Report: An overview of the potential socio-economic impacts of the proposed relocation of the University of Tasmania Sandy Bay Campus to the Hobart CBD

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Introduction

This report has been prepared for the Commercial Strategy Team (CMT) of the University of Tasmania to provide insight into any socio-economic impacts of a potential relocation of the Sandy Bay Campus to the Hobart CBD. As part of the University's Southern Infrastructure Plan, the CMT is reviewing the options for remaining at the Sandy Bay campus. The Sandy Bay campus requires significant investment in infrastructure to meet modern tertiary education standards. Relocation to a greenfields development in the Hobart CBD may offer greater fiscal feasibility as well as provide greater economic and social outcomes for Tasmania and Tasmanians.

To support the business case, which includes a commercial plan, cost-benefit analysis and SWOT analysis, the CMT is seeking a review of potential socio-economic impacts which may occur as a result of the relocation of the Sandy Bay Campus to the city in Hobart. It is proposed there could be considerable positive outcomes for Tasmanians from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds resulting from the relocation. This is based on the assumption that greater proximity to the university will provide improved access for those experiencing disadvantage to participate in higher education opportunities.

There are few examples of universities which have relocated from a peri-urban location to a CBD from which to draw conclusive evidence of potential socio-economic benefits for the University of Tasmania's proposal. As such, this report provides a systematic overview of the role of universities in improving socio-economic outcomes and the factors which contribute to this improvement. More specifically, the report outlines the role of stigma in preventing participation in higher education by those from lower-socio economic backgrounds as well as the importance of physical proximity for students to a university campus. In addition, we supplement these findings which an overview of the experience of those from disadvantaged backgrounds in attending an elite university (where the elite universities are used as a proxy for the Sandy Bay campus of the University of Tasmania). We also provide an overview of the requirements to achieve improved retention of students as well as identify factors which may contribute to attracting new students from interstate or overseas.

To identify any specific, potential outcomes of a relocation to the CBD, we contacted the University of Newcastle and the University of Suffolk in the UK, both regional universities

which relocated a part or all of a campus to a city location, with a view to incorporating their experience and outcomes into this report. At the time of this report, no response had been received from either university.

Key Findings

- The Sandy Bay Campus is located in an area which enjoys the highest SEIFA decile for access to material and social resources, and the ability to participate in society. This is equivalent to, or higher, than most G8 University campuses. As such, the Sandy Bay Campus of the University of Tasmania could be likened to an 'elite university'.

- The current location of the University of Tasmania Sandy Bay campus reinforces and exacerbates the negative stereotype (stigma) associated with higher education by those from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds. This negative stereotype is a significant deterrent to potential participation in higher education by those experiencing disadvantage.

- Disadvantaged groups are under-represented within universities due to a range of social, educational, geographical, and economic factors, most of which are outside of the influence of tertiary institutions. That said, the University of Tasmania has the potential to improve participation in higher education by those experiencing disadvantage for two reasons; reducing stigma associated with the campus' location in Sandy Bay as well as providing greater proximity to students' (and potential students') usual place of residence.

- It is likely that a considerable proportion of new students resulting from a relocation to the CBD will be 'first in family' given the socio-economic profile of nearby suburbs.

- As the distance between student and universities increases, the likelihood of enrolling decreases. This is further exacerbated by the time, cost of, and means of travel to the relevant campus.

- The average distance travelled by a student attending a university located in a capital city is between 11 kilometres and 15 kilometres from their usual place of residence.

- Public transport services (frequency and cost) are a critical factor for university cities in attracting and retaining students. In addition, multiple changes in order to arrive at a university campus is a deterrent to undertaking further education.

- The University of Tasmania Sandy Bay Campus is over 15 kilometres from many of the younger and growing suburbs where potential students reside (particularly those experiencing disadvantage) and require multiple public transport changes to access the campus.

- While improved access to higher education as a result of a relocation of the Sandy Bay Campus to the Hobart CBD will likely increase the participation of students experiencing disadvantage, it is the completion of their studies which will result in the potential for improved social and economic well-being.

