year in which the population increased by +1.1%.

The document also mentioned that besides residents, a significant number of people live in the city who are students and non-local workers (*fuori-sede*), as well as temporary populations such as tourists. These non-residents contribute to the demand for services and housing. Moreover, they are not part of the foreign residents, as mentioned before has also increased significantly and now makes up about 20.6% of Milan’s population.

Furthermore, the document underlined the fact that many foreigners are in the 25-44 age group, which is relatively younger than the city’s demographic structure. Table 3 demonstrates the demographic structure of Milan, dividing into 4 different categories: 0–18-year-old, 19–43-year-old, 35–64-year-old, and 65 and more. The data in this table is sourced from two distinct sources: for the period between 1999 and 2017, the thesis utilized the dataset from the Municipality of Milan, specifically the Open Data Area and Statistical Unit. Given that data was available only for those specific years, the study subsequently employed information provided by Tuttitalia for the years spanning from 2018 to 2022.

The demographic shifts observed in Milan’s population over the years have multifaceted implications. The consistent growth in foreign residents suggests that Milan has become an increasingly attractive destination for international immigrants. This growth could be driven by factors such as employment opportunities, educational institutions, or cultural appeal. Moreover, the current situation demonstrates that, despite Italy’s challenging pandemic, the foreign population remained interested in the city and recovered in these last few years. Similarly, the total resident population has increased in the last five years and is projected to grow. However, the foreign resident population has surpassed the projection given by PGT, demonstrating the foreign population’s acceleration of growth in the city (see Table 3).

Table 3 Resident Population Divided by Functional Age Groups of City of Milan, Time Series 1999/2017.

Year	Age Groups			
	0–18-year-old	19–34-year-old	35–64-year-old	65 and more
<b>1999</b>	13.2%	<b>22.4%</b>	42.7%	21.7%
2000	13.4%	21.8%	42.9%	21.9%
2001	13.5%	21.3%	43.1%	22.1%
2002	13.8%	20.6%	43.2%	22.4%
2003	14.2%	19.6%	42.9%	23.3%
2004	14.3%	19.7%	42.9%	23.1%
2005	14.6%	19.1%	42.9%	23.4%
2006	15.0%	18.2%	43.2%	23.6%
2007	15.0%	17.5%	43.6%	23.9%
2008	15.2%	16.8%	43.9%	24.1%
2009	15.6%	16.5%	44%	23.9%
2010	15.7%	16.5%	44.1%	23.7%
2011	15.7%	16.7%	44%	23.6%
2012	15.7%	17.1%	43.8%	23.4%
2013	16.0%	16.9%	43.6%	23.5%
2014	16.2%	17%	43.1%	23.7%
2015	16.3%	17%	43.2%	23.5%
2016	16.3%	17%	43.4%	23.3%
2017	16.3%	17.2%	43.5%	23%
<b>2018</b>	<i>17.2%</i>	<b><i>16.3%</i></b>	<i>43.4%</i>	<i>23.1%</i>
<i>2019</i>	<i>17%</i>	<i>16.4%</i>	<i>43.3%</i>	<i>23.2%</i>
<i>2020</i>	<i>16.8%</i>	<i>16.7%</i>	<i>43.4%</i>	<i>23%</i>
<i>2021</i>	<i>16.8%</i>	<i>17.6%</i>	<i>43.2%</i>	<i>22.5%</i>
<b>2022</b>	<i>16.9%</i>	<b><i>17%</i></b>	<i>43.4%</i>	<i>22.7%</i>

Source: The table is prepared by the author, combining two different resources. Firstly, the data for the years 1999 and 2017 is taken from the Municipality of Milan, Open Data Area - Statistical Unit. Secondly, the italic part, which covers the years 2018 and 2022 is taken from the website of Tuttitalia.

First of all, although the overall population has increased between these years mainly through the inflow of foreign residents, the age group from 19 to 34 has notably decreased. Furthermore, both age groups 35-64 and 65 and more have become more evident in the population ratio of the city over the years. More than 40 percent of the population is older than 35 years old, which indicates the age period of young-adult individuals and professionals rather than students, and the second largest group of the population is the most elderly group, with 23 percent. This decrease in the young population coincides with the overall population

decrease in the city and can be related to the fact that Milan through its globalization process and speculation in its real estate market with the growing inflation has become harder to manage living costs. The demographic transformation has prompted a notable trend wherein the younger population situated at a critical and compeller period in their careers and assumably has exhibited an inclination toward out-migration to closer urban centers or even foreign countries. Correspondingly, the absence of a young population and the traditionally elderly profile dramatically changes the demographic structure of the city and influences its attractiveness. Consequently, these tables might give an idea of Milan's strategic inclination toward students and their inflow within the city. The solution of youthification through studentification could also give a solution to the city's elderly profile and increase its appeal for temporary populations.

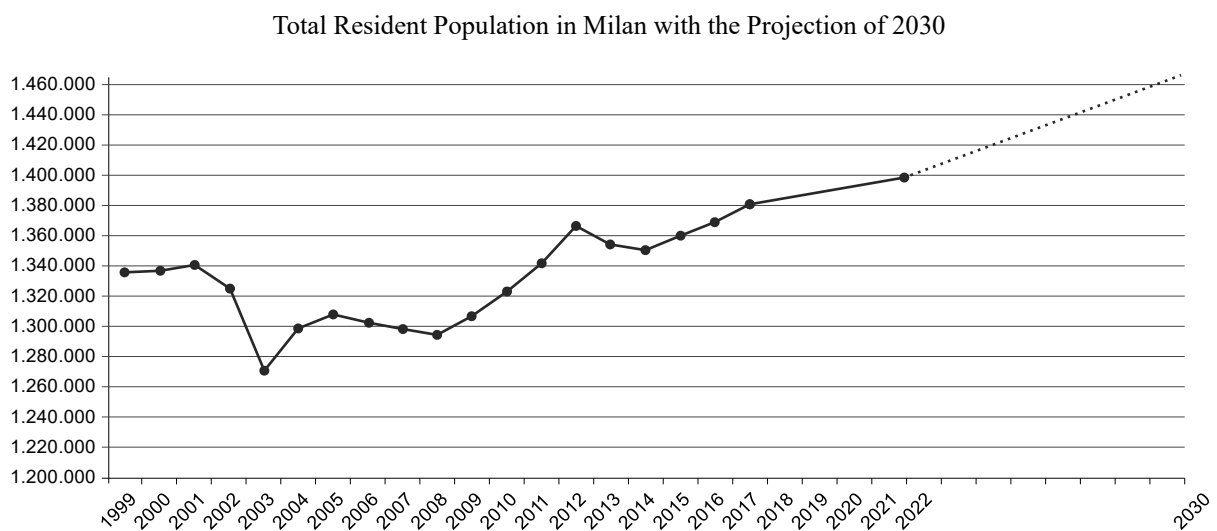
### **7.2.1 Demographic Forecast of PGT**

Understanding the demographic trends and changes in the city's population gives an overview of globalization's impact on urbanization, immigration patterns, cultural diversity, and economic development in Milan. Therefore, the study examines the current and projection data on the general population, the young demographic, and the influx of foreign residents given by PGT Milan 2030.

According to the PGT Milan 2030, the general population of Milan began to grow since 2008 and accelerated from 2014. The recent demographic expansion has been prominently influenced by the surging numbers of foreign inhabitants, experiencing substantial growth rates (+47.1% from 2008 to 2017), presently accounting for 19.3% of the total population, surpassing the metropolitan average (see Table 2). According to the report, in these years, there was a significant increase in the number of young people (ages 6 to 34) living in Milan, especially among those aged 19 to 24, which grew by 21.7%. More than half of this growth (54.6%) can be attributed to the foreign population. This trend shows that, in recent years, Milan has become an attractive city for young individuals seeking opportunities for education, career development, and improved living conditions. On the other hand, although there has been a notable growth in the young adult population and an increase in the elderly population, the overall aging of the population is still significant. The younger age groups have not fully compensated for the increase in older age groups, resulting in a relatively high ageing index for Milan. This situation demonstrates the fact that the student population is the key force for the youthification of urban areas. The report mentions shifts in

population distribution across different areas in Milan as well. When examining the demographic changes at a more detailed level, it becomes apparent that the areas with higher population density and central locations have experienced relatively modest changes in population over the last decade. Meanwhile, the more peripheral neighborhoods, especially those in the northern, eastern, and southeastern regions, have seen significant growth in the number of residents (Milan Municipality, 2022).

*Figure 1 Total Resident Population Graphics, Historical series 1999/2022 with the Projection of 2030*



*Source: The graphic is created by the author. The data indicates population growth from 1999 to 2017 is taken from the Municipality of Milan, Area Open Data - Statistical Unit. Information for the year 2022 is taken from Anagrafe della Popolazione Residente del Comune di Milano. The projection for 2030 is taken from PGT Milan 2030.*

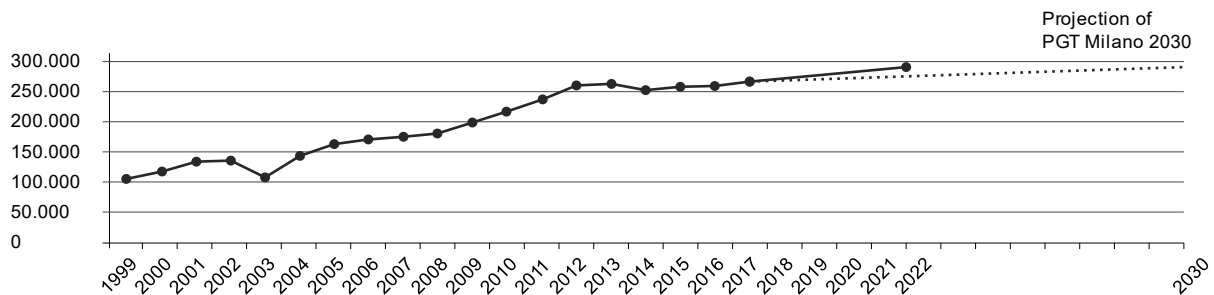
The graphic (see figure 1) illustrates the population change over the years 1999 and 2022 with the projection value for 2030. As mentioned earlier, the data for the years from 1999 to 2017 is taken from PGT of Milan. Further data covering the years until 2022 is provided by Registry of the Resident Population of the Municipality of Milan, *Anagrafe della Popolazione Residente del Comune di Milano*. Additionally, it includes projections based on the findings presented in PGT, which provides projected values for the year 2030.

According to the graphic there is a notable increase in the year 2012. On the other hand, during the pandemic the acceleration of growth dropped. The projection value indicates that by the end of 2030, the population will increase which PGT assumed this increase will occur through the population growth of foreigners.

According to figure 2, the foreign population will increase over the next years. Moreover, the projected values for the years starting from 2017 to 2022 were lower than the

current foreign population increase. Therefore, there is already a more foreign population inflow within city.

*Figure 2 Graphics of Resident Population of Foreigners - Historical series 1999/2022 with the 2030 projection.*



*Source: The graphics are provided by PGT of Milan 2030 until the year 2017, from 2017 to 2022 the data is taken Anagrafe della Popolazione Residente del Comune di Milano. The projection indicated as the dashed line in the graphic is taken from PGT of Milan 2030.*

### 7.2.1 Asymmetry of The Core

As mentioned in the previous chapters, globalization and territorialization processes diminished the boldness of administrative boundaries of core cities. Due to the accumulation of capital activities along with the inflow of temporary populations, cities started to face issues about losing their permanent population toward outer urban areas. Therefore, to test this hypothesis on the case of Milan, the thesis started to analyze firstly the demographic structure of Metropolitan City of Milan. To give an insight into hierarchical system of Italy, City of Milan which is the main focus of the thesis is one of the *comuni* or city located in the Metropolitan City of Milan and on the greater scale in the region of Lombardy. At this point, the thesis employed the data from ISTAT to investigate the population distribution initially in Metropolitan City, after it concentrated on the City of Milan.

Table 4 illustrates the merely the 10 most populated cities in the Metropolitan City of Milan which there are 134 cities located totally. According to the table prepared with the data from ISTAT, the most populated city is Milan, which is approximately double as populated compared to the other most populated 9 cities given in the table. The symbol (\*) referred to the cities which share administrative boundaries with Milan. Correspondingly to the population accumulation in Milan, 7 of 9 most populated cities share physical boundaries with Milan, which indicates the possibility of expansion through commuter and worker who cannot afford to stay within city limits but shift for work. Moreover, this population is



distributed predominantly in the northern part of the city, which is indicated on the second column.

*Table 4 Resident Population of Metropolitan City of Milan, 2019-2023.*

<b>Resident Population Metropolitan City of Milan</b>	<b>Zone</b>	<b>2019</b>	<b>2020</b>	<b>2021</b>	<b>2022</b>	<b>2023</b>
Milano	-	1395980	1406242	1374582	1349930	1354196
Sesto San Giovanni (*)	North	81667	81706	80203	79442	78884
Cinisello Balsamo (*)	North	73845	74142	74636	74391	74528
Legnano	North	59091	59308	59855	59955	59941
Rho (*)	North	50047	50053	50742	50618	50299
Paderno Dugnano (*)	North	47168	47380	47380	47090	47118
Cologno Monzese (*)	North-East	46839	47000	47208	46633	46707
Rozzano (*)	South	41570	41647	41844	41435	41240
San Giuliano Milanese (*)	South-East	38001	38095	39308	39253	39444
Pioltello	East	36428	36437	36147	36202	36061

*Source: The table is prepared by the author by using the dataset of ISTAT. (\*) indicates the cities sharing administrative boundaries with Milan.*

Asymmetry of the core referred to the fact that the northern part of Milan is more populated. Starting from the industrialization period, the northern part of Milan became a present actor as Milan and developed the urban environment. In the next chapters it will be mentioned that there are large scale projects planned to be located and started in the northern part, including Città Salute and attracts already higher education institutions related to medical field and student housing accommodations.

### **7.3 Symptoms of Globalizing Milan**

According to Soja, the urbanization process and city formation have been exercised by “the globalization of capital, labor, and culture; economic restructuring and the formation of a new economy; and the facilitative effects of the revolution in information” (Soja, 2011, p. 684). Correspondingly, the temporary population inflow was strategically demanded within the city by its authorities and investors, even though it affected core cities and their markets through the disharmony of perceiving, living in, and demanding from the city alongside the local inhabitants.

This phenomenon is also observed in Milan; over the last two decades, population growth has been dominantly structured by temporary population (Milan Municipality, 2022). The pace of population growth is notably slower than that of foreign population increase, and

the replacement of permanent residents with temporary ones restructured areas. The combination of “deindustrialization and reindustrialization as well as decentralization and recentralization has reorganized the social and spatial structure” (Soja, 2011, p. 684), which generated a base for a more globalized model of urbanization and economy.

Population density brought about the issue of raising cultural and economic separation within the city. Soja argued that this polarization is generated not only by traditional class issues but also by expanding divergence between local and temporary populations. Afterward, he underlined the dwindling middle-class volume through a few privileged groups' increasing wealth and the growing population of low wages. PGT of Milan 2030 published the income distribution of Milan, which aligns with the statement of Soja. It underlined the increasing gap between classes within the city and the shrinking middle class, especially after the pandemic; according to the graph, currently, 58 percent of taxpayers receive 19 percent of the total economic contribution of Milan. Furthermore, only 8.8 percent of these get 43 percent of total income.

Balducci and Fedeli (2014) addressed Soja's (2011) “causes and consequences of regional urbanization” in the context of Milan. They investigated the repositioning of strategic urban functions, indicating universities, in the city's spatial and economic landscape. They correlated Soja's causes and consequences notion to the “new geographies of the city-university relationship...(of) post-metropolitan conditions” (Balducci & Fedeli, 2014, p. 48).

This section and the following one concentrated on the article by Balducci and Fedeli to provide an insight into the city's transformation along with its universities' developments. The article was published in 2014 and covered 30 years of investigation on new geographies of the city and university; however, it needed to be reseen in terms of new institutions and existing campus expansions along with new student housing projects emerging in Milan.

Since the mid-1990s, Milan, although determined by administrative borders, has been approached as a part of a wider urban area interconnected economically, socially, and culturally with its surroundings as the core city. Through these connections, Milan has extended its municipal boundaries and transcended metropolitan and regional distinctions (Balducci & Fedeli, 2014), aligning with the territorialization and rescaling approach of Brenner. From the economic and demographic point of view, the paper of Balducci and Fedeli provided statistical data that will be compared in this thesis with the recent versions taken from Tuttitalia; in the 2000s, the Metropolitan City of Milan was one of the most

populated metropolitan areas in Europe. It was considered one of the wealthiest areas in Italy and Europe. These statements are still valid; according to Eurostat, Lombardy has been Europe's second most profitable region since 2011 by producing 22 percent of Italy's GDP, in which Milan contributes 9 percent of this. Even though in the article of Balducci and Fedeli, the population was underlined as a decreasing value for the metropolitan area and still follows this falling trend, it did not affect the overall economic contribution. Within this context, Milan has remained the center of economy, innovation, and culture on both local and national scales and is utilized by various populations, including students, workers, commuters, and city users, who evaluate it as strategic and central for multiple functions (2014).

For the city of Milan, the situation has a specific and different pattern. As underscored before, the population does not have a dramatic acceleration; on the contrary, due to the pandemic, the growth was interrupted and is currently in recovery. According to the PGT of Milan 2030, population growth is sustained by migration flow rather than increasing permanent residents. This growing pattern was not a novelty for Milan; in 2011, Bozzuto and Manfredini stressed the same issue. They evaluated growing population data from the mid-2000s and found it related to immigrant residents (Bozzuto & Manfredini, 2016).

Previously, the City of Milan had economic empowering periods in its history: firstly, during the 19th century and secondly, during the industrial period, which both formed the urban sphere and environment of Milan (Bolocan Goldstein & Bonfantini, 2007). At the end of the industrial period and with the increasing effect of globalization in the late 1970s, Milan confronted a characteristic and financial crisis of its productive foundation, like many globalizing post-industrial cities in Europe. Until the 1990s, a significant decrease emerged in the industrial sector jobs with -54 percent; simultaneously, a collinear growth occurred in the emerging sectors, including research and development, services, media, fashion, advertising, and science and technology (Balducci, et al., 2016), which were coherent with the symptoms of globalizing cities at that time.

The industrial sector shaped Milan's population profile for years, and the work opportunities supplied by this sector formed how people lived in the city. However, the shift in the economy and the transformation of the definition of production influenced the spatial configuration of Milan (Sassen, 1991; Balducci & Fedeli, 2014). Increasing opportunities for movement accelerated the flow of people and information within the city through emerging

amenities and economic possibilities, which affected the traditional social and spatial organization distribution in Milan (Balducci & Fedeli, 2014). Firstly, the demographic structure started to change under these influences. Younger populations shifted outside the city center, even across cities in the region, to seek affordable ways of living, starting with housing, which resulted in a “substantial loss of permanent residents in the city center,” on the other hand, the rising sector in the city was in need of people who worked for the emerging sectors of globalizing cities and covered this loss “by the growth of immigrants and temporary populations, who use the central city as a platform for individual and collective practices” (Balducci & Fedeli, 2014, p. 50).

In this case, the city being a platform of individual and collective rationalities brought about the concept of a “diffuse city,” indicating that the urban development resulted from individual decision-making and collective or communal dynamics and mechanisms (Secchi, 2005). Correspondingly, it acknowledged that cities do not follow the traditional planning processes but are also influenced by the choices and behaviors of individual residents and businesses. Italian scholars, including Balducci and Secchi, perceived and studied these individual and collective actions in the framework of a diffuse city to underline the complexity of the urban rather than a simple expansion. As mentioned earlier, with the improving possibilities of mobility of people, information, and goods, the perception of proximity has changed and become less significant, which reinforced the position of the core city as the site of management and stimulated population dispersed around Milan in the metropolitan area.

Balducci and Fedeli addressed the transformation in Milan through the concept of a diffuse city and described the contemporary urban condition of the city and its region as a result of the individual and collective actions of younger populations, businesses, and institutions like universities. Furthermore, the flexibility of people’s movement, such as students and commuters, and the changing perception of proximity made it difficult to follow administrative boundaries and traditional institutional models.

At this point, the thesis focused only on the flow of students, one of the most significant subgroups of the temporary population, and the university’s role in attracting them to the city, thereby strategically transforming areas through collective practices of public and private actors. Therefore, the following chapter aims to explore universities as one of the most influential urban functions and the dynamic relationship between Milan and its

metropolitan area. To do this, it employed the article of Balducci and Fedeli, which investigated the role of universities in the transforming landscape of the economy due to the shift in the definition of production by structuring upon an empirical study made in 2010 and aimed to confront these results with the contemporary ones. In the article, universities are introduced as ‘agents’ that have the capacity to transform and revalorize urban areas. The thesis employed the same approach and assessed the practices of universities of Milan in a similar way. According to this approach, the university not only holds a significant portion of the land and, therefore, is a valuable asset and actor in terms of real estate for the city but also possesses the power to attract the younger population, which is crucial for interrupting the aging population trend that has been an issue for Milan since decades. In this way, it also became a strategic actor for rendering Milan more appealing to other temporary populations, such as tourists, through youthification and studentification.