- Students from lower socio-economic backgrounds are 6.0% less likely to complete a university degree than those of a higher socio-economic status. Additionally, first in family students experience higher instances of attrition than multigenerational university students. It is estimated they have a 40% greater chance of withdrawing from university study.

- Social and financial pressures are the primary causes of student attrition across the stages of the degree rather than academic incompetence.

- A range of support services and network systems are recommended to assist in retention of students, particularly those from low socio-economic backgrounds.

- There are a range of motivating factors behind the selection of universities by students, including distance, course offerings, perceived civic nature of universities, the location of the university, and the prospects of post-degree employment.

- The recent decline in regional university enrolment is explained by regional students selecting urban universities over their regional counterparts. Increasingly, aspirant students are pursuing education in more developed cities which offer a lifestyle with the thrill and allure of urban life, liberties and culture.

- Similar to the revitalisation of the City of Newcastle, the Greater Hobart area is currently experiencing a considerable transformation. As a result, Hobart now offers an increasingly urban lifestyle, experience and adventure, alongside its traditional nature-based offerings.

- Like the University of Newcastle's NewSpace, the relocation of the University of Tasmania's Sandy Bay campus to the CBD, with modern facilities and learning environment, accompanied by Hobart's new urban lifestyle, may capture the interest of a greater number of interstate and international students.

Background

Participation in higher education and the attainment of tertiary-level educational qualifications are amongst the strongest predictors of subsequent success in the labour market. This includes:

- attainment of secure and continuous employment
- higher productivity and wage growth
- improved social mobility and occupational standing
- greater job satisfaction.

In addition, greater social and health outcomes are also attributable to higher levels of educational attainment, including being less likely to

- live in households which fall below the poverty line
- be dependent on income-support from the government
- report financial difficulties
- be in poor physical health
- suffer from mental disorders
- adopt risky health behaviours, such as smoking, drinking and substance abuse.

University-educated individuals also have higher life expectancy and greater overall quality of life (Edgerton & von Below, 2012). As such, the ability to access and participate in higher education is critical to economic and social well-being.

It is well established that individuals from lower socio-economic backgrounds and those from regional and remote areas experience disparity in educational outcomes in contrast to those from more advantaged areas. Importantly, improving outcomes for these relatively disadvantaged students is significantly affected by economic and social trends, many of which militate against equity in education in regional Australia (Halsey, 2017).

One of the key underlying motivations for the establishment of tertiary institutions in regional areas like Tasmania is to increase access to, and participation in, higher education, particularly for those experiencing disadvantage. Even so, students enrolled in regional areas have lower completion rates than students enrolled in city-based universities (Lim 2015). Given the large regional composition of Australia (and by extension, Tasmania),

regional universities are well positioned to contribute to the Federal Government's target for 40% of young adults in the 25 to 34 age category educated to a Bachelor level by 2020 (Scevek, Southgate and Rubin 2015).

Even so, the University of Tasmania already exceeds this target with 31.2% of student enrolments from lower socio-economic areas (Koshy 2016), reflecting the socio-economic profile of the state more broadly.

Socio-economic profile of Sandy Bay

Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA) give a measure of how relatively advantaged or disadvantaged an area is compared with other areas in Australia. The ABS broadly defines relative socio-economic advantage and disadvantage in terms of people's access to material and social resources, and their ability to participate in society.

For each index, every geographic area in Australia receives a SEIFA score. Importantly, the indexes reflect the socio-economic well-being of an area, rather than that of individuals. Each area has a score, rank, decile, and percentile. A lower score indicates that an area is relatively disadvantaged compared to an area with a higher score. All areas are then ranked and ordered from lowest to highest score. The lowest 10% of areas are given a decile number of 1, the next lowest 10% of areas are given a decile number 2 and so on, up to the highest 10% of areas which are given a decile number of 10.