## **8. Universities in Milan**

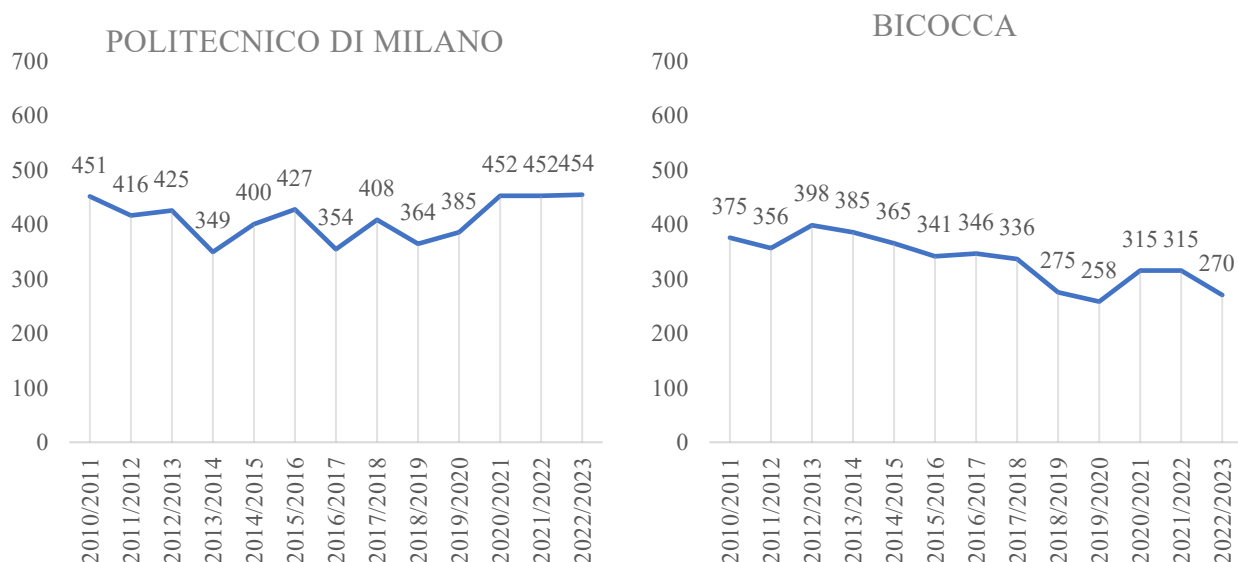
### **8.1 Global Presence of Universities in Milan**

Universities in Milan have been playing a fundamental role in attracting Italian and international students to the city. Correspondingly, Milan has been an attractive education pole for Italy by attracting students from not only surrounding cities and metropolitan areas but also from Southern regions (MUR). Furthermore, Milan’s universities have received notable recognition on international-ranking platforms like Times Higher Education (THE). In the latest 2024 THE World University Ranking, three public and three private universities from Milan secured spots within the top 400. Notably, alongside Politecnico di Milano and The State University, which are the city’s long-established public institutions, the platform also highlighted the significant presence of private universities. Bocconi University, in particular, earned the distinction of being the top-ranked university in Italy and took place within the top 100 globally in the 2022 THE Global Employability University Ranking, as per the most recent data from this UK-based ranking.

In the national context, according to the 2023/2024 report *La Classifica Censis delle Università Italiane*, Milan has consistently maintained its appeal to students, particularly due to its prominent mega and large universities. This status has been sustained since the early 2010s, following the cities of Bologna, Padova, and Rome. According to the report, besides being positioned in the top 250 of 2024 THE World University Ranking, Politecnico di

Milano has made significant progress, moving from the third position to becoming the leading technical university in Italy in the last decade. In line with the thesis hypothesis of globalizing cities' universities attracting students through their capacity to follow global trends and supplying more opportunities and collaboration between international firms, the CENSIS report highlighted Milan's growing appeal, especially in private university rankings. The city ranked in the top two positions in the category of large private universities in Italy, with Bocconi University taking the first place and The Catholic University following it as the second. This trend also extended to medium-sized private universities, where the University Institute for Modern Languages (IULM) emerged in second position. Among small private universities, Vita-Salute San Raffaele University also ranked in the top ten.

Figure 3 Enrollment numbers (*immatricolati*) of international students for state universities.

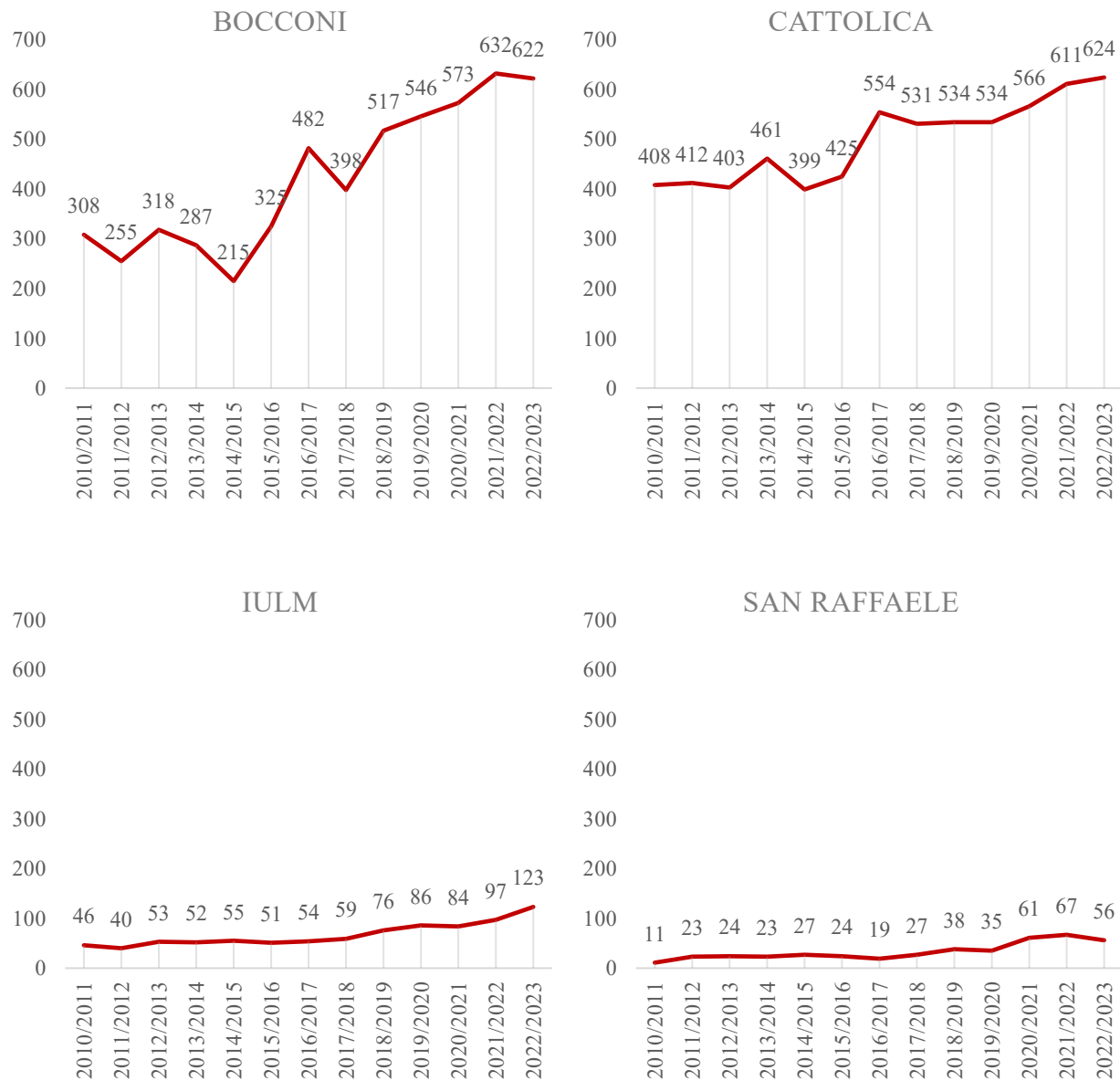


Source: The graphics are prepared by the author with the data provided by MUR.

Figure 3 displays the enrollment numbers, *immatricolati*, of international students at two main state universities. *Immatricolati* indicates the students who enrolled in a course at an Italian university for the first time. It does not present the entire load of students, but illustrates the new intakes, circulation of students enrolling in universities. The statistical dataset is provided by MIUR and exhibited as graphics to show the changing trends over the academic years 2010/2011 and 2022/2023. Politecnico di Milano has exhibited a relatively stable trend in international student enrollment numbers, suggesting that the university may have established a fixed enrollment capacity for international students, possibly overlooking the demand. The State University – Bicocca demonstrates approximately a 25% decrease in

international student enrollments over the ten years. Starting at around 375 students ten years ago, the enrollment has decreased to 270 in the most recent year. This downward trend may be attributed to a change in shifts in global student preferences.

*Figure 4 Enrollment numbers (immatricolati) of international students for private universities.*



*Source: The graphics are prepared by the author with the data provided by MUR.*

Figure 4 shows the international student enrollment (immatricolati) at four main private universities in Milan. Over the past decade, there has been a noticeable increase in the enrollment of foreign students in private universities, in contrast to state universities. As mentioned earlier, this might happen due to the capacity issues of state universities. The

notable increase might also indicate the global facet of Milan, indicating the foreign students' interest in the private universities of the city.

According to figure 4, Bocconi University has witnessed a notable increase in international student enrollment. Beginning with 308 students in the academic year 2010/2011, the numbers have more than doubled, reaching 622 in the latest year. The significant surge began in 2014/2015, coinciding with a pivotal year for Milan's global prominence across various fields and events. The momentum continued, particularly in 2016/2017, with a spike of 482 international students. Similarly, The Catholic University, another private institution, had an annual international student enrollment of around 410 students more than ten years ago. This remained constant until 2015/2016, when, similar to Bocconi, there was a notable increase. In 2016/2017, the enrollment reached 554 international students.

Even though being private universities with comparatively lower international student enrollments, IULM and San Raffaele have shown growth in their numbers as well. IULM had 46 international student enrollments in the 2010/2011 academic year, and in the latest data, this number has tripled to 123. San Raffaele, which initiated its English-taught programs in 2010, experienced consistent growth. In the academic year 2020/2021, there was a significant peak, 67 international students were enrolled in 2021/22.

In conclusion, Politecnico di Milano and Bicocca have maintained or experienced a decline in international enrollments, opposition to this, Bocconi and Catholic University have exhibited a significant growth, possibly influenced by global exposure and strategic shifts in offerings. Considering the knowledge-based economy and its trends on global landscape, students who desire to pursue education abroad might be interested more in the economy and management courses in universities that appear in the rankings. Bocconi, as mentioned earlier, has appealing results in the rankings that might affect the students' interest. Politecnico di Milano, similar to Bocconi, has an attractive appearance for international students in the rankings and by being the first ranked polytechnic university in Italy, it is unlikely that international students would not be interested in. Therefore, considering the stability of the international enrollment numbers and the university's notable appearance in global rankings, it can be inferred that the institution constantly reaches its maximum capacity every year. The next chapters argue the university expansions in Milan starting to



sketch a historical background of their formations. In this case, these expansions might change the international enrollments.

## 8.2 University – Power of Autonomy

Italian scholars affirm that the university is a crucial spatial actor for Milan. Since its establishment in the city with the significant impact of its expansion periods, it has fostered urban development, periphery regeneration, and revalorization. This chapter aims to summarize the previous chapters with an outcome of university dynamics in Milan. It explores the strategies and motivations underlying the establishment and expansion periods, considering four aspects: the production of a modern city, responsiveness to the growing student demand, serving as a global representative simultaneously attracting global influences on the city, and acting as a strategic partner for large-scale projects. Furthermore, considering both local and global perspectives, it aims to perceive university as a *glocal* place. University emerges as a dynamic spatial agency with a dual role: a local actor influencing regional development and a global entity shaping the city's position on the international stage.

The upcoming sections are explained with a table detailing the chronological phases of academies and higher education institutions, encompassing pivotal facts and strategies (see Table 5). Additionally, these details are supported by a map providing a visual representation of the spatial distribution of these institutions and academies within the city. Two colors, blue and red, differentiate public and private institutions, while the campus extension projects are illustrated with square symbols corresponding to the respective colors of public and private entities (see Figure 6).

Italian universities have had independent and particular roles in urban contexts. Under Article 33 of the Italian Constitution (1948), universities are identified as bodies with functional autonomy in which their autonomous status is connected with their role of “producing high-quality training, research, and innovation.” Further changes in the legal context in 1989 and 1993 specified the areas of autonomy and assigned them greater control over their teaching, research, organization, and finances, thereby enhancing their interdependence to act. Overall, the transformation of universities in Italy has been characterized by increasing autonomy, which allowed them to have more influence in shaping their roles and activities in the urban sphere (Balducci & Fedeli, 2014).

As autonomous operational bodies of the state, universities are represented as significant urban functions at both local and national levels with the expectation of being places that potentially call for investment in strategic areas and increase urban value (2014); at the same time, they are already forming a resource of a young population through bringing along student body, a notable section of temporary populations, mainly outside of Milan and abroad (Florida, 2002).

Keeping the previous general framework of the universities and their dynamic relationship with their cities, higher education institutions offer the potential to attract the younger population, particularly referring the students, into globalizing cities, resulting in the stimulation of economic growth, fostering innovation, and improving youthification (Florida, 2002; Revington & August, 2020; Moos, et al., 2019). Therefore, universities have the potential to reach and intake domestic and international populations and hold an influence on the local and global levels. They restructure the urban environment and its sphere at the local level and have particular connections with their nations, simultaneously collaborate with national, international, and supra-national organizations and actors, and attract students from out-of-region and other countries, resulting in emerging at the global level. When all these actions that can be performed by Italian universities are considered in the context of Milan, universities emerge as places that follow globalizing trends like cities, attract population, impact the real estate market by possessing land within the city and speculating the real estate market through its presence and creating demand with its student inflow.

Balducci and Fedeli (2014) emphasized the relationship between Milan and its universities in their article, which is a foundational resource to perceive this dynamic relationship for the thesis structure. They argued that the motivations for university emergence or expansion in the city are connected to the economic forces that were changed by substantial economic transformation and its emerging skills and knowledge needs. As he described, public and private actors utilized higher education institutions to form a workforce to supply the economy and society's changing needs, which made Milan a peculiar case in terms of having a connection between structuring a modern city and its formation of universities (2014). Furthermore, the city stood out among Italian cities for its distinctive globalizing character and relatively rapid transformation, playing a multifaceted role in various disciplines and networks on multiple scales (2014, pp. 45-50).

### 8.3 Phase 1: University Formation in Milan

In the middle of the 19th century, Pavia served as the pole of higher education institutions in the Lombardy region, while Milan lacked universities at that time. However, as Milan experienced a change in the economy toward an industrial model, the need for universities became apparent to drive the city's modernization process. This strategic move, highlighted by Balducci and Fedeli (2014), aimed to meet the demands of an emerging society and facilitate the shift toward a new economic model, solidifying the significant role of universities in shaping a modern urban landscape.

The establishment of academic institutions in Milan started with the first university, Politecnico di Milano, in 1863, followed by the founding of Catholic University in 1887, Bocconi University in 1902, and State University in 1924. One of the significant moments for the city was the realization of *Città degli Studi*, which was the initial strategic positioning of universities, including Politecnico di Milano and State University, by public authorities to trigger the urban development process on the eastern periphery of Milan (see Table 5, column 1; see Figure 6). In 1915, the Municipality of Milan allocated a 150,000 m<sup>2</sup> piece of land in the southern periphery of Milan, intending to build a "city of learning." This area was designated for establishing the main campuses of two large state universities along with their associated facilities, including libraries and laboratories. The municipality's allocation of this significant land to universities not only underlined the strong partnership between universities and local authorities but also rendered them influential spatial actors for the city and the real estate market.

During that time, a strong connection between the local economy and private investors emerged, defining Milan's two most significant private universities. In 1912, the first private school was established to provide education in the fields of economics, business, and management on the southern outskirts of Milan. Simultaneously, the Catholic University was founded to promote education on Italian culture. Balducci and Fedeli described these events as "city-making," as they contributed to the development of urban areas, primarily the peripheries, through collaborations between private actors and the city.

The establishment of universities in Milan between the 1860s and 1920s was a deliberate move and a strategic response to the evolving demands of society and the changing economy (Balducci & Fedeli, 2014). Local authorities sought to modernize the city through

universities by also collaborating with private actors to foster education based on the needs of the evolving industrial and economic landscape.

#### **8.4 Phase 2: Expanding Universities within the City: A New Strategy for Urban Development of Milan**

As the demand for higher education increased in parallel with population growth and the economic prosperity of the post-industrial era, universities entered a period of significant expansion in the 1970s. The strategic response of university expansion not only addressed the growing student demand but also positioned institutions to align with the globalizing trends, shaping a second phase of transformation in the evolution of education. For instance, the University Institute of Modern Languages (IULM) was established to provide education and training in modern languages, communication, and media, parallel to globalization trends. In addition, the proliferation of design and fashion academies reinforced Milan's characteristic tendency toward the globalization process. For example, in 1982, two private academies, Nuova Accademia di Belle Arti (NABA) and Domus Academy, were established. These academies provided education in fashion and design, starting to attract a diverse pool of international students.

In the context of the previously mentioned academies, the spatial distribution—marked by the establishment of IULM, NABA, and Domus, along with the presence of Bocconi—initiated a concentration of private educational institutions in the southern periphery of Milan (see Figure 6). This development paralleled the strategic efforts in the early phase of higher education institution formation, where Città degli Studi represented a deliberate initiative by local authorities and state universities to enhance the value of Milan's eastern periphery (Balducci & Fedeli, 2014). Similarly to the case of Città degli Studi, the thesis interprets that the earlier discussed proliferation of private academies and institutions influenced the forming and developing of the southern periphery of Milan.

Approximately one decade after the initial phase, the university formation period, in the late 1990s, the expansion period emerged due to the post-Second World War economic boom and increasing education demand through population growth. During this period, universities followed industrial development and increased student demand due to population growth. For instance, Politecnico di Milano and the State University faced spatial issues, required expansion, and expanded their campuses across the city. In 1998, the second branch of Politecnico di Milano was established in the northwest of Milan, in the Bovisa area, while

the new autonomous branch of State University - Bicocca was positioned in the northeast of Milan, in the Pirelli area (see Table 5, column 2; see Figure 6). These northern areas were identified as problematic brownfields that contain railways well connected to the city but no longer in use. The university emerged as the key function in revitalizing these former industrial areas and their surroundings. Therefore, for the second phase, the thesis comments on the first expansion period of state universities as the *strategic use of the existing demand of students* in relation to the needs of the industrial sector and economic reinforcement by public authorities.

## **8.5 Phase 2: Expansion Across the Region: University Regionalization**

During the same period of university expansion within the city, another strategy emerged in response to the growing student demand. According to the new law, universities exceeding an enrollment of 40,000 were allowed to open new branches within the city and across the region. This was a strategic move to decrease the student pressure from the universities of Milan and redistribute them to medium-sized cities. The new university branches were designed to align with the local economic specialization of these cities, providing the necessary skills and training for regional development. Universities became important regional actors in developing cities through new satellite expansions engaging with local economies.

Firstly, the State University founded new autonomous branches in Como and Varese, with the same strategy followed within Milan. Politecnico di Milano also continued its expansion by establishing new satellite branches in Como, Cremona, Lecco, Piacenza, and Mantova. According to the manufacturing opportunities provided by location, the university opened its satellite campuses strategically in different cities in the region. However, it preserved the university board in Milan and tied all new campuses to its board. This strategic positioning was acknowledged by mid-size cities and continued to grow, resulting in the “regionalization of universities” (2014, p. 57) (see Table 5, column 3, and Figure 5).

On the other hand, English scholars evaluated “regional branch campuses” as a way of improving the accessibility of education in the literature. Given the increasing economic challenges of globalizing cities, students might prefer relatively smaller and more affordable cities to pursue their education (Keil & Ren, 2018; August & Walks, 2018). Universities in smaller cities generally offer more reasonable tuition fees compared to their counterparts in globalizing cities. In the case of Milan, the cost of living and traveling to the city is notably

higher than in a mid-size city in the same region. Therefore, the phenomenon of students shifting towards more affordable cities might also apply to Milan.

*Source: The map is taken from the research of Balducci and Fedeli (2014) and updated by the author.*



## **8.6 Phase 3: University as a Global Brand for the City**

The 2000s and the ten years ahead illustrated a different behavior pattern. Universities initiated adopting internationalization policies by introducing English-taught programs, leading to a notable increase in attention from international students to Milan. In this period, Politecnico di Milano established an exchange agreement with universities in Shanghai and Beijing, enabling Chinese students to pursue education in Italy, specifically in Milan, starting in 2001 and continuing to the present day. The San Raffaele University, established in 1996, is a medical university that introduced an international course taught in English in 2010. Additionally, in 2014, another private medical institution, Humanitas, was established, offering entirely English-taught programs.

In summary, the period from 2000 onward witnessed a notable trend among universities in Milan—the adoption of internationalization policies. Design and fashion schools were already oriented towards international students and had established collaborations with universities in other countries. For instance, NABA had formed partnerships with American schools, facilitating student exchanges between academies. However, this period came forward regarding principal institutions' globalization initiatives, emerging as global representatives for the city on the international stage and attracting a growing number of international students. As commented earlier in the chapter on the Global Presence of Universities in Milan, there is a notable increase in international enrollments in private institutions in Milan (see Figure 4). Therefore, the thesis comments on the university's role as strategically shifted actions to serve as a global representative of the city and simultaneously attract global influences towards the city. In other words, the university is a way to extend the city to the global landscape and to bring global influences into the local context.

Furthermore, this process highlighted that beyond being the central hub, Milan serves as the anchor for satellite branch campuses expanded across the region. It underscores a strong relationship between universities and the city, where Milan specifically acts as a platform connecting these institutions to the global landscape.

## **8.7 Phase 4: Universities and 'Planning by Projects'**

Keeping the framework established by the study, phase one signified the strategic formation of universities within the city to facilitate the modernization process and align with



the emerging economic requirements of the industrial period. This phase involved collaboration between local authorities and the local elites of Milan. Phase two is characterized as a period of strategic university expansion within the city driven by increasing student demand. It furthered public and private collaboration to revitalize problematic brown areas in the city. The subsequent section of phase two demonstrated a notable increase in student demand during the post-industrial era, leading to new satellite expansions. This development is highlighted by the emergence of a law prepared for this purpose and the strong relationship between the university and authorities. Moreover, it underscored the thesis's principle that Milan serves as the core city and control mechanism for all these new branches. Phase three extended this outcome by showcasing the globalization aspect of universities in Milan. They evolved into representatives of the city on the global landscape, bringing global influences into the local context.

For the final phase, the study focuses on new campus projects to examine the strategy changes of both public and private actors within the university landscape. According to the thesis hypothesis, local governments and private investors expect universities to bring a substantial student volume to their urban locations. This might be seen as a guarantee of success and added value to large-scale urban development projects. Consequently, there might be a tendency to adopt a policy of incorporating university campuses and student housing into these urban development projects, prioritizing the success of urban development rather than answering the student demand.

Understanding the evolution of urban planning and identifying the shifts in priorities, both by local authorities and private actors over time, might provide a helpful perspective to comprehend the city's current strategic orientation. In 2003, Balducci argued the changes in local government attitudes and the deregulatory process of the 1980s, referring to the "planning-by-projects" approach and increased collaboration with private developers and the market in shaping the city.

The first masterplan of Milan prepared in 1976, Piano Regolatore Generale (PRG), was a traditional master plan model that prioritized protecting the residential character of the city center, with a specific focus on preserving the living conditions of middle and low-income groups. It aimed to follow a strategy that promoted the city's industrial character against market-oriented pressure. The Master Plan of Milan retained its goals until the 1980s when a profound shift occurred in local governments' perspectives, marked by the

restructuring of governmental institutions (Governa & Salone, 2004; Balducci, 2003). However, the master plan was considered insufficient to apply the strategic actions needed for Milan to compete in the mainstream of globalizing cities. It was criticized for being unable to adapt to rapid transformations typical of a post-industrial city (Balducci, 2003).

In the 1980s, the local authorities introduced “planning by projects” to boost urban, economic, and infrastructure development through large-scale project interventions (2003, p. 64). These projects encompassed the transformation of former industrial areas by following globalizing trends. For instance, Bovisa and Rogoredo, the industrialized peripheries of Milan, were identified as locations for relocating urban functions related to universities and education. Furthermore, Pirelli-Bicocca, another ex-industrial zone, was designated as a private enterprise zone with the scope of transforming into a technological center.

During this period, public authorities relied on mostly private actors to realize these large-scale projects to increase the sufficiency and the chance to compete with other international cities. However, this approach drew criticism from scholars like Governa, who perceived the risks on a larger scale, and Balducci, who examined its impact specifically in the context of Milan. They pointed out concerns about the overemphasis on private actors, deregulation, and the fragmentation of the city.

By highlighting Milan’s cosmopolitan character through its “private and public partnerships,” authorities aimed to increase the reputation of “Milan as a European city” (2003, p. 64). This statement of Balducci aligned with one of the opening arguments of the thesis, which emphasized the global city concept as a way of developing urban policies by utilizing the global city status. The thesis considered what Balducci defined as the European city as the global city, and in this context, the hypothesis explained earlier about the global city status used as a strategy for policy implementation was confirmed in Milan. Furthermore, the global city status was employed to reconcentrate policies within the boundaries of the Municipality of Milan (2003), aligning with the reterritorialization theory discussed by Giddens and Brenner after the city’s decentralization from superior governmental functions.

Table 5 Historical Background of Universities' Geographies in Milan with Future Campus Expansions

University Formation in Milan; Production of Modern City	Expanding Universities within the City: A New Strategy for Urban Development of Milan	Expansion Across the Region: University Regionalization	University as a Global Brand for the City	Universities and 'Planning by Projects'
1863 - 1924	Late 1990s – 2000s	Late 1990s – 2000s	2000 - 2019	2019 - ongoing
University establishment was a strategic move to produce modern city by covering the demands of emerging society and the new economy (Balducci & Fedeli, 2014).	University expansion was a response to the growing student demand, derived from population growth and the economic prosperity associated with the post-industrial era.	University was expanded in cities across the region where there was local economic specialization that demanded specific skills and training.	University is a way to extend the city to the global landscape and to bring global influences into the local context.	University brings a substantial student volume and serves as a guarantee for large-scale projects, solidifying its role as a strategic urban entity aligned with market-oriented objectives.
<p>The establishment of the first and second public institutions in Milan: Politecnico di Milano (1863) and The State University (1924).</p> <p>150.000m<sup>2</sup> of land owned by the city was offered to these two universities to create a “city of science:” <i>Città degli Studi</i> (1915).</p>	Politecnico di Milano and the State University faced the need for expansion due to the population growth and economic boom: Bovisa (1998) and Pirelli site for Bicocca (1998).	<p>According to the new law, universities exceeding 40.000 enrollments were allowed to open new branches (2014, p. 55).</p> <p>Politecnico di Milano and the State University (1993) opened new branches in smaller cities to overcome student pressure in Milan.</p>	<p>Internationalization policies developed by Milan Universities increased international students and English-taught programs; therefore, a new (type of) demand arose:</p> <p>Politecnico di Milano signed an exchange agreement with Chinese universities in Shanghai and Beijing, allowing Chinese students to pursue education in Italy, in Milan, from 2001 onwards.</p>	<p>The campus expansion project of Politecnico di Milano in Bovisa – Goccia. The project will be completed in 2026.</p> <p>The campus expansion of State University is a part of Milan Innovation District project (MIND). It is projected to be completed in 2026.</p>
The establishment of the first and second private institutions in Milan: Bocconi (1902) and Catholic University (1887).	<p>Establishment of private educational institutions brought diverse expertise to Milan:</p> <p>Establishment of the private medical university, San Raffaele (1996)</p> <p>the design institutions NABA (1980) and Domus (1982), and the design department of Politecnico di Milano (2002) -&gt; along with the presence of Bocconi—initiated a concentration of private educational institutions in the southern periphery of Milan.</p>	The Catholic University established new satellite branches in Piacenza and Brescia (1965-1997).	<p>The campus expansion project of Bocconi initiated in 2016 and completed in 2019.</p> <p>San Raffaele introduced an international course taught in English in 2010 and initiated a collaboration with Group San Donato.</p> <p>Humanitas University, a new private medical institution, was established in 2014.</p>	<p>The campus expansion of San Raffaele University in the Ex-Falck Area. The project will be completed in 2027.</p> <p>The dispersed campuses of Istituto Europeo di Design (IED) currently situated in the city center are anticipated to be consolidated in the Ex-Macello area, marking the creation of the first international IED campus in Milan among all.</p>
The strategic establishment of universities, driven by public and private actors, shaped the urban context of Milan	University expansion is a strategic tool utilized through collaboration between public and private actors to revalue former industrial areas.	Universities became important regional actors in developing cities through their expansion and engagement with local economies.	The university acts as a global representative for the city, drawing in population from the global landscape as well.	University became a strategic partner for large-scale projects to ensure investment and the inflow of population.

Source: The table is prepared by the author.

Figure 6 Geographies of Universities, Campus Expansions, and Regeneration Projects

Source: The map was created by the author using the open database of Geoportale and includes the shapes of education services.

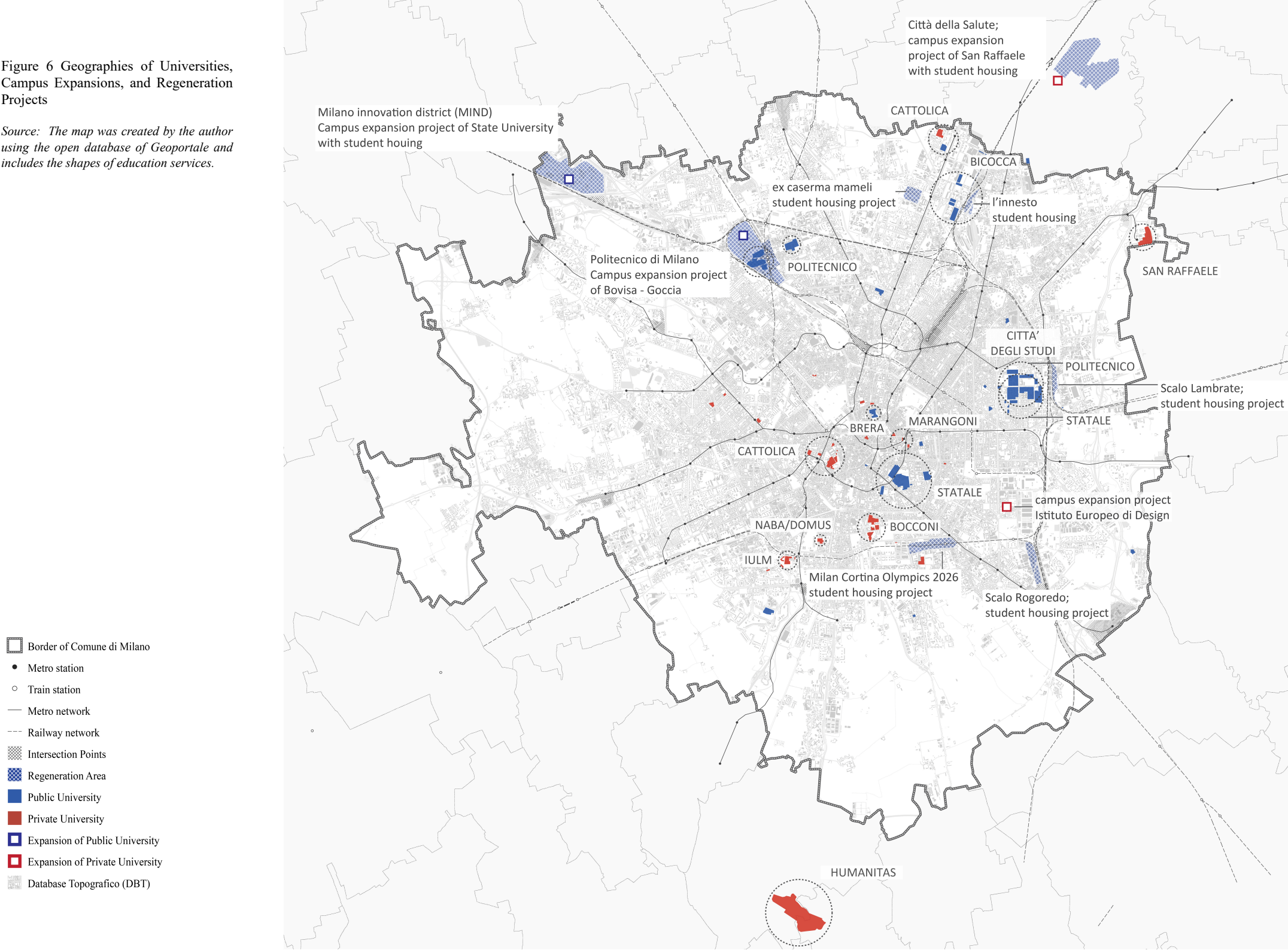


Table 6 List of Campus Expansion Projects

Project	University Campus	Type	Zone	Accommodation / Bed Capacity offered in project	Investment Type and Area	Investor	Date	Architect
Campus Bovisa-Goccia-Villapizzone	Politecnico di Milano	Partnership of public and private	North-East Milan Bovisa	500 beds	University Campus and Student Accommodation 320.000 m <sup>2</sup> 105.000 m <sup>2</sup> of built resources	Politecnico collaborated with Municipality of Milan Financed by the donations of ION Foundation	2023-2026	Renzo Piano
MoLeCoLa (Mobility Learning Community Lab)			North-East Milan Bovisa	1100 beds	The area is located in the Politecnico di Milano Bovisa Campus Student Housing 90.000 m <sup>2</sup>	Ferrovienord Milano Nord Bovisa Railway partnered with Hines	2026	Park Associati
MIND	The State University	Partnership of public and private	North-West Milano and Rho Former Area of Expo Milano 2015	n/a	Public: Campus Area 187.000 m <sup>2</sup> Private: Social housing and student housing 30.000 m <sup>2</sup>	The State University partnered with Lendlease and CPP	2026	Carlo Ratti Associati
Milano Porta Lodovica Bocconi <i>New Campus</i>	Bocconi	Private	Southern Milan	300 beds	University Campus and Student Accommodation	University of Bocconi	2016-2019	SANAA Progetto CMR
Aria Ex Macello <i>First international campus of IED</i>	Istituto Europeo di Design (IED)	Private	South-East Milan Calvaire district	600 beds	Unification of existing campuses in Ex Macello Entire project: 30.000 m <sup>2</sup>	Istituto Europeo di Design (IED) Redo Sgr	n/a	Snøhetta Barreca & La Varra Cino Zucchi Architetti (CZA)
Città della Salute  The largest health center in Europe	Second Campus of Vita-Salute San Raffaele	Private	Sesto San Giovanni connected to North-East Milan Ex-Falck Area	n/a	Entire project: 135.000 m <sup>2</sup>	Intesa San Paolo Coima/Redo Milanosesto Gruppo San Donato	2026	n/a

Source: The table is prepared by the author.

## 9. Student Volume in Milan

This chapter begins by examining the findings presented in the report ‘Una nuova strategia per la casa’ (A New Strategy for Housing), published in April 2023 by the Municipality of Milan. The report delves into crucial housing issues, addressing the city’s significant population growth and its implications for the real estate market. Additionally, the chapter incorporates data analysis obtained from the Ministry of University and Research (Ministero dell’Università e della Ricerca MUIR) on enrollment numbers.

In 2023, the Municipality of Milan organized a forum to discuss various city-related issues, including the significant population growth due to emerging residents and foreigners, as well as the notable increase in the real estate market. The outcomes of this forum were published in the first quarter of 2023 as a report titled ‘Una nuova strategia per la casa.’

The report underscores a noteworthy finding: despite experiencing substantial population growth, only 40% of the current residents have been living in Milan for more than 15 years. This indicates a high level of population turnover and mobility within the city. This unique phenomenon in Milan confirms the city’s attractiveness and global character, setting it apart from other Italian cities.

As mentioned earlier, according to ISTAT, Milan has been undergoing two significant demographic phenomena over the past 25 years. Firstly, although the city’s overall population growth is slower, there is a substantial influx of foreigners, increasing faster. The change is evident in the decrease in the 19-34 age group, indicating that many individuals from this demographic are leaving, possibly due to factors such as high living costs. The increase in the foreign population highlights a change in Milan’s demographics, where local residents, especially the younger permanent resident population, are being gradually replaced. Consequently, Milan is witnessing the growth of an aging population, primarily due to the departure of the younger generation and the influx of foreigners (see Table 3).

In the context of the student population, it is important to acknowledge that even though they represent a significant portion of the temporary population, like tourists, it cannot be captured by resident population statistics. Students, being non-residents, do not have their presence tracked through residency registration.

In the context of the student population, it is important to note that, although they contribute significantly to the temporary population, their presence is not reflected in resident population statistics. Even though they do have a fiscal code, this does not indicate that they receive residency, which is another administrative practice. Therefore, similar to the case of tourists, their presence due to their positioning at the administrative level makes it difficult to monitor their presence within the city. As a result, their population trends can be tracked through statistics published by the Ministry of University and Research (MUR).

The study employed statistics from MUR, encompassing enrollment numbers from the main higher education institutions of Milan, such as The State University (Statale), University of Bicocca, University of Bocconi, Catholic University, University Institute of Modern Languages (IULM), Politecnico di Milano, and San Raffaele University. Furthermore, the dataset is divided into two categories: ‘iscritti,’ representing the overall number of enrolled students at an Italian university, and ‘immatricolati,’ indicating students enrolled for the first time in a course at an Italian university. Consequently, the study incorporated both sets of statistics to comprehend the volume of students in the city. This approach aimed to investigate the potential impact of student pressure on the city and its real estate market.

Starting from the academic year 2019/2020, MUR has been publishing a new set of data for both ‘immatricolati’ and ‘iscritti,’ categorizing them as ‘out-of-region’ and ‘international,’ indicating students who enrolled in a university in Milan from outside the Lombardy region and abroad. This dataset is crucial for the study to investigate the student body actively seeking accommodation in the local real estate market. Although it is not possible to monitor students physically present within the city, the study reduces the error margin by excluding students from Lombardy, who may commute daily for educational reasons within the region and may not necessarily require accommodation within the city. The data from the last three academic years, which separately demonstrates the counts of ‘out-of-region’ and ‘international’ groups for both ‘immatricolati’ and ‘iscritti’ categories, provides a more accurate determination of the number of students requiring accommodation. Therefore, the study’s methodology involves specifically summing the counts of ‘out-of-region’ and ‘international’ groups within both ‘immatricolati’ and ‘iscritti’ categories.

Table 7 Enrollment numbers of immatricolati and iscritti, based on types of 'out of region' and 'international.'

IMMATRICOLATI = ACTIVE POPULATION SEEKING HOUSING															
University	2019 / 2020					2020 / 2021					2021 / 2022				
	Out of region	OOR [%]	Int.	Int. [%]	Total	Out of region	OOR [%]	Int.	Int. [%]	Total	Out of region	OOR [%]	Int.	Int. [%]	Total
Statale	2122	17.0%	842	6.7%	12516	1928	16.1%	729	6.1%	11960	1959	17.5%	655	5.9%	11186
Bicocca	717	13.5%	258	4.9%	5312	790	13.1%	315	5.2%	6024	1042	16.8%	315	5.1%	6206
Bocconi	1919	69.5%	546	19.8%	2760	2019	71.9%	573	20.4%	2810	2092	72.7%	632	22.0%	2877
Cattolica	2573	31.4%	534	6.5%	8204	2538	31.0%	566	6.9%	8179	2884	35.5%	611	7.5%	8124
IULM	700	41.4%	86	5.1%	1692	706	39.6%	84	4.7%	1784	795	41.1%	97	5.0%	1933
POLIMI	2854	37.1%	385	5.0%	7694	2888	37.3%	452	5.8%	7744	3101	39.2%	452	5.7%	7906
San Raffaele	295	61.3%	35	7.3%	481	269	55.6%	61	12.6%	484	444	64.1%	67	9.7%	693
Total	11180	28.9%	2686	6.9%	38659	11138	28.6%	2780	7.1%	38985	12317	31.6%	2829	7.3%	38925
Annual Estimated Student Circulation	1386635.9%					1391835.7%					1514638.9%				

ISCRITTI = THE LOAD ON THE REAL ESTATE MARKET OF MILAN																
University	2019 / 2020					2020 / 2021					2021 / 2022					
	Out of region	OOR [%]	Int.	Int. [%]	Total	Out of region	OOR [%]	Int.	Int. [%]	Total	Out of region	OOR [%]	Int.	Int. [%]	Total	
Statale	11340	18.5%	4551	7.4%	61167	11615	19.0%	4755	7.8%	61241	12031	19.7%	4845	7.9%	60988	
Bicocca	4481	13.3%	1875	5.6%	33582	4840	14.1%	1905	5.5%	34392	5346	15.2%	1930	5.5%	35207	
Bocconi	9278	68.3%	2444	18.0%	13579	9324	68.1%	2565	18.7%	13686	9486	69.0%	2765	20.1%	13743	
Cattolica	15743	38.2%	2271	5.5%	41262	15893	38.1%	2301	5.5%	41710	16294	38.6%	2413	5.7%	42183	
IULM	2467	36.4%	305	4.5%	6785	2709	38.3%	292	4.1%	7077	2862	38.7%	339	4.6%	7389	
POLIMI	18977	41.7%	7151	15.7%	45468	20001	43.1%	7598	16.4%	46413	20583	43.9%	7477	15.9%	46922	
San Raffaele	1204	40.6%	178	6.0%	2962	1422	43.0%	221	6.7%	3310	1872	48.2%	246	6.3%	3881	
Total	63490	31.0%	18775	9.2%	204805	65804	31.7%	19637	9.4%	207829	68474	32.6%	20015	9.5%	210313	
General Estimated Real Estate Market Demand					82265	40.2%	85441				41.1%	88489				42.1%

Source: The table is prepared by the author with the data provided by MUR, Statistics. 'Int.' refers to international, OOR indicates out-of-region.



The MUR dataset, presented in Table 7, illustrates the categories ‘iscritti’ and ‘immatricolati,’ further divided into subcategories ‘out-of-region’ and ‘international’ for Milan’s seven most populated universities. The percentages accompanying these figures represent the ratio of the total enrollment numbers within each category.

The dataset is provided starting from the academic year 2019/20, which coincides with the year in which the pandemic emerged. Therefore, firstly, the thesis acknowledges the increasing student population coming from outside of the region and abroad in 2021/22 and relates to the pandemic. The study perceives this academic year as a recovery period that might actually illustrate a relatively more reliable number of students compared to the pandemic period.

The numbers of ‘immatricolati,’ as mentioned previously, indicate the first-time enrollment. The thesis interprets this group of students who have just enrolled and will be present in the city as the “active population” who must search for accommodation within the city since they have just arrived.

On the other hand, it needs to be underlined that every year, there is a section of these out-of-region and international students who graduate and leave the city. In other words, "immatricolati" is commented on as the approximate student population that circulates annually. On the other hand, ‘iscritti’ indicates students who are generally enrolled in a university in Milan. Therefore, even though they already have an accommodation solution for themselves and are not actively searching for housing in the city, they constitute the mass that occupies the existing stock of the real estate market. In other words, they are the “load” on the real estate market in Milan.

According to Table 7, notably, the numbers for first-time enrollments (immatricolati) have remained relatively stable over the given period. However, there is a trend in the percentage of students coming from out-of-region, which has increased from 28.9% in the first academic year and 28.6% in the second to 31.6% in the most recent year. Furthermore, the first-time enrolled international student numbers have shown a slower but consistent increase over these years. Considering the total number of first-time enrolled students (immatricolati) who require accommodation, indicated by the sum of out-of-region and international students, there has been an increase from 35.9% to 38.9%. In other words, in the academic year 2021/2022, there are more students in need of accommodation compared to the annual enrollment numbers of the last two years, which might result in

pressure on the real estate market. Similarly, the total student enrollment (iscritti) ratio of out-of-region and international has been increasing as well.

Politecnico di Milano emerges as the most influential higher education institution in terms of attracting students from outside the region and abroad. The latest statistical data on overall student enrollment numbers, iscritti, illustrates that Politecnico di Milano, with the sum of out-of-region and international students, currently has a student population exceeding 28,000 who require accommodation. Following that, the second and the third most impactful universities in terms of forming a notable student body within the city are Catholic and the State University, with a total of 18,700 students for the first and 16,900 students for the latter in need of housing. Even though Bocconi University has relatively less total student enrollment compared to the most populated universities in Milan, it holds more than 12,250 students who require housing. This university particularly draws attention by always having the highest percentage of out-of-region and international among both the ‘immatricolati’ and ‘iscritti’ categories. In the academic year 2021/2022, the percentage of out-of-region students who have just enrolled for this university, immatricolati, has reached 72.2%, indicating a substantial presence of students coming outside the Lombardy region.

In these last three academic years, Politecnico di Milano has experienced the highest increase in the combined enrollment numbers of out-of-region and international students (iscritti), signifying the most rapidly recovering university in Milan in terms of student intake.

## **10. Student Accommodations**

### **10.1 Accommodation Provided by Higher Education Institution vs. PBSA**

To comprehend the impact of the student population on the real estate market, the study investigated the accommodations provided by universities and their respective bed capacities. It aimed to uncover the possible disparity between the overall student population who require accommodation, indicating the sum of out-of-region and international students of ‘iscritti’ and the available bed capacities. The comparison between these two datasets necessitates an individual investigation of each university since accommodations are exclusively offered to the students enrolled in the respective universities, requiring a separate monitoring imperative for accurate comparison. Therefore, the study combined the dataset of

total student population number iscritti, illustrated earlier in Table 7, with the investigation of existing accommodations provided by universities (see Table 8).

Table 8 serves to compare the enrolled student number and the bed capacities of university accommodations. Additionally, it includes these accommodations' monthly and annual prices for the ongoing academic year, providing insights into the university-provided accommodation costs. The primary objective behind preparing this table is to serve as a tool for monitoring the percentages of students unable to secure dormitory placements due to capacity limitations. As a result, the table reveals the percentage of students compelled to seek alternative accommodation options in the local real estate market and the private student housing sector. Ultimately, it aims to provide insight into the real estate market and student housing sector response to the uncovered student demand resulting from the inadequacy of universities. A wider gap signifies heightened demand, thereby stimulating the private sector to cover it.