Sandy Bay, the location of the main campus of the University of Tasmania, in comparison with all other areas in Australia, is in the top decile for the Index of Relative Socio-economic Advantage and Disadvantage (IRSAD) as well as the Index of Education and Occupation (IEO). That is, people living in Sandy Bay are in the top 10% of areas in Australia with the greatest access to material and social resources, and the ability to participate in society. While Sandy Bay is the largest suburb within the Greater Hobart region, this represents just 5.4% of the total population. The second largest suburb, Glenorchy, is in the bottom decile for the Index of Relative Socio-economic Advantage and Disadvantage (IRSAD). That is, people living in Glenorchy have the least access to material and social resources, and the ability to participate in society in Australia. See Table 1.

Table 1. Top 20 suburbs of Greater Hobart region, population and SEIFA, 2016

	Population	% of Greater Hobart	SEIFA IRSAD	Distance to Sandy Bay (km)
Sandy Bay	11,925	5.4	10	0
Glenorchy	10,833	4.9	1	14
Kingston	10,408	4.7	5	12
Howrah	8,686	3.9	8	17
Claremont	7,746	3.5	1	18
Blackmans Bay	7,140	3.2	8	15
Lindisfarne	6,183	2.8	7	11
New Town	6,118	2.8	6	8
West Hobart	5,952	2.7	9	6
Lenah Valley	5,942	2.7	8	9
New Norfolk	5,430	2.4	1	39
Moonah	5,426	2.4	2	10
South Hobart	5,316	2.4	9	5
Bellerive	4,502	2.0	7	10
Brighton	4,061	1.8	2	31
Bridgewater	4,044	1.8	1	25
West Moonah	4,012	1.8	2	13
Margate	3,924	1.8	7	22
Old Beach	3,779	1.7	6	23
Rokeby	3,372	1.5	1	19

Source: ABS, Census of Population and Housing: Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA), Australia, 2016, Cat. No. 2033.0.55.001

Sandy Bay's socio-economic profile is equivalent to, or higher, than the suburbs of the main campuses of the G8 universities in Australia. See Table 2. As such, the Sandy Bay Campus of the University of Tasmania could be considered an elite tertiary education institution.

Table 2 SEIFA Deciles University of Tasmania Sandy Bay Campus and G8 University Campuses

	Campus	Index of Relative Socio-economic Advantage and Disadvantage (IRSAD)	Index of Education and Occupation (IEO)
University of Tasmania	Sandy Bay	10	10
Monash University	Clayton	7	10
	Caulfield	10	10
	Parkville	10	10
	Frankston	3	5
ANU	Acton	8	10
University of Adelaide	North Terrace	10	10
University of Melbourne	Parkville	10	10
	Southbank	10	10
	Burnley	10	10
The University of Queensland	St Lucia	10	10
The University of Sydney	Camperdown/ Darlington	10	10
	Camden	9	7
	Surrey Hills	10	10
	Rozelle	10	10
	Westmead	9	9
The University of Western Australia	Crawley	8	10
	Claremont	10	10
UNSW	Kensington	10	10
	Paddington	10	10

Source: ABS, Census of Population and Housing: Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA), Australia, 2016, Cat. No. 2033.0.55.001

Given this, the relocation of the Sandy Bay Campus to the Hobart CBD offers potential socio-economic benefits for both existing students and those not currently engaged in higher education. These potential benefits include greater access to, and participation in, higher education due to improved proximity for students, including those from lower socio-economic areas, improved retention as well as increasing enrolments of new students from interstate and overseas.

University of Newcastle and the City of Newcastle Redevelopment

In 2017, the University of Newcastle opened its new 8-floor city campus, called "NewSpace", in the central business district of Newcastle (Gregory 2017). The campus, to the total value of $95 million dollars, was first poised as an idea in 2006 and funding was subsequently acquired from both the New South Wales ($25 million) and Commonwealth ($30 million) governments (The University of Newcastle 2018a, 2018b). The move of the University of Newcastle has been described as a means of contributing to the revitalisation to the infrastructure and economy of Newcastle, as well as a means of providing a university in a centralised location as an anchor institution to attract students from around Australia and the world (University of Newcastle 2017). It forms part of a broader plan to build a number of university complexes in the city, including student accommodation and a centre referred to as the Innovative Hub (The Urban Developer 2018).