According to the table, with the exception of two universities, the rest of higher education institutions can accommodate less than 10% of their students' housing needs. Additionally, the two most accommodating universities, Bicocca and Bocconi, can cover only 19.2% and 16.9% of their students' housing demands, respectively (see Table 8, the column 'covered demand').

Among all these universities, Bocconi offers the highest bed capacity, totaling 2067, although it does not have the highest enrollment number for students requiring accommodation. Following Bocconi, Politecnico di Milano and the State University have 1648 and 1614 bed capacities, respectively. When comparing these capacities with their enrollment numbers and the demand for accommodation, it becomes evident that these universities are lacking substantial student housing. Particularly, Politecnico di Milano, with over 28,000 students in need of housing but only 1648 beds offered, can cover only 5.9% of the demand. The study highlights that Politecnico collaborates with the private student housing sector, providing reduced costs for their students, indicating their efforts to address the demand by partnering with the open market. The same insufficiency is valid for one of the most populated universities in Milan after Politecnico di Milano, the State University, offering 1614 beds despite a significant student population requiring accommodation. Overall, both public and private universities lack a sufficient number of student accommodations, initiating a process of speculation in the real estate market.

Table 8 University provided accommodations; Comparison with the enrollment numbers (iscritti)

University	Residence Name	Address	Bed Cap.	Annual Price [EUR]	Monthly Price [EUR]	Iscritti out-of-region	Iscritti Inter-national	Total Pot. Of Bed Demand	Covered Potential Demand
Bicocca University	Alloggi Sondrio	Via Scamozzi 4/6/10	28	n/a	n/a				
Reference number on the maps: (3)	U12	Via Vizzola	210	4956	413				
	Foresteria	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a				
	Appartamenti Ponale U72	Via Ponale 66	71	n/a	n/a				
	Residenza Di Breme-Forno U62	Via Martinelli 44	44	n/a	n/a				
	Residenza Giò Ponti U92	Via Modena 36	119	4956	413				
	Residenza U42	Via Forni 71	156	n/a	n/a				
	U22	Via Mantova 75	200	4956	413				
	Modena	Via Gustavo Modena 36	119	n/a	n/a				
	Campus Milano Internazionale	Via dell'Innovazione 22/A	450	9840	820				
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>1397</b>			<b>5346</b>	<b>1930</b>	<b>7276</b>	<b>19.2%</b>
The State University	Residenza Bassini	Via Bassini, 38	185	4800	400				
Statale	Residenza Plinio	Via Plinio, 44	65	5400	450				
Reference number on the maps: (2)	Residenza Ripamonti	Via Muzio Attendolo Sforza, 6	176	4800	400				
	Residenza Canzio	Via Canzio, 4	37	5400	450				
	Campus Milano Olympia	Via Mario del Monaco 4	44	2750	n/a				
	Residenza Ripamonti 35	Via Ripamonti 35	268	2750	n/a				
	Campus Martinit	Via Riccardo Pitteri 56	439	n/a	n/a				
	Residenza Santa Sofia	Via Santa Sofia, 9	142	5400	450				
	Collegio Santa Sara	Via Barilli 18 - 20	110	5400	450				
	Appartamenti	n/a (various locations)	95	n/a	n/a				
	Sottotetti	Via Moretto da Brescia 1-3	53	n/a	n/a				
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>1614</b>			<b>12031</b>	<b>4845</b>	<b>16876</b>	<b>9.6%</b>
Politecnico di Milano	Leonardo Da Vinci	Viale Romagna, 62	333	5700	475				
Reference number on the maps: (1)	Marie Curie	Piazzale Ferrara	213	6850	n/a				
	Isaac Newton	Via M. Borsa, 25	258	4500	375				
	Wilfredo Pareto	Via Maggianico, 6	232	4500	375				
	Residenza Galileo Galilei	Via Corridoni, 22	406	6228	519				
	Alberto Einstein	Via Alberto Einstein 6	206	5700	475				
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>1648</b>			<b>20583</b>	<b>7477</b>	<b>28060</b>	<b>5.9%</b>

Bocconi University	Residenza Bocconi	Via Bocconi 12	261	n/a	660				
Reference number	Residenza Javotte	Via Giovenale 4	96	n/a	660				
on the maps: (4)	Residenza Dubini	Via Buzzi 7	326	n/a	755				
	Residenza Spadolini	Via Spadolini 12/A	333	n/a	660				
	Residenza Isonzo	Viale Isonzo 23	213	n/a	715				
	Residenza Bligny	Viale Bligny 22	176	n/a	715				
	Residenza Castiglioni	Via Castiglioni 8	300	n/a	775				
	Residenza Arcobaleno	Via Fratelli Frascini 3	362	6930	630				
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>2067</b>			<b>9486</b>	<b>2765</b>	<b>12251</b>	<b>16.9%</b>
Catholic University	Collegio Augustinianum	Via Necchi 1	82	7092	n/a				
Reference number	Residenza Buonarroti	Piazza Buonarroti 30	78	7600	n/a				
on the maps: (5)	Collegio Marianum	Via S. Vittore 18	153	6840	n/a				
	Collegio Paolo VI	Via Verga 9	144	6612	n/a				
	Collegio Orsoline Missionarie	Via Martignoni 8	16	5450	n/a				
	Collegio Stimmatine Francescane	Via Maroncelli 28	70	5856	n/a				
	Campus Monneret	Via Monneret de Villard 1	260	8880	n/a				
	Campus Ludovicianum	Piazza Buonarroti 30	80	6576	n/a				
	Residenza Notre Dame	Vial Vigliani, 51	10	n/a	n/a				
	Campus Olympia	Via Del Monaco 4	300	7200	n/a				
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>1193</b>			<b>16294</b>	<b>2413</b>	<b>18707</b>	<b>6.4%</b>
IULM	Residenza Santander	Via Santander 5	144	4800	400				
(7)	Residenza Moncucco	Via Moncucco 29/30	96	4800	400				
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>240</b>			<b>2862</b>	<b>339</b>	<b>3201</b>	<b>7.5%</b>
San Raffaele	Cascina Cassinella	SpexSS11 via Cassinella	115	7632	636				
(8)	Cascina Melghera	Via Olgettina 46	59	11460	955				
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>174</b>			<b>1872</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>2118</b>	<b>8.2%</b>

Source: The table is prepared by the author by using the data provided by MUR and official university websites. Unavailable information is marked as 'n/a'. 'Int.' denotes international, and 'OOR' represents out-of-region.

Another noteworthy aspect is the bed capacity each student accommodation offers, indicating the size of the facility. The three accommodations with the highest bed capacities are Campus Milano Internazionale by Bicocca, with 450 beds; Campus Martinitt by the State University, with 439 beds; and Residenza Galileo Galilei by Politecnico di Milano, with 406 beds. These accommodations are strategically located around their respective campuses (see Figure 8).

According to the available data, the average cost of accommodation offered by public universities in Milan is approximately 458,53 euros, which is relatively lower compared to the real estate market and privately built student accommodations. Politecnico di Milano offers the most economical option at 375 euros but only for 490 students total in the Isaac Newton and Wilfredo Pareto residences; the State University and Bicocca University provide accommodations at around 400 and 450 euros, respectively.

On the contrary, private universities offer significantly higher accommodation costs than state universities. Bocconi University offers accommodations at approximately 630 euros per month, with the lowest being 495 euros at Collegio Orsoline Missionarie and the highest reaching 807 euros at Campus Monneret, which is still affordable when it is compared with the accommodations provided by student housing market (see Table 9). Furthermore, Bocconi University stands out with multiple sizable facilities, such as Residenza Dubini, Spadolini, Castiglioni, and Arcobaleno, providing bed capacities of 326, 333, 300, and 362, respectively. San Raffaele University proposes the highest accommodation cost at 955 euros per month.

Although the average cost of student accommodations at public universities is approximately 458 euros, the inclusion of private university offerings raises the overall average to 569 euros per month. To detect the difference between student housing facilities operated by higher education institutions and those in the private sector, the study employed the data provided by BONARD, an investment agency in the real estate and student housing market and developed it with additional research and updates. It underlines purpose-built student accommodation (PBSA) in Milan, along with their respective prices. According to Table 9, the average price for PBSAs in Milan arrives at 730.11 euros, significantly higher than the offerings from public universities.

Table 9 2022/2023 Prices of Student Accommodations Operated by Private Sector

<b>2022/2023 Student Accommodation Offers in Milan</b>				
<b>Name of Student Housing Project</b>	<b>Provider/Developer Name</b>	<b>Bed Cap.</b>	<b>Single Room</b>	<b>Double Room</b>
Milano Student House	Private/Family Owned	22	587	467
Camplus Bovisa	Fondazione CEUR	177	480	750
Camplus Città Studi	Fondazione CEUR	97	1455	1273
Camplus Gioia	Fondazione CEUR	107	630	440
Camplus Gorla	Fondazione CEUR	67	800	500
Camplus Humanitas University	Fondazione CEUR	240	1325	820
Camplus Lambrate	Fondazione CEUR	120	1000	818
Camplus Turro	Fondazione CEUR	100	1355	910
Camplus Sesto San Giovanni	Fondazione CEUR	152	800	770
<i>Total/Average</i>		<i>1060</i>	<i>1052.14</i>	<i>790.14</i>
Collegio Torrescaglia	Fondazione Rui	70	1264	n/a
Collegio Viscontea	Fondazione Rui	60	1318	n/a
Residenza Universitaria Torriana	Fondazione Rui	20	1095	927
Residenza Universitaria Castelbarco	Fondazione Rui	41	1264	1264
Residenza Universitaria MilanoAccademia	Fondazione Rui	30	1036	945
<i>Total/Average</i>		<i>221</i>	<i>1195.40</i>	<i>1045.33</i>
Aparto Giovenale	Hines	600	1400	650
Domus Residence	Private	20	1100	1200
Pensionato Delle Rose	Private	10	450	345
Residenza Chiaralba	Private	22	n/a	n/a
Residence Loreto di Milano	Residence Loreto Milano	45	n/a	n/a
Residenze Italia	Residenze Italia	19	550	350
21WOL Hotel	Ricerca 12 SPA	120	n/a	n/a
Residenza Via Balilla 4	Via Balilla Student Housing	225	500	390
Ways Student Building	Waysitalia	14	600	500
Ways Student Residence	Waysitalia	30	n/a	573
<b>Current Average Price</b>	<b>Total capacity:</b>	<b>2408</b>	<b>975.21 €</b>	<b>730.11 €</b>

Table 10 Purpose-Built Student Accommodations Under Construction

<b>Student Accommodations Under Construction</b>				
<b>Name of Student Housing Project</b>	<b>Provider/Developer Name</b>	<b>Bed Cap.</b>	<b>Single Room</b>	<b>Double Room</b>
Student Housing in MIND	Lendlease	1100	n/a	n/a
CX Milan   Bicocca (2023)	CX Place	600	920	790
CX Milan   North of Milan	CX Place	1100	1120	610
<i>Total/Average</i>		<i>1760</i>		
Aparto Ripamonti (2023)	Hines	719	1400	650
Aparto MilanoSesto (Ex-Falck)	Hines	700	n/a	n/a
MoLeCoLa Project	Hines	1100	n/a	n/a
<i>Total/Average</i>		<i>2519</i>		
U10 Logos (2023)	University Provided	104	n/a	n/a
Student Accommodation in Ex-Enel	n/a	500	n/a	n/a
Studentato Greco	Castello SGR	700	n/a	n/a
L'Innesto	REDO SGR	300	n/a	n/a
Città Studi District	CA Ventures	540	n/a	n/a
Studentato Durando	Colliers SGR	250	n/a	n/a
<b>Current Average Price</b>	<b>Total projected cap.:</b>	<b>7713 (*)</b>	<b>976 € (*)</b>	<b>725 € (*)</b>

Source: The table is developed by the author by researching and employing the database provided by BONARD in April 2023.

Table 9 underlines the notable facilities of Camplus in Milan by having them in 8 different locations with a collective capacity of 938 beds. The average monthly price for a single room at Camplus facilities is 980 euros, while a double shared room is priced at 785 euros. Among these Camplus PBSAs, facilities such as Camplus Città Studi, Camplus Humanitas, Camplus Turro, and Camplus Lambrate exceed 1000 euros per month and reach a maximum of 1445 euros for single rooms. Besides Camplus Forla and Gioia, which are the most affordable PBSAs among these facilities of Fondazione CEUR (Centro Europeo Università e Ricerca), shared rooms range from a minimum of 750 euros to a maximum of 1273 euros per month.

The second facility that commands attention in the table is Aparto Giovenale, an investment by Hines, which commenced operations in May 2022. As one of the newest student housing facilities, it provides the largest capacity by offering 600 beds. Moreover, Aparto Giovenale holds the maximum single room price among all PBSAs in Milan, costing 1400 euros per month for one single room.

A third significant investment that comes forward in the table is Fondazione Rui (Residenze Universitarie Internazionali), which owns a total of 5 PBSAs in Milan with 221 beds. The average monthly cost for a single room in this facility is nearly 1200 euros, while double shared rooms cost 1045 euros.

As a result of Tables 8 and 9, PBSAs in Milan tend to have a higher average price compared to both public and private university-provided accommodations. The University of Bocconi has student accommodation that offers relatively higher rates, similar to some private sector options. In the private sector, there are three main real estate investments that lead the PBSA sector in Milan, including Fondazione CEUR, Fondazione Rui, and Hines.

The capacity of PBSAs in Milan is currently 2408 beds in total and is expected to reach approximately 10.120 beds, with the new PBSA projects starting to be completed this year and continuing until 2026. Table 9 illustrates the initial phase of the PBSA sector in Milan. In the literature, the student housing sector is referred to as a niche sector, and in some cities, it has already developed and created a strong and mature market, including in the cities of Canada and England like Waterloo. In the case of Milan, it can be seen that the city has already started to experience the initial development of the student housing market. Table 9 serves as an illustration of the existing condition of the PBSA sector in Milan and highlights specific developers and providers that stand out. Furthermore, Table 10 serves as an



instrument to understand the projection of the student housing sector in the city by demonstrating the details of the new investments.

Starting from the current condition, the study acknowledged that Milan has moved into another phase in the student housing sector by experiencing the emergence of global actors in its PBSA sector. In Table 9, the robust presence of Hines, a multinational company that invests in different locations across countries, not only in student housing but also in general real estate markets like residential and office projects, could have already been seen. The entry of such major private investors in the sector is notably more visible and impactful on urban development as they propose more extensive projects compared to the existing smaller ones. For instance, it is evident that all the current PBSAs in Milan have a maximum capacity of 225 beds with an average of around 100 beds, while Hines, despite having only one facility, was able to introduce a large-scale project with a capacity of 600 beds, surpassing others not only in size but also in terms of rental costs, setting a trend that repeats in Table 10, presenting ongoing projects. Particularly noteworthy are Hines' investments, projecting the addition of 2500 new beds through three large student housing facility projects.

In contrast, the other investments appear relatively smaller, underscoring the potential influence and strength of major global players on the city's real estate market. CX Place, which is an Italian company that tries to keep up with the facilities offered by Hines, remains relatively smaller. The presence of student accommodations like Hines, including Aparto Ripamonti and Aparto MilanoSesto, could potentially contribute to an overall increase in prices of the student housing sector, given that their proposals arrive at 1400 € per month, which is significantly higher compared to other proposals.

The PBSA sector in Milan, with double shared rooms priced at 730 € and single rooms at 975 €, extensively surpasses the prices offered by university-provided accommodations. In some cases, like Politecnico di Milano and the State University, these proposals are almost double their offers. Rather than relieving students' pressure on the local property market by offering affordable prices, the PBSA sector appears to be exacerbating the situation by offering relatively expensive rents, potentially contributing to speculation in the property market. Rather than reducing the burden on students, this may lead to increased demand for rental apartments in the local real estate market and higher prices. Furthermore, if the current trajectory of the PBSA sector is sustained, it has the potential to impact the student housing market, leading to an increase in prices and reducing accessibility for a

significant group of the student population. The introduction of significantly high rental prices, especially by global investors, may contribute to speculation in the real estate market, rendering the student housing sector unsustainable for a majority of students. This trend indicates a possible escalation in prices, presenting challenges for students already facing affordability concerns. Consequently, the competitive nature of these developments, particularly in comparison to local offerings, could stimulate increased demand for rental apartments, contributing to an upward shift in overall rental costs within the Milan real estate market.

## **10.2 Distribution of PBSA in Milan**

Before delving into the analysis of PBSA distribution in Milan, the study first presented a visual representation of public and private university geographies on maps, referring to Figures 6 and 7. In this way, it aims to confirm the hypothesis that universities are perceived as engines for urban development for the areas that require revalorization. Maps presented in Figures 6 and 7 initially feature Milan's transportation networks, including metro and train, and intersection nodes accompanied by public and private higher education institutions. Figure 6 also includes the university campuses' respective zones, regeneration areas, and campus expansion projects.

As explained in the earlier chapters investigating the university dynamics and strategies with the urban development process of the city, universities are important urban functions, as Balducci and Fedeli described them as “spatial agencies” for revalorization of problematic areas. For instance, public universities were distributed during the post-industrial period along the outer belt of Milan in the former industrial sites. Starting from 1915 with the establishment of Città degli Studi, the study confirms the local authorities' strategic decisions of urban revalorization and regeneration of underdeveloped areas, referring to peripheries. Briefly explaining, Città degli Studi was established through the municipality's strategic decision to dedicate 150.000 m<sup>2</sup> of the area to Politecnico di Milano and The State University on the eastern part of Milan.

Further developments, which emerged in the late 1990s, also planned to regenerate underdeveloped ex-industrial areas of the city strategically, including the campus of Politecnico di Milano in Bovisa and the campus of Bicocca as an autonomous expansion of The State University, which is located on the former Pirelli site, on the northern periphery (see Figure 6). In the current situation, university functions that were located in the area of

Città degli Studi have been decided to relocate to the new expansion areas, and universities, which is not a novelty, are the spatial agencies that drive the regeneration process of their new respective areas. For instance, in the current scenario, two important regeneration projects, Città Salute in Sesto San Giovanni, which is located on the axis of Bicocca, and MIND on the boundary of Rho and Milan, in the area of Expo 2015, which is positioned on the Bovisa axis, inserted university expansions in their urban development projects. Given that the university has the potential to bring along a large population, including students, it might be seen as a trusted spatial actor from the market-oriented point of view for large-scale projects.

The study underlines that starting from the post-industrial period, universities have had significant roles as spatial functions holding strong influence for their respective areas, and they are located in strategic sites, including ex-industrial areas and peripheries that required urban development. In the northern part, the second campus, established in the 1990s, and the ongoing third campus expansion project of Politecnico di Milano, along with Bicocca—also late 1990s expansion established as an autonomous new campus of Statale—are strategically positioned along the axis, with the former extending towards Novate Milanese and the latter towards Sesto San Giovanni in the former Pirelli area.

According to the thesis hypothesis, this strategy is still ongoing in the arrangement of new projects to enhance the success of large-scale urban development projects. Figure 6, illustrating the map, presents visually the two main axes that emerged in the northern part of the city. The second campus and the ongoing third campus expansion project of Politecnico di Milano in Bovisa-Goccia and the relocation of existing functions of The State University in the project area of MIND create a strong axis on the west-north of Milan towards Rho. The innovation district project envisions the infrastructure development of the area, accompanied by the new branch of the State University campus and the student housing project, which aims to enhance the northern axis starting from Bovisa - Stephenson - Area Expo - Fiera Rho. Furthermore, the campus expansion project of Politecnico di Milano in Bovisa-Goccia, which is the initial stop of the axis starting from Milan towards Rho, is also responsible for the development of its respective area and its infrastructure.

The study underlines that these campuses and their expansion projects serve as engines of the urban development of the peripheries of Milan. They are crucial urban actors for both local authorities and private developers, guaranteeing notable and diverse

populations for the area and its project. Not only regenerating brownfields but also their potential to call investments stimulates the urban development process.

The study, while concentrating on the strategic placement and expansion of public universities in Milan's northern and eastern areas, also recognizes the significance of private higher education institutions in the city's southern part. Notably, this region is home to major private universities, including Bocconi, Domus Academy, NABA, and IULM, nestled between Porta Romana and Porta Genova. These private institutions, unlike their public counterparts, which are strategically positioned near key intersection nodes for better connectivity with the aid of public authorities, tend to cluster more closely together, offering a contrasting spatial dynamic to the more dispersed state universities.

Figure 8 illustrates the geographical distribution map of university and private sector-provided student accommodations in Milan. The accommodations are differentiated by using two colors, with green indicating university-operated and orange representing private-sector-provided student accommodations, and each is marked by an outer circle with different sizes reflecting their respective bed capacities. The current landscape shows that university-provided student accommodations, often located close to their respective institutions such as in Città degli Studi, Bicocca, Bocconi, San Raffaele, and IULM, outnumber those provided by the private sector. They are more evenly distributed across the city, whereas purpose-built student accommodations (PBSAs) are heavily concentrated in the southern area, aligning with the aggregation of private higher education institutions, especially around Bocconi and the combined campus of Domus Academy and NABA. In the eastern part, near Città degli Studi, the presence of campuses like Politecnico di Milano and the State University has led to a significant accumulation of PBSAs. Other notable areas with PBSAs include Greco and Padova, close to Bicocca University, and around Politecnico di Milano's Campus Bovisa.

Figures 9 and 10 highlight the northern belt of Milan as a key development area, characterized by regeneration projects, campus expansions, and the construction of new student accommodations. These figures contrast the status quo with ongoing construction projects, emphasizing the northern part of the city as a focal point for expansion. As mentioned previously, this includes the third expansion of Politecnico di Milano's Campus Bovisa-Goccia, the State University's campus expansion in the MIND area, and the new campus of San Raffaele in Sesto San Giovanni, outside Milan's administrative border. These campus projects underscore the role of universities as catalysts for regeneration and urban

development, drawing in students, scholars, and service workers. Moreover, these expansions are accompanied by new PBSAs, mainly in the northern area, indicating the student housing sector's response to the anticipated demand from the increasing student population. It is noteworthy that, with a few exceptions, these new student accommodation projects are primarily driven by the private sector. Furthermore, these new facilities are expected to have significantly higher bed capacities compared to existing ones. Projects like CX Milano, CX Bovisa, MoLeCoLa, and the student housing at the State University in MIND, for instance, each propose a capacity of 1100 beds, while other projects are projected to offer between 500 to 700 beds.

In summary, the expansion projects of universities in Milan have also significantly influenced the development of new student accommodation projects. While Purpose-Built Student Accommodations (PBSAs) currently have a relatively modest presence in Milan, the emerging ones are anticipated to be more substantial in terms of bed capacity and prices. Since the 2020s, Milan has been entering a new phase in the PBSA market, marked by the entry of global players. These new projects are expected to offer significantly higher bed capacities in one facility compared to their national counterparts with higher prices. This trend could potentially impact the city's real estate market in a discernible manner, with implications that may result negatively.