The development of the NewSpace was intended to contribute to the redevelopment and revitalisation of the city of Newcastle, as instigated by the NSW Government (New South Wales Government 2018). The larger NSW project involved the creation of new housing, more public transport services (rail) as well as overall city refurbishment (new public spaces) as a means of stimulating urban development (New South Wales Government 2018). Following the decline of the steel manufacturing industry in the 1980s and the collapse of BHP Billiton in the 1990s, the city of Newcastle has been remarketed from a blue-collar area to a more middle-class locale through a series of municipal (and now state) government campaigns (Rofe 2004). Rofe (2004) suggests that the city, once labelled 'the problem city', has undergone gentrification (and now so-called 'super-gentrification') in the Newcastle East and Cooks Hill areas, the NewSpace campus being situated in the latter. This cosmopolitan expansion repositions Newcastle as the 'promise city' (Rofe 2004: 193).

City of Hobart redevelopment

In a similar way to Newcastle, the City of Hobart is also undergoing a redevelopment plan as a part of the Capital City Strategic Plan 2015-2015 (City of Hobart 2015). This plan incorporates attention to the development of city infrastructure and public spaces to facilitate economic growth through retail services and the fostering of international partnerships (Hobart City Council 2013). The University of Tasmania is considered an important partner as a business and an entrepreneur of creative and intellectualism in

Hobart and the state (Hobart City Council 2013: 17). As such, the University provides a vital component, just as the University of Newcastle did in Newcastle, to the rejuvenation of the City of Hobart.

Improving access to higher education

Increasing the accessibility of university education for individuals is complex, particularly for those experiencing disadvantage. Overall, disadvantaged groups are under-represented within universities (Zacharias et al. 2016). This is because their enrolment at university is affected by a range of social, educational, geographical, and economic factors; most of which are outside of the control of tertiary institutions (Hemsley-Brown and Oplatka 2014). Notwithstanding this, they are important points of consideration.

The potential relocation of the Sandy Bay Campus to the Hobart CBD could improve access to, and participation in, higher education for Tasmanians in the greater Hobart area, particularly those from lower socio-economic backgrounds for two reasons; reduced stigma associated with the campus' location in Sandy Bay as well as greater proximity to students' (and potential students') usual place of residence.

Reduced stigma attached to the University of Tasmania

Stigma is the labelling of persons or places as undesirable as a result of certain attributes they possess (Jacobs and Flanagan 2013). Though stigma is often ascribed to lower socio-economic areas and peoples by the privileged, so too are higher socio-economic areas (such as Sandy Bay) stigmatised by individuals from lower socio-economic groups (Greenwood 2008). Stigma associated with higher education providers as an institution and/or their location, may dissuade individuals from enrolment (Greenwood 2008). This was found to be the case with the University of Tasmania being positioned in Sandy Bay for individuals from Bridgewater and Gagebrook (Greenwood 2008: 45).

Given the relatively higher proportion of Tasmanians experiencing disadvantage, and the proximity of a relocated southern campus to the Hobart CBD to suburbs experiencing socio-economic disadvantage, it is likely that a considerable proportion of new students will be 'first in family'. First in family students are understood both as those in their direct family who are first to pursue tertiary education, or the first in their entire family (Jardeine 2012; Southgate et al. 2014). These individuals are generally older than students with university-

educated parents (between 19 and 22 years of age), mostly comprise of women (69%), and generally come from low socio-economic backgrounds (Scevak, Southgate and Rubin 2015; Southgate et al. 2014; Jardeine 2012). The common degree of choice for first in family students include economics, education and the sciences (Southgate et al. 2014).[1]

Studies show that stigma is an active concern for people from disadvantaged groups in elite schools and universities. Individuals from disadvantaged groups are in many instances led to believe that university is not a desirable or attainable option for them (Thiele et al. 2017). Family members, particularly parents who are not university graduates, are known to dissuade further study by their children, perceiving university to be pointless and costly (Reay et al. 2009). Furthermore, high school teachers have been observed to 'advise' students that further study is something outside of their capabilities (O'Sullivan, Robson and Winters 2018; Mallman 2017; Archer, Hollingworth and Halsall 2007). In turn, these attitudes may contribute to poor pre-tertiary schooling outcomes in students not pursuing academic excellence (Zacharias et al. 2016). Friendship circles also heavily influence young people in their decision making in wanting to avoid stigmatisation (Brosnan et al. 2016). Among some disadvantaged groups, university education (especially degrees such as medicine) are seen as something not for people of their class, but rather, a pursuit for the clever, posh, and rich (Archer, Hollingworth and Halsall 2007: 231; Reay et al. 2009).