Figure 7 Geographies of Public and Private Universities with Intersection Points Stations

Source: The map was created by the author using the open database of Geoportale and includes the shapes of education services.  
Scale: 1/100.000

- Border of Comune di Milano
- Metro station
- Train station
- Metro network
- Railway network
- Intersection Points
- Public University
- Private University
- Database Topografico (DBT)

UNIVERSITIES

- 1 Politecnico di Milano
- 2 Statale
- 3 Bicocca
- 4 Bocconi University
- 5 Catholic University
- 6 Theological Faculty
- 7 IULM
- 8 San Raffaele
- 9 Brera Academy
- 10 NABA
- 11 Domus Academy
- 12 Istituto Europeo di Design
- 13 Humanitas University
- 14 Marangoni Insitute

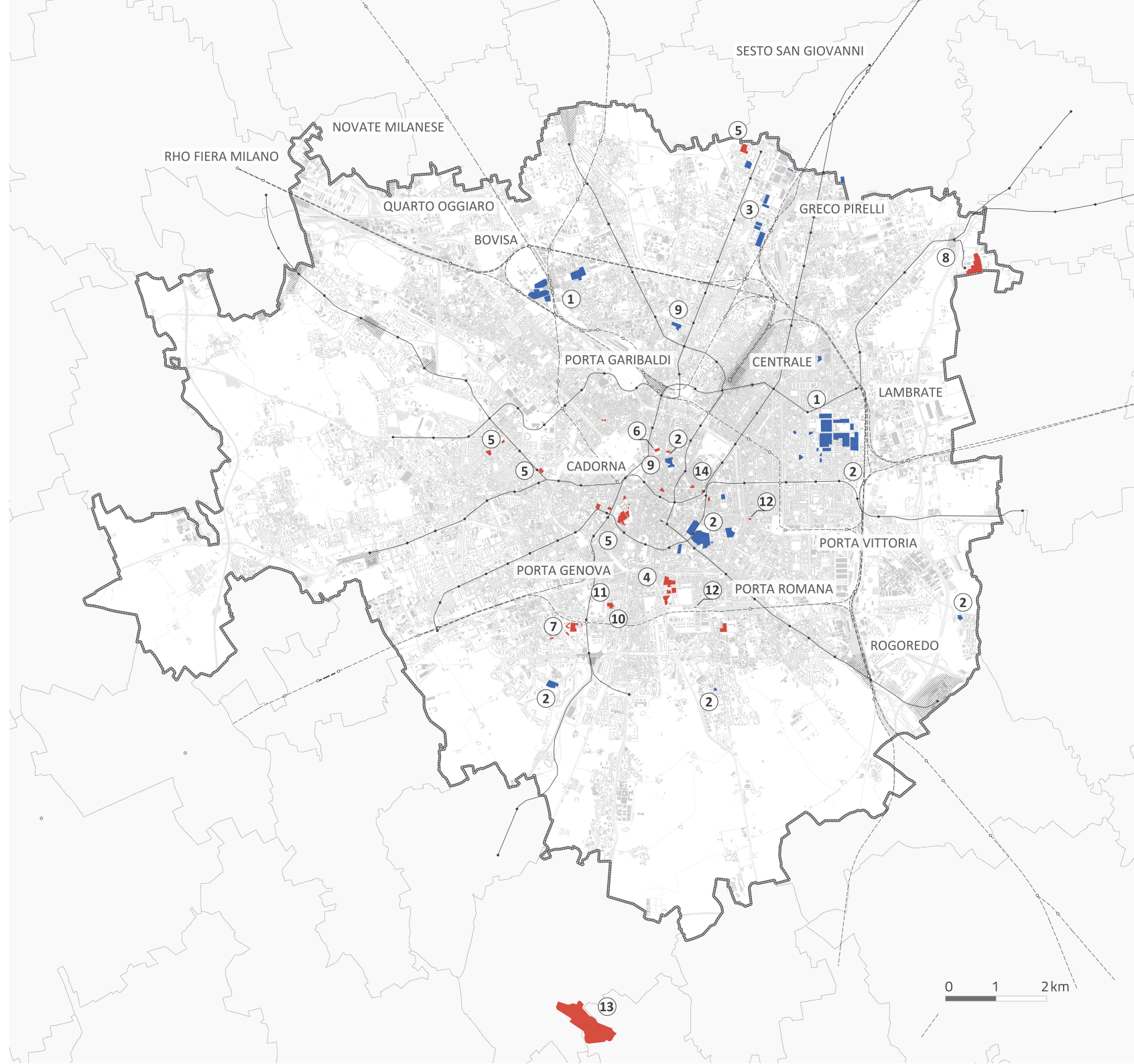
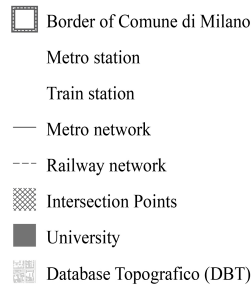




Figure 8 Geographies of Universities and Accommodation Distribution Provided by University and Private Sector

Source: The map was created by the author using data from the open database of Geoportale, and the dataset on student accommodations provided by universities is sourced from BONARD.  
Scale: 1/100.000



ACCOMMODATION

UNIVERSITY OPERATED

- 1 Politecnico di Milano
- 2 Statale
- 3 Bicocca
- 4 Bocconi University
- 5 Catholic University
- 7 IULM
- 8 San Raffaele

NUMBER OF BED CAPACITY

University Operated

- 6 - 48
- 49 - 94
- 95 - 137
- 138 - 227
- 228 - 450

Private Sector Operated

- 6 - 48
- 49 - 94
- 95 - 137
- 138 - 227
- 228 - 450

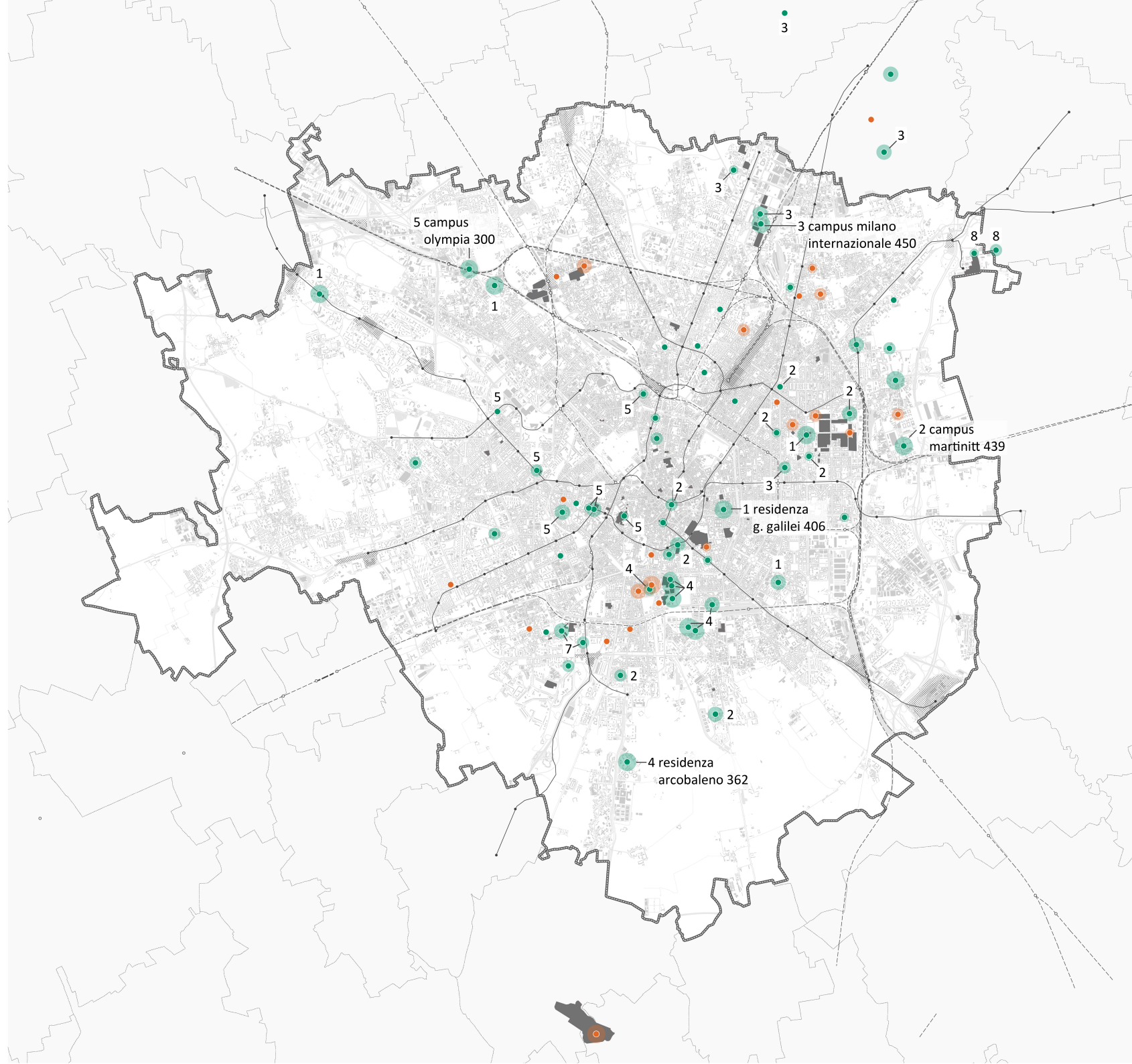


Figure 9 Analyzing University Geographies: Existing vs. Projected Facilities and Student Accommodations, Including Campus Expansion and Private Sector Housing.

Source: Map created by author using Geoportale for general data and BONARD for existing and projects of student accommodations, with additional research.  
Scale: 1/100.000

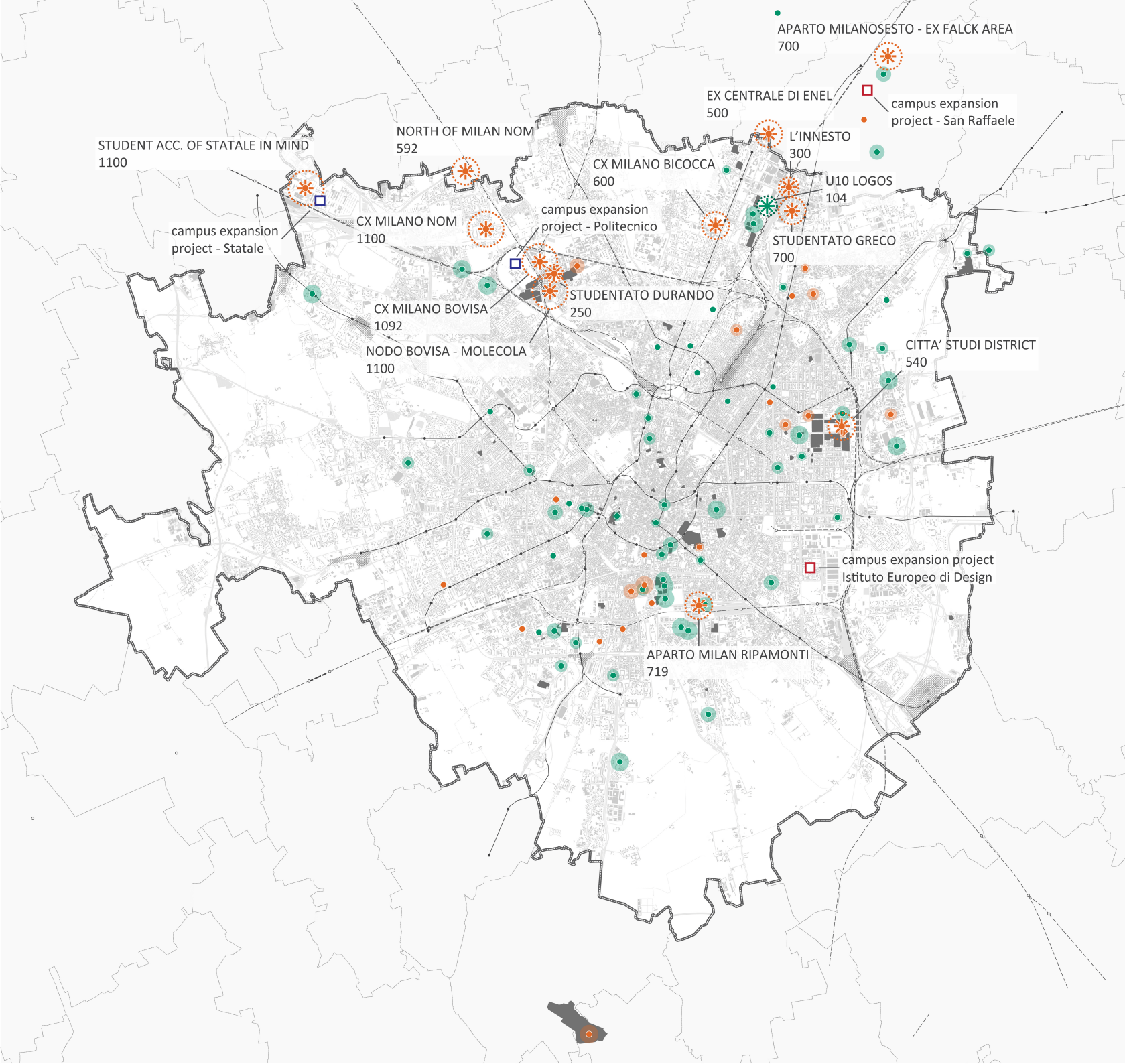
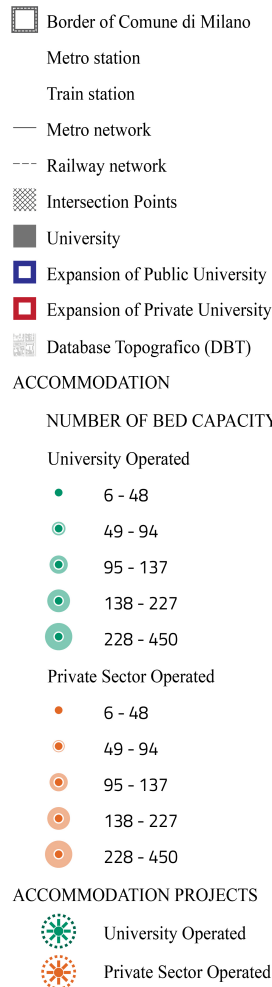
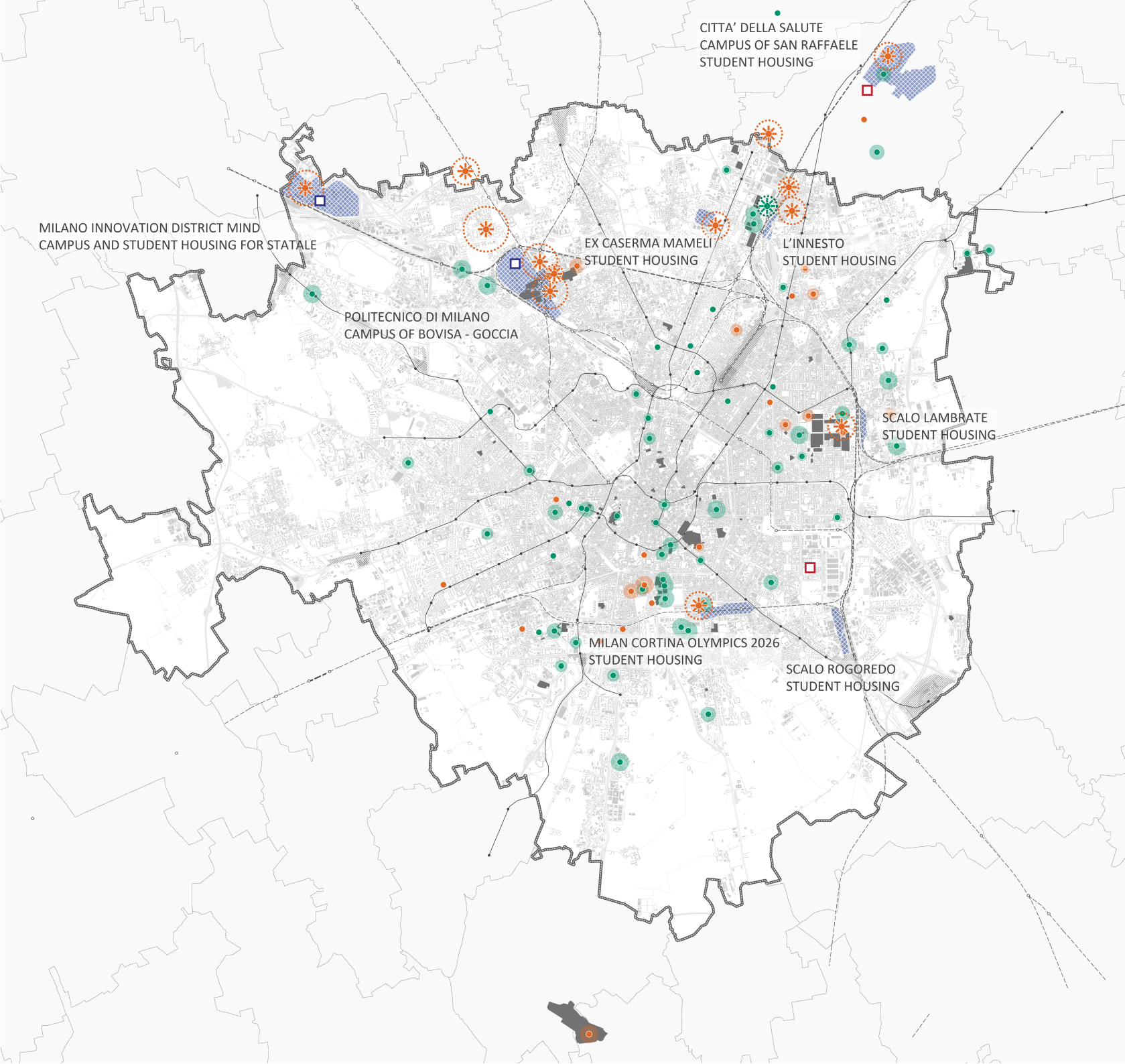
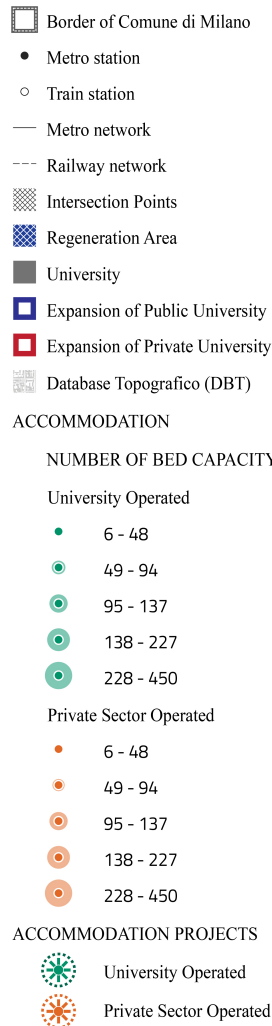




Figure 10 Comparing Current and Future University Facilities and Accommodations: Campus Expansions, Student Housing from Universities and Private Sector, and Regeneration Projects.

Source: Map created by author using Geoportale for general data and BONARD for existing and projects of student accommodations, with additional research.  
Scale: 1/100.000



## 11. The Real Estate Market Dynamics in Milan

So far, the study has delved into the prices and capacities of student accommodation offers provided by universities and private sectors to understand the potential student load on the real estate market in Milan. It is confirmed that there is still a notable gap between existing stocks of university operated and PBSAs that leads students to search for alternative solutions in the local real estate market. Therefore, this chapter aims to investigate the possible impact of student volume on the real estate market.

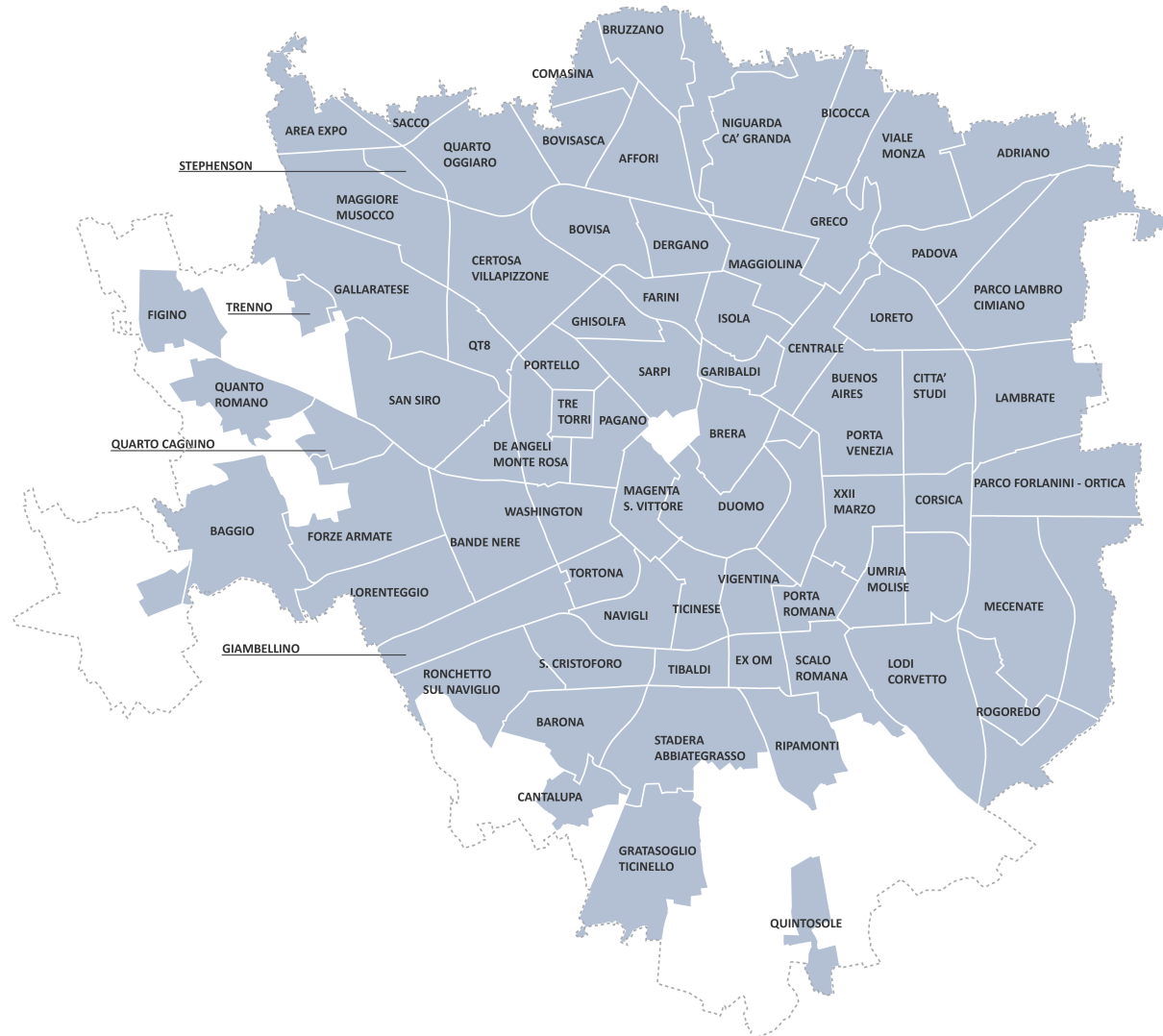
The real estate agency Idealista has reported significant changes in the housing stock for rental properties across various Italian capital cities. In 2023, Milan witnessed a substantial reduction in its rental property housing stock, with a decrease of 49% compared to the previous year. Concurrently, the city has seen notable increases in rental prices, with an average rise of 10.7% since June 2022. The average rent per square meter in Milan has escalated to 22.1 euros/m<sup>2</sup>. This rate is nearly double that of neighboring northwestern municipalities like Rho (11.6 €/m<sup>2</sup>) and Cinisello Balsamo (11 €/m<sup>2</sup>), and it also surpasses northeastern municipalities such as Sesto San Giovanni (14.3 €/m<sup>2</sup>) and Segrate (15.8 €/m<sup>2</sup>). According to Idealista's data, Milan recorded the highest rental prices in Italy in 2022, averaging 21 €/m<sup>2</sup>.

For investigation, the study employed Idealista, which is an online real estate platform for rental and for sale properties, to monitor the price variations over the last eleven years across different districts of the city. The datasets from Idealista, organized by different zones, are initially used to prepare tables that illustrate the prices per square meter, along with the year-over-year variations, based on the eleven-year period, starting from 2012 and finishing in April 2023. Subsequently, the datasets are aligned with the *Nuclei d'Identità Locale (NIL)* by using QGIS, as defined in the Territorial Governance Plan (PGT) of Milan, areas that are distinguishable as districts, each with its own historical and project-based characters (see Figures 11 and 12). The adoption of datasets was crucial to visualize the rent price variations on maps, offering a geographical understanding of the real estate trends in Milan over the last eleven years (see Tables 11/12 and Figure 14).

These datasets, processed firstly as a table to capture the increasing and decreasing moments, are employed to investigate the potential extreme variations that might occur

during extraordinary periods in urban areas, such as the pandemic. This approach allows a chance to

*Figure 11 Districts of Milan based on NIL.*



*Source: The map is prepared based on the data Nuclei di Identità Locale (NIL), taken from Piano dei Servizi of PGT of Milan.*

compile a detailed analysis of how external factors like health crises can significantly impact real estate values by impacting the presence of temporary populations within the city. Therefore, the study evaluates the datasets with two main assumptions:

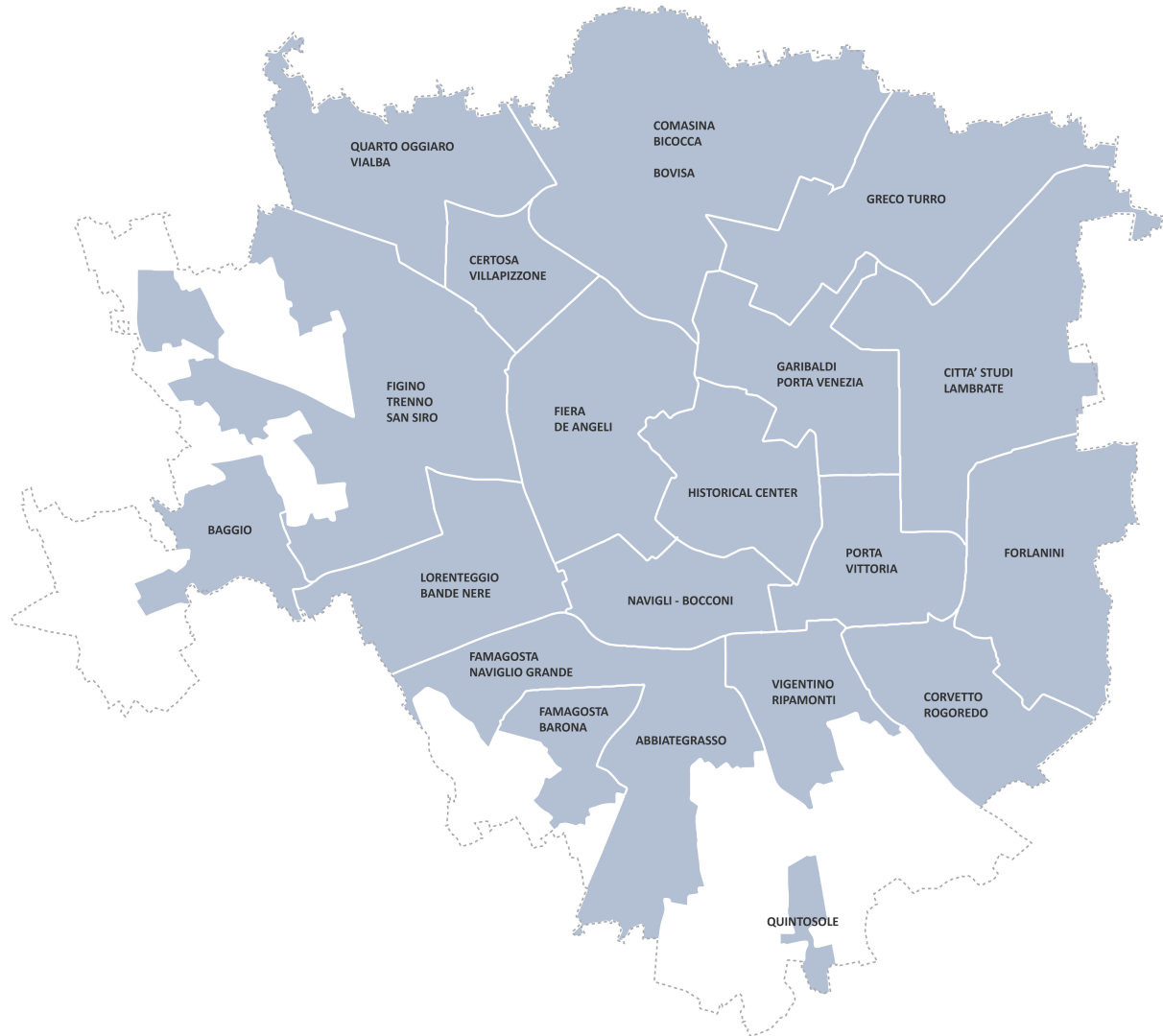
- During the pandemic, the observed dramatic changes in rent prices may reflect the presence of temporary populations in certain districts. Specifically, if the study identifies a notable price shift between 2019 and 2020, this could be attributed to the

reduced presence of temporary residents who, due to pandemic restrictions and the rise of remote work and education possibilities, were either unable or did not need to reside in the city. Consequently, this decrease in demand could lead to an increase in available housing stock and potentially lower rental prices.

- Furthermore, the thesis posits that this assumption can be substantiated by examining the price changes in the subsequent period of 2021/2022. If the study observes a period of recovery characterized by an increase in prices, this would suggest the return of temporary populations to these districts. Such a trend would indicate that the previous decline in prices was indeed a result of their temporary absence due to the pandemic and their re-entrance into the city.
- Another assumption that needs to be considered is the *contratto transitorio*, which is a type of rental agreement in Italy specifically designed for short-term tenancies. It is typically used for temporary stays, often by students and workers on temporary assignments. This type of contract requires a business contract or a university enrollment document that declares the condition of tenancies and has a duration of a maximum of 18 months. It was valid even before the pandemic but might be reconsidered by landlords since it allows the option to rent properties for short terms without being tied to the typical 4+4-year rental contracts, which normally stabilize the rent prices. During the pandemic, this type of contract might have been a strategic choice for landlords facing problems due to the lack of temporary populations in the city. Offering properties on a short-term basis, although potentially resulting in lower rental prices, might have been a strategic decision by landlords to avoid prolonged vacancies during the pandemic. This possible adjustment in rental strategy, driven by the uncertainties, might have contributed to notable shifts in the real estate market. If certain zones experienced considerable rent decreases in 2021, followed by dramatic increases in 2022, this could suggest the expiration of short-term rental contracts and the beginning of a recovery period with a resurgence of higher rent prices.
- Conversely, the study interprets stabilized data from a different perspective: it posits that the greater the stability in value, the higher the likelihood of a permanent population residing in that area.

Building upon the established methodology for interpreting the tables, the study specifically concentrates on the period between 2019 and 2022. This period might provide the

*Figure 12 Zone Division Based on Idealista Database*



*Source: The map is prepared based on the data Nuclei di Identità Locale (NIL), taken from Piano dei Servizi of PGT of Milan.*

possibility to observe the changes in rental markets and to identify the areas with potentially higher accumulations of temporary populations compared to the other zones.

According to Tables 11 and 12, the Navigli-Bocconi zone was the first to respond to the pandemic in terms of rental price changes. It was the only area that experienced a negative trend, with the price per square meter dropping from 21.22 € in 2019 to 20.89 € in 2020. This decrease makes it unique among the zones studied, as no other area underwent a

decrease in rental prices in the period 2019 and 2020. While other zones did experience a slowdown in the acceleration of their rental prices, none faced a negative value or a lower price than the previous year. This trend might suggest that the Navigli-Bocconi area has the potential to be one of the most populated zones in Milan in terms of temporary populations (see Table 11).

Starting from the last quarter of 2019, effectively covering 2020 and extending to mid-2021, the period when pandemic restrictions were in full effect, certain zones showed dramatic responses to the pandemic. The most significant variations were observed in the Greco-Turro, Comasina-Bicocca, Bocconi-Navigli, and Città Studi-Lambrate zones (see Table 12).

The year 2022 is identified as the year of recovery in terms of rental prices, with values increasing again and surpassing their levels from 2019. After the pandemic, the most dramatic increases in rent prices were observed primarily in the zones of Città Studi-Lambrate and then in Bovisa-Bicocca. These areas host the two most populous major universities in Milan, Politecnico di Milano and State University. Therefore, the thesis interprets this increase in rent as partially indicative of students returning to the city. This trend is highlighted in Tables 11 and 12, where the values for the years 2021 and 2022 in the rows corresponding to Città Studi-Lambrate and Bovisa-Bicocca are marked with a gray background.

Furthermore, Figure 14, created using the dataset from Table 11 and processed through QGIS, illustrates the variations in rent prices across different zones in Milan from 2012 until April 2023 (The details about the zones can be seen in Figures 11 and 12). These maps reveal that until 2017, the most affordable rent prices were in the northern part of Milan. However, starting in 2018, the rent prices increased significantly. In 2017, there was also a noticeable increase in prices in the mid-circle, referring to the belt between the core and the periphery areas. From 2018 onwards, rent prices in the northern part rose dramatically, with the middle circle and core areas becoming increasingly expensive. This trend indicates potential difficulties and reasons for permanent residents moving to the outer zones of Milan. Currently, the northern part has surpassed the western part in affordability, which was traditionally one of Milan's most affordable zones. The study interprets this rise as related to new developments in the northern part, such as MIND and Città Salute, which are expected to increase population inflow to the north by offering job opportunities and

education through campus expansions. Additionally, besides two, all PBSA projects are located in the northern part, highlighting the previously undiscovered value of land in this area.



Table 11 Rent Prices Based on Different Districts in Milan, 2012-2023 April (€/m<sup>2</sup>).

Zone	2023	2022	2021	2020	2019	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014	2013	2012
Historical Center	30.53	28.69	25.50	25.62	24.18	23.48	21.84	21.38	21.55	20.50	20.12	20.41
Garibaldi-P. Venezia	24.88	22.76	20.48	21.67	21.07	19.66	18.92	18.64	16.86	15.82	15.84	16.26
Navigli - Bocconi	23.08	21.21	19.48	20.89	21.22	19.34	17.78	17.26	16.62	16.08	16.13	16.42
Fiera-De Angeli	22.48	20.92	19.33	20.33	20.00	18.38	17.07	15.66	14.83	14.68	14.92	15.22
Porta Vittoria	21.20	20.36	18.80	19.41	19.07	17.76	16.99	16.12	15.66	14.98	15.04	15.65
Abbategrasso	19.95	17.50	16.18	17.55	17.18	16.22	15.35	14.35	14.21	13.35	13.64	14.31
Città Studi-Lambrate	19.80	18.10	16.22	17.36	16.72	15.33	14.40	13.82	13.10	12.90	13.05	13.42
Vigentino-Ripamonti	19.78	18.42	17.04	17.65	17.12	15.44	14.35	13.84	13.58	13.46	13.62	13.75
Famagosta-Barona	19.50	17.43	16.04	16.32	15.62	14.89	14.27	13.68	13.88	12.83	13.23	13.16
Greco-Turro	19.40	17.56	16.19	17.62	16.95	14.80	14.12	12.98	12.37	11.89	12.17	12.38
Bovisa-Bicocca	18.53	17.07	15.62	16.96	16.22	14.57	14.00	12.96	12.56	12.04	12.31	12.78
Certosa-Villapizzone	18.43	16.27	15.25	16.18	15.32	14.08	13.43	12.77	12.38	11.97	11.95	12.28
Lorenteggio-B. Nere	17.43	16.45	15.26	15.93	15.40	14.15	13.29	12.50	11.92	12.02	12.23	12.89
S Siro-Trenno-Figino	17.00	16.18	17.18	15.40	15.20	13.92	13.48	13.13	13.17	13.46	13.56	14.35
Corvetto-Rogoredo	16.68	16.35	14.70	15.45	15.16	13.73	13.05	12.92	12.45	12.36	12.90	13.24

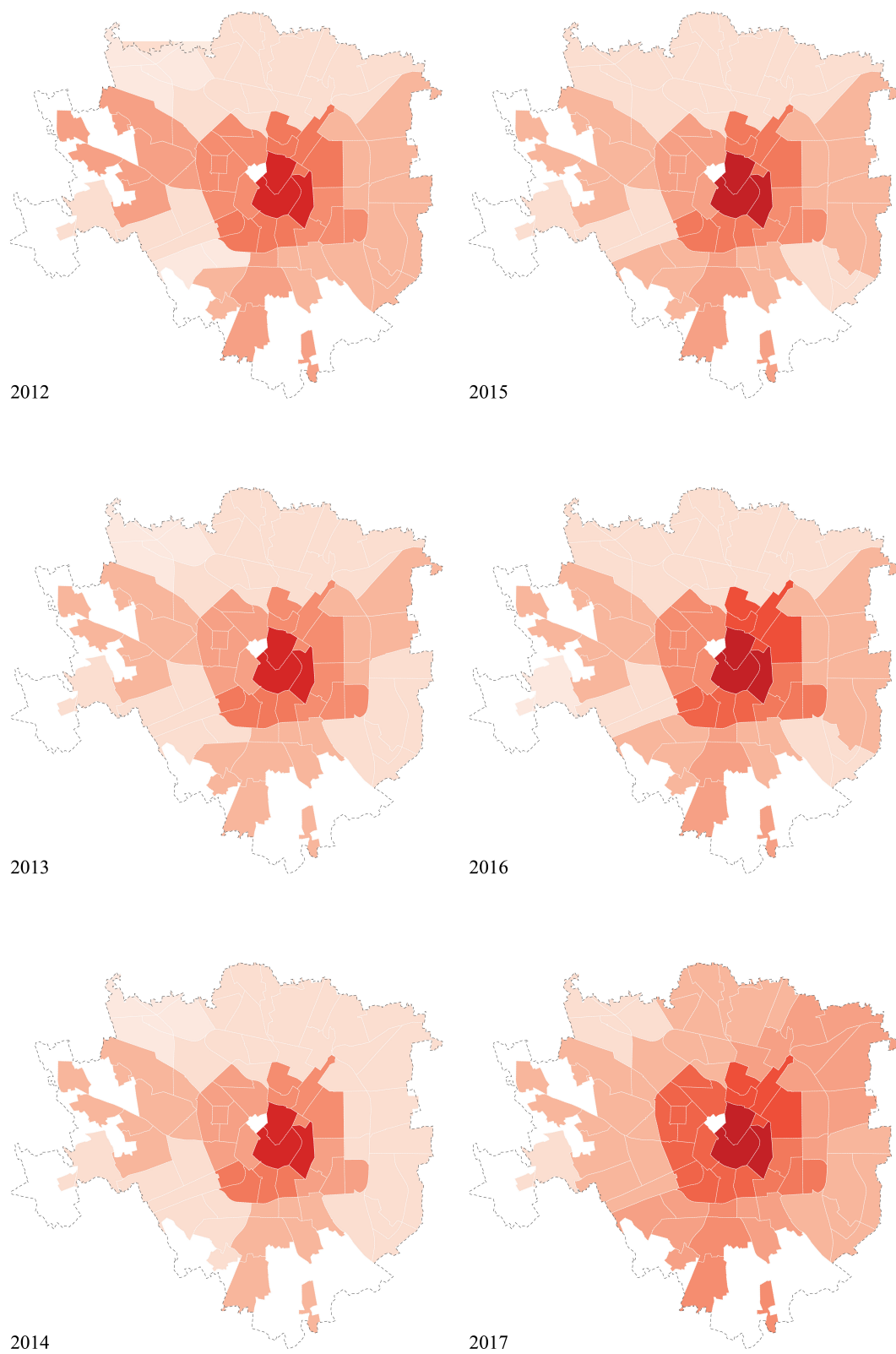
Table 12 Year-over-Year Rent Price Variations, Based on Table 12.

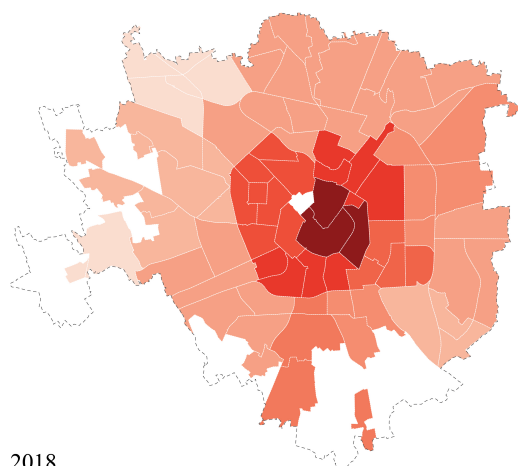
Zone	2023	2022	2021	2020	2019	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014	2013	2012
Historical Center	6.4%	12.5%	-0.5%	6.0%	3.0%	7.5%	2.2%	-0.8%	5.1%	1.9%	-1.4%	
Garibaldi-P. Venezia	9.3%	11.1%	-5.5%	2.8%	7.2%	3.9%	1.5%	10.6%	6.6%	-0.1%	-2.6%	
Navigli - Bocconi	8.8%	8.9%	-6.7%	-1.6%	9.7%	8.8%	3.0%	3.9%	3.4%	-0.3%	-1.8%	
Fiera-De Angeli	7.5%	8.2%	-4.9%	1.6%	8.8%	7.7%	9.0%	5.6%	1.0%	-1.6%	-2.0%	
Porta Vittoria	4.1%	8.3%	-3.1%	1.8%	7.4%	4.5%	5.4%	2.9%	4.5%	-0.4%	-3.9%	
Abbategrasso	14.0%	8.2%	-7.8%	2.2%	5.9%	5.7%	7.0%	1.0%	6.4%	-2.1%	-4.7%	
Città Studi-Lambrate	9.4%	11.6%	-6.6%	3.8%	9.1%	6.5%	4.2%	5.5%	1.6%	-1.2%	-0.9%	
Vigentino-Ripamonti	7.4%	8.1%	-3.5%	3.1%	10.9%	7.6%	3.7%	1.9%	0.9%	-1.2%	-0.9%	
Famagosta-Barona	11.9%	8.7%	-1.7%	4.5%	4.9%	4.3%	4.3%	-1.4%	8.2%	-3.0%	0.5%	
Greco-Turro	10.5%	8.5%	-8.1%	4.0%	14.5%	4.8%	8.8%	4.9%	4.0%	-2.3%	-1.7%	
Bovisa-Bicocca	8.6%	9.3%	-7.9%	4.6%	11.3%	4.1%	8.0%	3.2%	4.3%	-2.2%	-3.7%	
Certosa-Villapizzone	13.3%	6.7%	-5.7%	5.6%	8.8%	4.8%	5.2%	3.2%	3.4%	0.2%	-2.7%	
Lorenteggio-B. Nere	6.0%	7.8%	-4.2%	3.4%	8.8%	6.5%	6.3%	4.9%	-0.8%	-1.7%	-5.1%	
S Siro-Trenno-Figino	5.1%	-5.8%	11.6%	1.3%	9.2%	3.3%	2.7%	-0.3%	-2.2%	-0.7%	-5.5%	
Corvetto-Rogoredo	2.0%	11.2%	-4.9%	1.9%	10.4%	5.2%	1.0%	3.8%	0.7%	-4.2%	-2.6%	

Source: Compiled and calculated by the author with the database of Idealista.

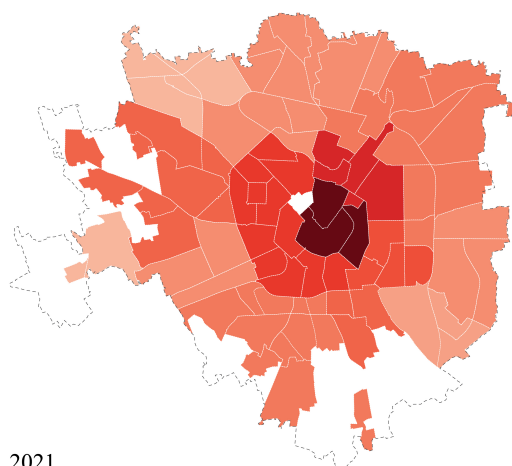


*Figure 13 Geospatial Analysis: Mapping Rent Changes in Milan 2012 – September 2023*

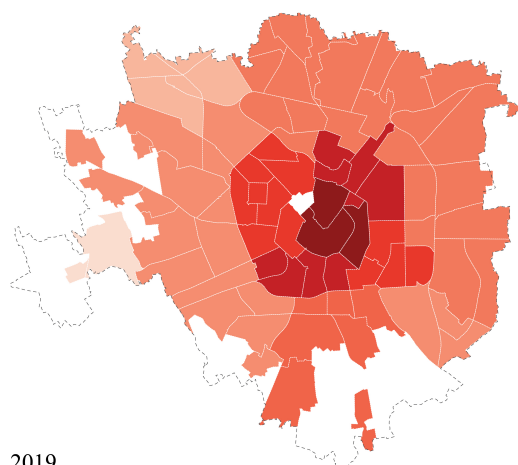




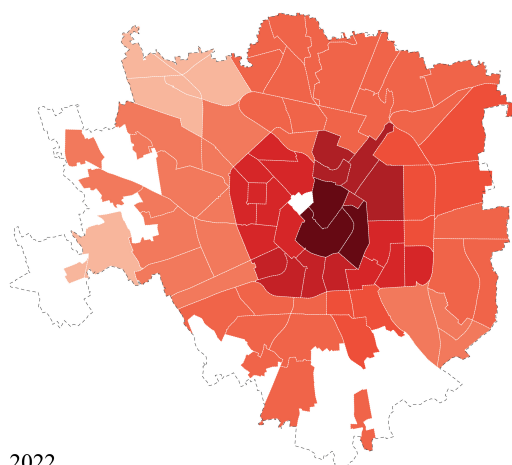
2018



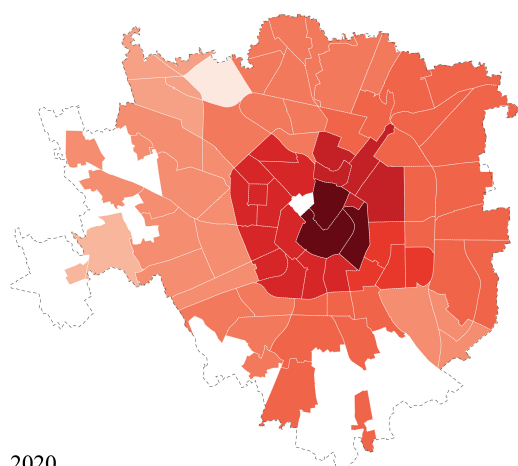
2021



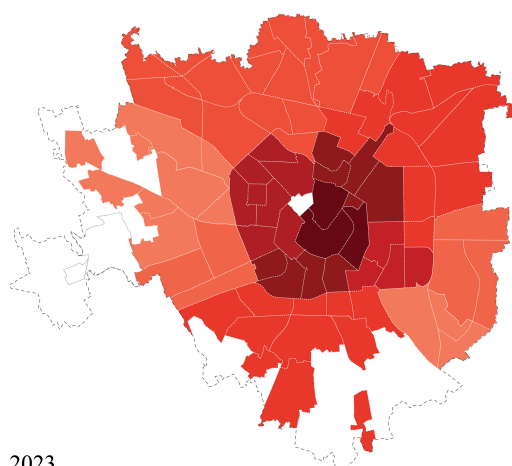
2019



2022



2020



2023

*Source: The graphics were prepared by the author using data obtained from the Idealista database, organized by districts, and visualized with QGIS.*

## 11.1 Financialized Landlords in Milan

This section of the study delves into the rental housing offers in Milan to investigate the influence of students on the real estate market. While previous analyses have provided insights into market dynamics, they lacked a specific focus on student circulation. Therefore, it is crucial to consider platforms that offer targeted data to understand the real estate market from the perspective of students.

Platforms like Idealista and Immobiliare provide a general overview of the real estate market with their sources encompassing all user profiles. However, to gain a better understanding of student preferences in terms of rental prices and accommodation zones and their influence on the real estate market, the study employed the data taken from the section dedicated to only students seeking housing in the market, provided by Idealista. This section allows users to search housing in two different categories, ‘apartments for rent’ and ‘shared flats with rental rooms.’ The first option indicates a long-term contract starting from a minimum of 12 months’ accommodation and includes all types of users under one section. Moreover, the latter is presented with two different subcategories, allowing users to specify their search between ‘young professionals’ and ‘students’ who prefer to share their flat with only a specific group (see Figure 13). Consequently, each subcategory provides a database to monitor a specific group's market behavior in terms of contract period, rent prices, and strategic accumulation of shared housing.

The research focused on the ‘students’ subcategory and collected 512 shared accommodation announcements advertised on the Idealista platform in Milan from July to August 2023 for a one-month period, chosen for its anticipated high circulation in terms of student movement. The study aimed to observe the shared accommodation market for students, the pricing profile of the districts, the number of offers for each zone, and room conditions. This analysis was crucial to narrow down the focus on the impact of the students on the real estate market. It demonstrated the average expense of shared-type accommodation for a regular student studying in Milan and explored the districts where shared accommodations have accumulated mostly.

Through this research, particular zones emerged as prominent areas with high rental prices or appeared as districts with a significant accumulation of existing offers for shared accommodation. Research on rental units in shared apartments could provide a background for further analysis of the student housing market provided by the private sector. The

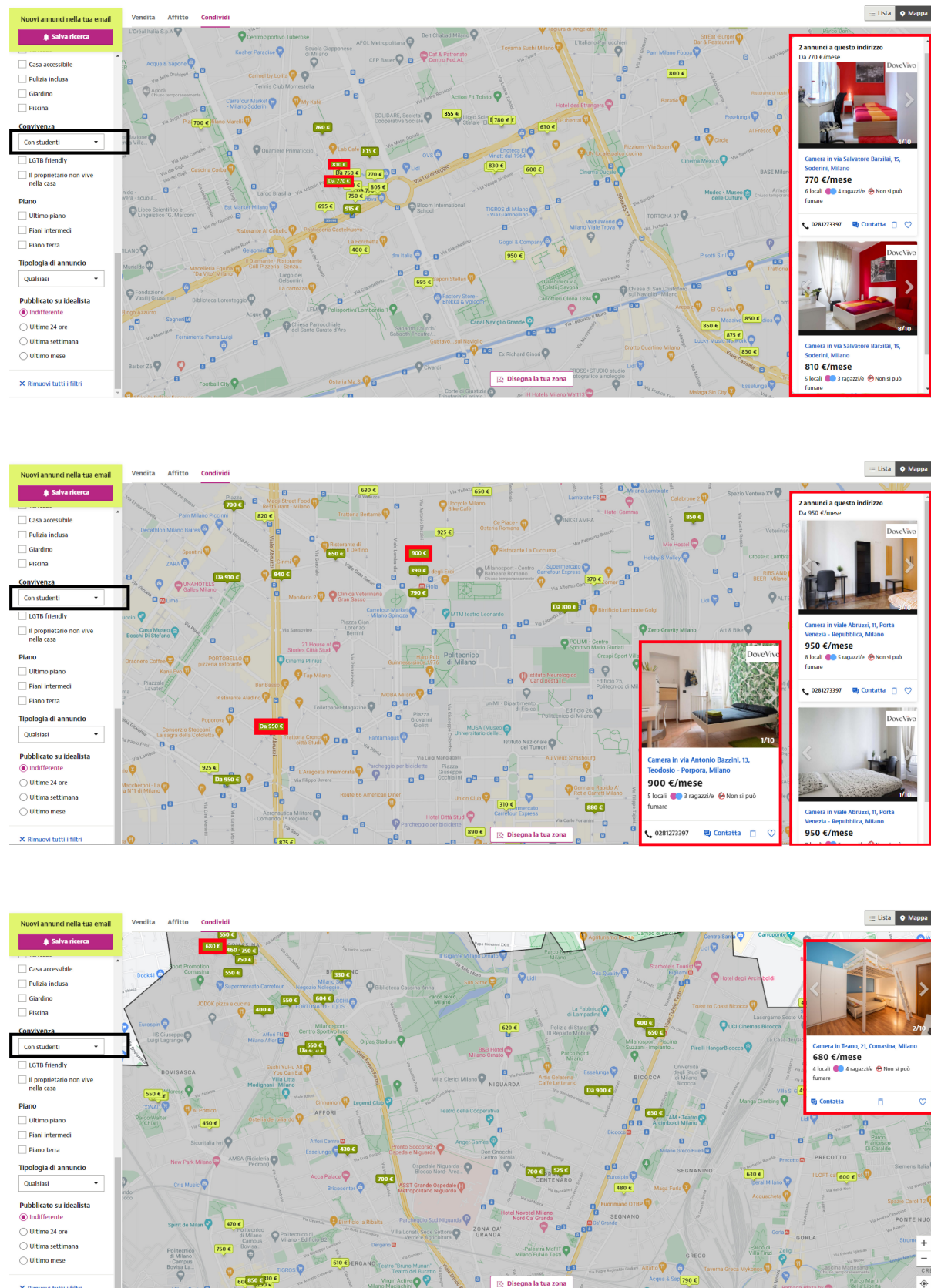
dissertation adopts the term "financialized landlord," initially coined by Canadian academicians, to delineate a specific group of actors within the real estate market. These individuals or entities are characterized by their strategic focus on maximizing profits through the rental of housing units, particularly by leasing individual rooms.

The majority of the offers include single rooms in a shared apartment with a common space, accommodating up to 8 students, or, in some cases, one or two shared rooms and common areas within each flat. According to the collected data, the highest number of rental unit offers are situated in Lorenteggio-Bande Nere, a zone that remains behind Porta Genova, relatively close to the Navigli-Bocconi area. This zone is followed by Bovisa-Bicocca, Garibaldi-Porta Venezia, and Città Studi-Lambrate (see Table 14). These districts are at close or moderate distances to higher education institutions. Furthermore, the average price for a rental unit in shared accommodation is 719.19 €, a revelation aimed at comparing with the prices of purpose-built student accommodation. Table 13 not only illustrates the average price in Milan but also breaks down the average price for each zone. In this context, the most populated area in terms of financialized landlords, Lorenteggio Bande Nere, shows a pricing of 691.41 €, which is lower than the general average and relatively closer to the average price of student accommodations provided by universities (569 €). Following that, Bovisa-Bicocca also has a lower average of 616.16 € per month for rental rooms, indicating it is a convenient solution for students.

The average price of Città Studi-Lambrate is higher than the overall average price, at 752 € per month. Città Studi-Lambrate is well known as one of the zones marked by student presence by locating two main universities in Milan, Politecnico di Milano and State University. The proximity of the two most populated universities could explain why there are relatively more financialized landlords with higher prices.

Almost half of the volume of the entire offers are distributed in those four zones, revealing that these zones stand out in terms of student presence and might experience changes related to their impact.

Figure 14 Rent Zones and Examples of Student Rooms, Idealista November 23, 2023.



Source: The images are taken from the website of Idealista, under the section of Rental Rooms for Students.

Table 13 Comparison of Student Room Prices Across Different Zones in August 2023.

District	District Average (€)	Total Average (€)
Navigli - Bocconi	929.12	
Historical Center	870.00	
Fiera - De Angeli	850.73	
Garibaldi - Porta Venezia	834.75	
Porta Vittoria	773.26	
Città Studi - Lambrate	752.00	
Certosa	748.80	
Famagosta - Naviglio Grande	720.53	Average Price
Greco - Turro	705.90	
Lorenteggio - Bande Nere	691.41	
San Siro - Trenno	658.33	
Forlanini	644.17	
Bovisa - Bicocca	616.16	
Vigentino - Ripamonti	614.14	
Corvetto - Rogoredo	612.50	
Baggio	604.00	
Abbategrasso - Chiesa Rossa	575.60	
Quarto Oggiaro - Vialba	504.00	
<b>Milano</b>		<b>719.79 €</b>

Table 14 Rented Student Room Offers Based on Zones in August 2023.

Zone	Quantity of Announcements
Lorenteggio - Bande Nere	82
Bovisa - Bicocca	64
Garibaldi - Porta Venezia	59
Città Studi - Lambrate	52
Fiera - De Angeli	41
Greco - Turro	29
Vigentino - Ripamonti	29
Abbategrasso	25
Villapizzzone-Certosa	25
Porta Vittoria	23
Famagosta - Naviglio Grande	19
San Siro - Trenno	18
Navigli - Bocconi	17
Corvetto - Rogoredo	8
Forlanini	6
Baggio	5
Centro Storico	5
Quarto Oggiaro - Vialba	5

Source: Compiled and calculated by the author with the database of Idealista.

## 12. Conclusion

Every year, more than 15,000 incoming students actively search for accommodation in Milan's local real estate market. The study found that more than 42% of the enrolled students, approximately 90,000 students, require accommodation in the city. On the other hand, there is a substantial reduction in rental property stocks, with a 49% decrease compared to last year, followed by a significant increase in rent prices.

The study proves that none of the higher education institutions covers more than 19% of their student accommodation demand. For instance, Politecnico di Milano, with over 28,000 students in need of housing but only 1648 beds offered, can cover only 5.9% of the demand. In other words, the university with the highest accommodation demand also provides the lowest coverage, placing additional pressure on the real estate market. The finding of substantial uncovered student demand for accommodation brings the importance of the study in terms of investigating the diverse behavior of actors in the real estate market.

The research attempted to link the uncovered student demand for accommodation to decreasing rental housing stocks. However, it could not clearly distinguish student pressure from general demand since there was no specific data that uncovered the exact dynamics of the real estate market and students; on the other hand, the pandemic revealed the potential of student impact on specific zones. The study used the pandemic period as an instrument to find out the possible impact of temporary populations and discovered four zones that responded significantly more evident compared to others: Città Studi-Lambrate, Navigli-Bocconi, Bovisa-Bicocca, and Greco-Turro. The linked fact is that all these zones accommodate major higher education institutions, enabling the study to correlate student demand in the real estate market.

The thesis has revealed not only the pressure created on the general real estate market but also the changing behavior of different actors in the real estate sector in response to the high student demand. For instance, the high student demand for accommodation shifted the perception of housing from a domain of basic needs to a business model for individuals. The study revealed potential zones where financialized landlords, who aim to maximize the profit by renting rooms in apartments, have emerged, such as Bovisa-Bicocca, Garibaldi-Porta Venezia, Città Studi-Lambrate, and Lorenteggio-Bande Nere and recognized that most of these zones are marked by principal higher education institutions. According to research

findings, the average rental price for a room in the general real estate market is around 719 €, surpassing the average cost of university-provided student accommodation, 569€, yet remains significantly lower than the rates offered by private student housing facilities.

Besides these micro-scale business attempts, the study found that the student housing sector, a niche sector of the general real estate market, expanded to align with the uncovered high student demand. According to the results, the average price of a single room in PBSAs in Milan is 975 € per month, more than double the average price of student accommodations provided by public universities, which is around 458 €. Given that the most populated higher education institutions are the two main state universities, Politecnico di Milano and State University, it results in significant pressure on the local real estate market.

Therefore, the study came to the conclusion that the private student housing sector does not aim to respond to student demand, which would have resulted in diminishing the student load from the real estate market. Instead, with its capitalist approach, it pushes the majority of the students towards seeking solutions in the real estate market. Furthermore, the study anticipates that the involvement of global players in the PBSA market, as seen with the inauguration of Hines, establishing the first PBSA developed by a multinational company in Milan in 2023, which is accompanied by three additional facilities under construction, could lead to increased prices.

This study makes significant contributions to the literature related to the PBSA phenomenon, which is relatively limited to only specific countries such as Canada or England, even though the phenomenon is common in many locations such as Milan. Moreover, its novelty is the examination of Milan's global facet based on its student population, a field that has been relatively underexplored with limited studies addressing student-related issues in the city.

The study reveals that the student population has become one of the key features for developing strategies in urban areas. It means that the potential presence of the student population enables stimulative policies that initiate regeneration processes. The thesis unveils the strategic positioning of university expansions in today's Milan, which emerges as a collective action of public authorities and private developers to commence the regeneration process in underdeveloped zones, referring to the northern part of the city.



As addressed by English and Italian scholars, including Revington, August, Balducci, and Fedeli, universities attract a substantial and diverse group of individuals to their respective zones and become spatial actors, enabling the regeneration process through studentification. The study verifies this statement within the context of Milan through an examination of previous and current university expansion strategies and their positioning in peripheral areas. It displays a new phase of university expansion, not only towards peripheral areas but also strategically inserted in larger regeneration projects as a safeguard actor. Presently, Istituto Europeo di Design (IED), State University, San Raffaele, and Politecnico di Milano are concurrently expanding their campuses, situated within broader urban development initiatives, which proves their importance as spatial agencies contributing to urban development.

Finally, the research brings new methodologies for further investigations to analyze student dynamics in the city. Correspondingly, it re-introduces a transdisciplinary approach and observes students, universities, and real estate market simultaneously in the context of globalizing Milan. For example, the expansion of a university might lead to increased demand for housing, affecting the real estate market. Conversely, the dynamics of the local real estate market can impact students' decisions about where to study and live. Understanding these interconnections can help in making informed decisions in urban planning, educational policies, and housing market regulations. Therefore, the study proves the efficiency of the interdisciplinary approach to understanding the dynamics between students and the city and revealing the strategies of the city's actors.

## Notes of Centro Studi PIM

The latest PGT puts priority on the planning policies in favor of social needs rather than market-oriented activities. Furthermore, it acknowledges, among other socio-spatial needs, the need for student accommodation, which has already been identified in the previous PGT 2012. However, the economic obstacles that emerged in the early 2010s limited the response to the student accommodation issues (PGT, Documento degli Obiettivi, p.39).

Piano dei Servizi, one of the sub-documents of PGT, classified student housing facilities as services that contribute to accommodation needs. This classification results in liberation from the limits of the maximum building indices and allows the student accommodation facilities to utilize the entire plot. Piano dei Servizi, Articolo 6, Sezione 1 of PGT Milan indicates that;

“La realizzazione di nuovi servizi che, ad esito di un processo di valutazione e in forza di asservimento, convenzionamento o accreditamento, se di proprietà o gestione privata, risultano idonei ad assicurare un miglioramento della vita individuale e collettiva **non concorre al computo della quantità massima di superficie lorda edificabile in relazione all’applicazione degli indici urbanistici.**”

“The creation of new services, following an evaluation process and through dedication, agreement, or accreditation, if privately owned or managed, are deemed suitable for ensuring an improvement in individual and collective life, **does not contribute to the calculation of the maximum amount of gross construction area regarding the application of urban planning indices.**”

This classification brings about the risk of potential abuse within the private student housing sector, where there is a possibility of constructing high-intensity facilities with unaffordable prices for students.

Having the opportunity to discuss the outcomes of this research with practitioners of PGT Milan brought the possibility of confronting the findings of the research with regulation developers. A brief comment from Centro Studi PIM, referring to Milan's urban planning team, supports the conclusion of the thesis:

*"During the development process of the thesis, the student had the opportunity to consult the findings of her thesis to practitioners from Centro Studi PIM. As the developer team of PGT, we considered providing commentary on student's work. Her study provides interesting results as it addresses an emerging and relevant topic for the city of Milan.*

*Student accommodation has been one of the issues that previous and current PGTs have given place for in their documents. It has been categorized as "housing services (servizi abitativi)" alongside Social and Public Residential Construction, indicating its importance by being classified in the same category with these two important themes.*

*It can be stated that the PGT, with its regulations, has contributed to increasing student accommodation in the city. In fact, the PGT considers student accommodations as services, and for this reason, it facilitates their implementation in some areas through the calculation of the SL (Superficie Lorda (m<sup>2</sup>)) and other economic incentives, which make the intervention particularly convenient. The current situation, as demonstrated in the research, shows market influence on the prices of student accommodation provided by the private sector.*

*The municipal administration of Milan, through the modification to the PGT, which is being implemented in these months, also intends to intervene in the regulations governing the accomplishment of student accommodation with the objective of orienting the offerings towards the actual needs of the city.*

*Centro Studi PIM recalls the document of Municipality of Milan that addresses the objectives (PGT, Documento degli Obiettivi, p.50) regarding the issues of housing and student accommodations to highlight possible interventions:*

*“The housing issue, expressed in terms of a growing need for spaces for social living in all its forms (public, social with particular reference to the rental segment, temporary, etc.), is at the center of Milan's public policies agenda. Several reasons contribute to this, including changes in demand structure (growth of single-family households, foreigners, "out-of-region" students, young adults with precarious contracts and discontinuous incomes, tourists, etc.), the revitalization of the city's attractiveness at the national and international levels, and processes of "gentrification" that have strained the real estate market, leading to a significant increase in housing prices for both sales and rentals.*

*[...]*

*In the background, there remains a persistent weakness in national and regional policies in terms of investments in social housing and the renewal of regulatory frameworks capable of balancing the relationship between the possibility of realizing free-market housing and the provision of housing services.*

*In this context, it is evident that the municipal perimeter is no longer sufficient to address such a range of issues. Therefore, it is advisable to relocate the "housing issue" to a broader perspective, leveraging a potentially broader set of resources. [...]*

*Possible interventions:*

*- Expansion of the provision of social housing, particularly in the rental segment, for young people, students, low-income families, and the elderly by acting on reducing the thresholds that make its realization mandatory.*

*- Expansion of the possibilities of realizing new forms of living, both in free and social housing, in response to demands that require a reconsideration of the relationship between private space, collective space, and public space.*

*- Reservation of a significant portion of the new residential supply for sale and for rent for affordable housing for young people and families.*

*[...]*

*- Intervention on the assets of public or publicly owned entities, prescribing significant quotas of ERS in new developments.*

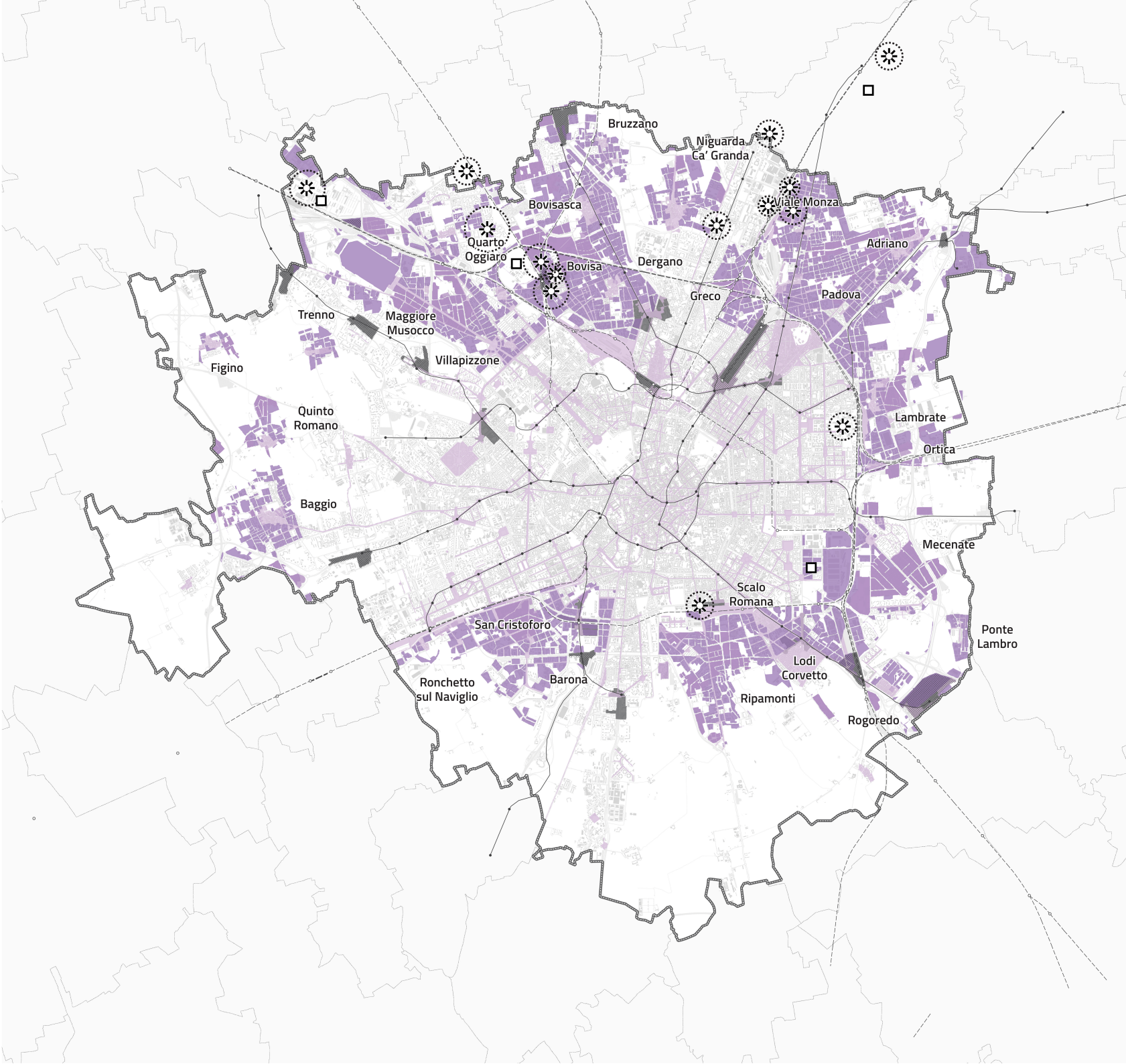
*- Definition of the collaboration agreements with the Metropolitan City and Municipalities to increase the supply of ERS within urban regeneration projects.”*

*Centro Studi PIM*

Figure 15 Presented Regeneration Areas of Current PGT of Milan with the on-going student housing projects.

Source: Map created by the author by employing the Regeneration Areas Map of PGT Milan and adding new purpose-built student housing project.  
Scale: 1/100.000

- Border of Comune di Milano
- Metro station
- Train station
- Metro network
- Railway network
- Database Topografico (DBT)
- Accommodation Projects
- University Expansion Projects
- PGT Documento di Piano
- Squares and Intersection Nodes
- Urban Renewal Areas
- Regeneration Areas
- Other Regeneration Areas



## Epilogue

As the bus pulled on to stop next to the central station, Deniz felt a mixture of anxiety and excitement. The ride was long enough to make him overthink everything that happened in these past few months. He was accepted by Politecnico di Milano and got the opportunity to live in Milan for two years. Recalling the moment he shared the great news with his family, he was certain they were more excited than he was. While he was repassing all these memories, it was only 7 am in the morning, and perhaps he was the only one on that crowded bus not succumbing to sleep but instead wearing a broken smile. Living in Europe, particularly in Milan, for two years was a tremendous opportunity, with everyone around him insisting he was so lucky, but Deniz found himself uncertain about what lay ahead. Financial concerns loomed, adding a layer of stress to the excitement. Following his acceptance into the university, he applied for a dormitory, but luck was not on his side. He was not among the fortunate few to secure a spot, and he distinctly recalled the shift in his father's mood when he discussed this setback – the once excited atmosphere replaced by an anxious silence. So here he was, weeks earlier, coming to Milan to find a place to stay, and hopefully, it would not strain their budget too much.

As he stepped off the bus, his mind was full of positive and negative thoughts, and finally, he saw Milan for the first time through his own eyes. The city greeted him with dense fog and bitterly cold after that long bus ride. He had one heavy suitcase with two overstuffed backpacks that he had to carry around at least until the check-in time for his hostel. Perhaps he could ask the receptionist to hold his belongings for some hours, which would enable him to start searching for accommodation immediately. So, with one hand carrying his heavy bags and the other holding his phone, tuned with maps to his hostel, he began walking alongside the massive gray station building.

He arrived at the gigantic door of Central Station and saw the huge clock hanging from the ceiling. Impressed by the moody, dimmed light passing through the skylight on this day, he walked towards the moving walkway and headed for the metro. Following the maps, he noted that the green line was the route to his hotel. In fact, he deliberately selected this place in Lambrate just to be close to his university, and in this way, he would be able to search all the accommodations easily.

Only 15 minutes later, Deniz was already dragging his stuff out of the metro station. Passing through the back streets of Milan, he eventually arrived at his hostel, where he could stay for the next couple of days while searching for his long-term accommodation. He could feel the pressure of the time that was not on his side. He was hoping to secure it as soon as possible since every day of temporary stay solutions was about to drain his financial resources. Finding a spot near his university could bring him the benefit of fewer transportation expenses, so he could use the saved money to get some supportive materials for his study process. Also, staying around the school, he would be close to his friends. Yet, all these wishes were limited by his budget.

He recalled one of the streets he passed earlier, where there was a serene coffee shop—a perfect spot to sit down and strategize for the day. He had already installed several applications for various real estate platforms on his phone. Upon reaching the bar, it was already past 8 o'clock, and surprisingly, the seemingly calm place that he saw earlier was bustling with people standing, sipping coffees from small cups, many accompanied by a type of sweet. It was unexpectedly loud. Bartenders were preparing coffees, emptying and refilling dishwashers, and people conversing loudly in formal outfits. He realized it was the time people had breakfast in a manner different from what he was accustomed to, and it was a moment of rush.

For Deniz, the plan was settled; he would arrange some appointments and explore as many houses as possible in one day. He started digging into the offers. After an hour of searching, he couldn't find any apartment that cost less than 900 euros — a sum far beyond his budget. He tried to change the zone, but it was not convenient for the long term; besides, staying outside of the city and not taking advantage of any amenities that the city could offer did not make sense to him. During his stressful research and the small and bitter coffee that got already cold, he discovered a solution; there were apartments that were functioning like dormitories and rented out specifically for students by random people. The prices were more than 700 euros, exceeding the initial budget that they agreed on. He crafted a brief text about himself to take appointments for rooms that he liked. It struck him as odd how these landlords wanted every detail about him, including his income, despite being just a 22-year-old student. The rooms that appeared newer and more appealing were already on the pricey side, and, in general, they all offered the same package: an IKEA-furnished room accompanied by a shared bathroom and the only difference was the choice of color.

After extensive research, he managed to arrange several visits for the upcoming days. The first room, just ten minutes from his school, felt too cramped at only 9 square meters. He had high hopes for the second room, having been impressed by its photos, but upon arrival, he realized that the photos were taken ten years ago and the room was not in a good condition at all. Another rental caught his eye, but the landlord pressured him for an immediate commitment, which didn't make sense to rent the place that early. Despite this, the room's appeal had him considering paying for an extra month.

Days of searching had brought him to a crucial decision point: it was time to leave the hostel. The more he explored options, the more he found himself entangled in a web of confusing choices. While he was checking out, the girl who worked at the reception desk told Deniz that there were student accommodations in the city that he could rent. According to her, they were nice and almost looked like a hotel, and maybe he could try to ask the price. Excited by this new possibility, Deniz checked the websites to see the prices, which were not published. He decided to write an email to inquire about the prices.

An hour later, he got a response. It was quick. The offer was 7100 euros, an excellent deal for a year's stay, averaging about 645 euros per month – a fantastic solution. Overjoyed, he then made a shocking discovery: the offer was only for one semester, not the entire year! Stunned by a sudden panic, he felt an irresistible urge to call and accept the only decent room he had found despite having to pay for an extra month.







Giovedì, 30 Novembre 2023 Coperto con pioggia

**MILANO TODAY**

LE PROTESTE / CITTÀ STUDI / PIAZZA LEONARDO DA VINCI

## 600 euro per una stanza a Milano: torna la protesta delle tende

Ancora proteste degli studenti del Movimento tende in piazza contro il caro affitti per gli universitari

**Marianna Gulli**  
Redattrice  
13 settembre 2023 16:19



Foto di Marianna Gulli

**S**iamo ancora qui, a tempo indeterminato, perché non abbiamo ricevuto risposte concrete, impattanti sulla situazione attuale. Commentano così i ragazzi del Movimento tende in piazza che stanno militando nuovamente di fronte al Politecnico di Milano contro il caro affitti per gli studenti. Le soluzioni possibili al problema sono tante, raccontano, ma nessuna è stata percorsa: «Fa eccezione la rimodulazione del canone concordato - spiega Pedro, studente di Lecco -, ma gli affitti previsti restano comunque attorno a 600 euro al mese per una stanza. Si scende al massimo del 15% rispetto alla media di mercato: non è una soluzione, ma un tampone». Altra ipotesi quella delle case popolari sfitte «600 posti che equivarrebbero a 3 scaglioni di meccanica», ironizza.

Sulle opinioni e i commenti che il Movimento ha racimolato da maggio, quando è iniziata la protesta, lo studente Pietro commenta: «La gente non ha idea dell'impegno che ci mettiamo. Fare politica e vivere nelle nostre affermazioni politiche 24/24».

### Università di serie a e di serie b

Giulia, invece, studia ingegneria matematica, un corso che nella sua Firenze non era disponibile. Ha scelto di spostarsi perché questo era quello che voleva fare, ma per lei il problema delle migrazioni verso le università italiane e dei relativi affitti alle stelle è molto più profondo: «In Italia si sta costituendo un sistema di università giudicate di 'serie a' o di 'serie b'. In questo modo non solo gli istituti con ranking bassi vengono scelti meno, ma ricevono anche finanziamenti inferiori e il livello dell'istruzione cala. Anche per questo gli studenti che possono si spostano». Il Movimento chiede a Regione e Comune interventi tempestivi, come le promesse cadute nel nulla. Qualcuno, tra le tende, commenta: «Il problema non dovrebbe essere risolto a livello comunale o regionale perché non ci sono i mezzi, ma dovrebbe essere onere dello Stato».

Continuare a parlare e far parlare, fare rete a livello nazionale e far sì che i rappresentanti dei giovani e delle università italiane facciano comunità per arrivare a una soluzione. «Va modificato il sistema», spiega Pietro, quello più tenace che da giorni dorme in piazza Leonardo Da Vinci e che, a dirla tutta, ha protestato dall'8 maggio al 28 giugno in quello stesso spazio senza mai arrendersi.



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### Sabato l'assemblea nazionale

Intanto, è attesa per sabato prossimo l'assemblea nazionale di Movimento tende in piazza, che solo a Milano conta circa 120 persone. «Per questo evento ci aspettiamo almeno 150 presenze, considerando che si muoveranno solo i rappresentanti dei singoli coordinamenti politici», spiega Pietro. «Per ora siamo un movimento ibrido, un'organizzazione di persone senza gerarchia con un obiettivo politico comune», conclude Pedro. Ma se la situazione non si sblocca, i ragazzi si struttureranno in maniera più concreta.

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Source 1: <https://www.milanotoday.it/attualita/studenti-tende-affitti-politecnico.html>

Source 2: [https://www.lastampa.it/cronaca/2023/09/12/news/caro-affitti\\_milano\\_tornano\\_tende\\_studenti-13152139/](https://www.lastampa.it/cronaca/2023/09/12/news/caro-affitti_milano_tornano_tende_studenti-13152139/)

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## Caro-affitti a Milano, tornano in piazza le tende degli studenti: “Non riusciamo a dialogare con il Governo”

Lamera, la studentessa che inaugurò la protesta: «Molte parole ma fatti pochi. Bisogna investire sul pubblico e incentivare prezzi calmierati»



Studenti universitari in protesta per il caro affitti in tenda per i sit-in davanti a diversi atenei italiani

12 Settembre 2023 Aggiornato alle 19:11 2 minuti di lettura

**A** Milano tornano in piazza Leonardo, di fronte al Politecnico, le tende degli studenti che chiedono misure urgenti contro il caro-affitti. Tornata anche **Ilaria Lamera**, la studentessa di ingegneria ambientale che inaugurò la protesta: «Non abbiamo ancora ottenuto i risultati sperati quindi non si molla. Molte parole ma fatti pochi e col Governo non siamo mai riusciti ad avere un dialogo».

### Caro affitti, tende degli studenti di Torino al rettorato dell'Università: "Impossibile studiare con serenità"



Investire sul pubblico e incentivare affitti a prezzi calmierati, in sintesi le loro richieste. «Dopo la prima tenda di marzo e dopo due mesi di protesta ci ritroviamo a settembre con una situazione che non è cambiata, con i prezzi delle case che rimangono irraggiungibili», spiega Giovanni Colombo, del sindacato studentesco Rete della Conoscenza. «Abbiamo deciso quindi di tornare in tenda per mandare un messaggio alla città e

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IN EVIDENZA

È morto Henry Kissinger, l'uomo che ha plasmato la politica Usa: aveva 100



Caro affitti a Milano, Alessandro: «Vivo in 9 metri quadrati per 650 euro al mese. Al mattino sbatto la testa contro il soffitto»

di Matteo Castagnoli

Lo studente marchigiano, dottorando in fisica al Politecnico, dopo essere tornato dall'Erasmus in Svezia ha cercato casa per 20 giorni. Ora abita in un monolocale a Porta Venezia. «La doccia è sopra il water»



Da sinistra, il monolocale di 9 metri quadrati e Alessandro Cerioni, 24 anni, dottorando al Poli



Ascolta l'articolo

3 min



NEW

Sesto piano del palazzo, sottotetto. Varcata la porta d'ingresso, a sinistra la cucina, a destra un armadio bianco. Sopra, il letto. Di fronte, la doccia che fa anche da bagno, vicino a un micro soggiorno. In totale, **9 metri quadrati**. È il **monolocale** in cui vive **Alessandro Cerioni**, dottorando in fisica al Politecnico di Milano. **Ventiquattro anni**, due lauree in ingegneria fisica sempre nell'ateneo di piazza Leonardo. «Ho dovuto cercare una casa in venti giorni. Mi ero affidato alle agenzie, ma ho risolto solo quando ho pubblicato una storia su **Instagram**». Le soluzioni, poche, il tempo ancora meno. «**Quindi ho preso quello che c'era**». Ora paga **650 euro al mese**, spese condominiali e utenze escluse. Ma una casa a Milano l'aveva. In via Teodosio dal 2017, quando si era trasferito dalla sua **Jesi** per studiare. Poi ha dovuto lasciarla per l'Erasmus a Stoccolma.

**È stato più difficile trovare un alloggio la seconda volta?**

«In 6 anni è cambiato radicalmente tutto. Prima, per 55 metri quadrati pagavo 350 euro. Ora per un sesto dello spazio, circa il doppio. E poi trovavi in poco tempo».

**Un altro mondo.**

«Decisamente. All'inizio del mio percorso universitario mi ripeteva "Massimo 400 euro". Ora ne ho trovata un'altra a 630 e sono felicissimo».

**Quindi cambierà casa?**

«Sì, andrò in piazzale Gorini. Avrò una singola in una casa condivisa».

**E come si vive in 9 metri quadrati?**

«Semplice: il letto è così vicino al soffitto tanto da sbattere la testa a ogni risveglio. Poi non ho la lavatrice e la lavastoviglie. Ero stanco, per questo ho deciso di cambiare appena ho potuto. Mi sentivo schiacciato».

**E il bagno?**

«Molto piccolo. Approfitto dell'allenamento in palestra per farmi la doccia lì. Almeno sono più largo».

Source 1: [https://milano.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/23\\_maggio\\_24/car-affitti-alessandro-cerioni-vivo-in-9-metri-quadrati-per-650-euro-al-mese-in-6-anni-la-situazione-e-decisamente-cambiata-e2352274-52bc-4ef1-a82c-c08c2b4cfxlk.shtml](https://milano.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/23_maggio_24/car-affitti-alessandro-cerioni-vivo-in-9-metri-quadrati-per-650-euro-al-mese-in-6-anni-la-situazione-e-decisamente-cambiata-e2352274-52bc-4ef1-a82c-c08c2b4cfxlk.shtml)

Source 2: [https://milano.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/23\\_settembre\\_23/car-affitti-a-milano-studentato-diffuso-nelle-case-mm-dal-comune-15-milioni-una-stanza-si-paghera-250-350-euro-5d45f29f-e78a-4ade-bb10-93d0a3715xlk.shtml](https://milano.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/23_settembre_23/car-affitti-a-milano-studentato-diffuso-nelle-case-mm-dal-comune-15-milioni-una-stanza-si-paghera-250-350-euro-5d45f29f-e78a-4ade-bb10-93d0a3715xlk.shtml)

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IN EVIDENZA

È morto Henry Kissinger, l'uomo che ha plasmato la politica Usa: aveva 100 an



Caro-affitti a Milano: studentato diffuso nelle case Mm, dal Comune 15 milioni. «Una stanza si pagherà 250-350 euro»

di Chiara Baldi

Il sindaco Beppe Sala ha incontrato rettori e studenti universitari dopo la protesta delle tende a Palazzo Marino. L'annuncio: 600 stanze a tariffe calmierate recuperate dal patrimonio pubblico. Soddisfatte le Università



Ascolta l'articolo

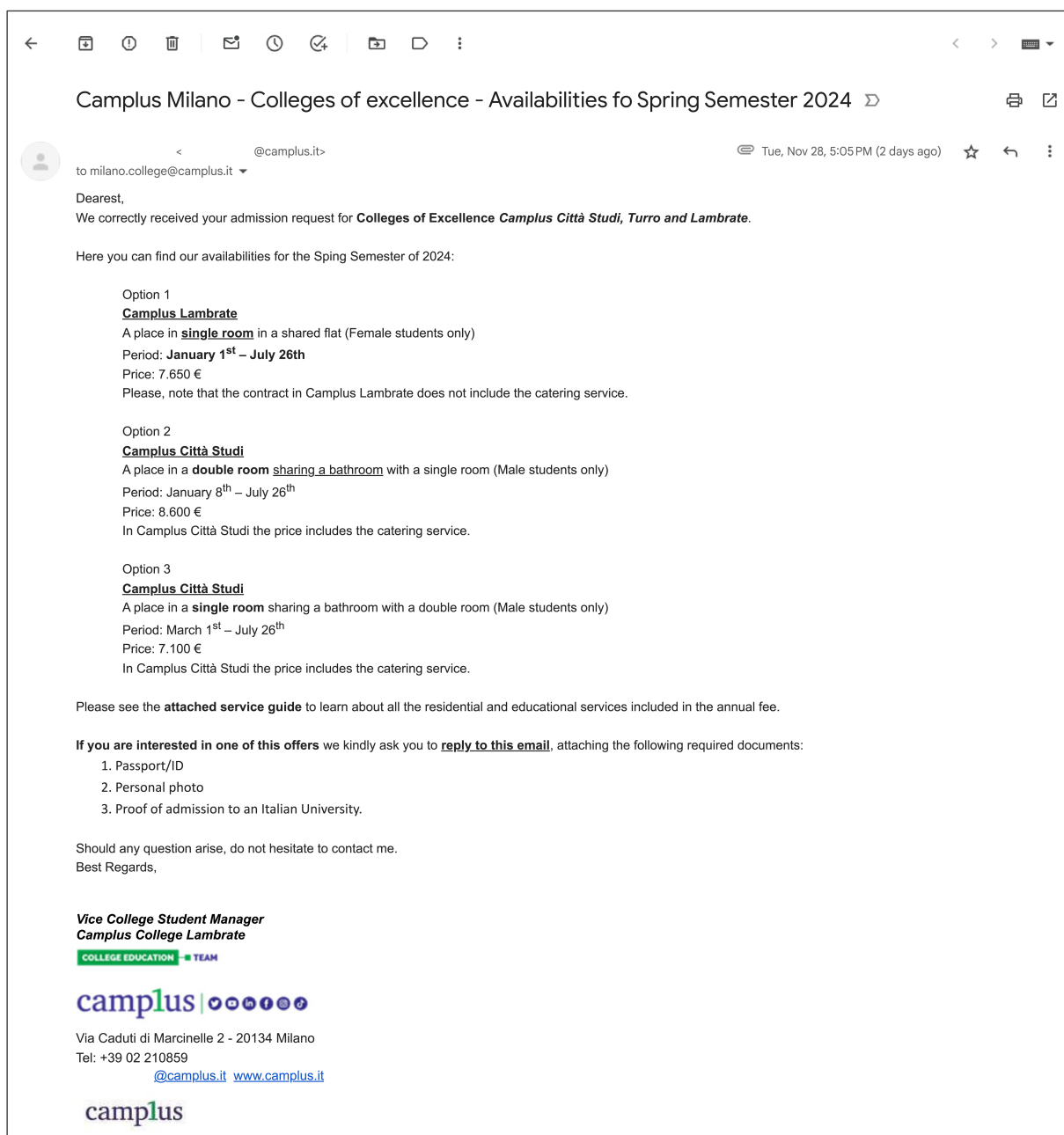
2 min



NEW

**Altre 600 stanze per studenti in arrivo** per il prossimo anno: è la **proposta emersa dal tavolo convocato a Palazzo Marino dal sindaco Beppe Sala** cui hanno preso parte — oltre all'assessore alla Casa, Pierfrancesco Maran — anche i rettori e prorettori delle università, Città Metropolitana e i gruppi di studenti universitari, tra cui **«Tende in piazza»**, che lo scorso 2 maggio ha letteralmente piantato le tende davanti al Politecnico. **Si chiama «studentato diffuso»** e il Comune lo finanzia con un fondo tra i 10 e i 15 milioni.

«Prevede il recupero di **appartamenti del patrimonio pubblico** che sono da ristrutturare **affittandoli a studenti a prezzi ridotti**. Questo vuol dire auspicabilmente per il prossimo anno altri 600 posti che aumentano l'offerta in studentati del 5%, a **tariffe tra i 250 e i 350 euro**», ha spiegato Maran auspicando «che il ministero intervenga con il Pnrr». Mentre sul fronte del canone concordato, «ci aspettiamo, già a settembre, un aumento dei contratti».



Source: The direct response from the Camplus student manager to the offer request for the 2023/24 academic year.

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