When placed in an elite university, disadvantaged students in some instances find themselves subject to two forms of stigma, both from the academy in not being *sui generis*[2] and their community in undertaking a pursuit of the 'rich', 'clever' and 'posh' (Brosnan et al 2016; Reay et al. 2009; Greenwood 2008: 28). Individuals from disadvantaged groups are conscious of their differences to their peers in elite universities, an awareness that brings self-doubt as to academic abilities and rightful place in their degree and/or institution (Johnson, Richeson and Finkel 2011; Brosnan et al. 2016; Granfield 1991). This doubt formulates from difference in personal tastes, different styles of speech and pronunciation, as well as ability to partake in elite student recreational activities, often due to cost (Brosnan et al. 2016; Granfield 1991) or by being excluded on the grounds of class (Aries and Seider 2005; Lehmann 2007).

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[1] However, Scevak, Southgate and Rubin (2015) argue that there is no difference in degree selection.

[2] of his, her, its, or their own kind; unique

Students also found that they were unable to discuss with family and friends their university experiences without being met with contempt, ridicule and jealousy (Brosnan et al 2016; Reay et al. 2009; Greenwood 2008:37). For disadvantaged groups, the absence of social networks is upsetting as it can be testing to assimilate in new social spheres with individuals of different tastes and predispositions (Reay et al. 2009; Holton 2018; Byrom 2009; Brosnan et al. 2016). To adjust, students begin to mimic those around them in order to blend in, in terms of dress, speech and conduct; being ashamed of their habitus, though at the same time experiencing regret in doing so (Granfield 1991; Aries and Seider 2005). Others abandoned social relationships and embraced their lower SES *habitus* (Lehmann 2007).

These factors may encourage ideas of abandoning higher education (Reay et al. 2009; Lehmann 2007) and result in experiencing feelings of powerlessness (Aries and Seider 2005). For those who quit university, students felt a sense of peace and freedom, no longer having to not be true to oneself and their *habitus* (Lehmann 2007). Conversely, disadvantaged students have also been shown to possess great degrees of resilience and determination in the pursuit of their academic endeavours (Lenmann 2015; Jardeine 2012).

Greater proximity to 'home'

Geographical proximity to universities is a key consideration when considering enrolment in higher education. It has been found that as the distance between student and universities increases, the likelihood of enrolling decreases (Bjarnason and Edvardsson 2017: 245; Cooper, Baglin and Strathdee 2017; Cardak et al. 2017; Gore et al. 2015). This is further exacerbated by time, cost and means of travel to the relevant campus. The average distance travelled by a student attending a university located in a capital city is between 11 kilometres and 15 kilometres from their usual place of residence (Koshy, Dockery and Seymour 2017), compared to inner regional students who travelled between 48 kilometres and 105 kilometres, outer regional students between 163 kilometres and 310 kilometres, and remote students between 539 kilometres and 781 kilometres. For some students, the time and cost of commuting (fuel, parking and upkeep of a vehicle) to the university campus is impractical and unfeasible (Nelson et al. 2017; Fleming and Grace 2017; Otswald 2018). Public transport services (frequency and cost) are a critical factor for university cities in attracting and retaining students (McKenzie 2009; Hanssen and Mathisen 2018; Padlee and Reimers 2015). Multiple changes in order to arrive at a university campus, as is the case

with some routes, is seen as a deterrent to undertaking further education (Greenwood 2008: 29). Distance is understandably then, a barrier to university enrolment (Hanssen and Mathisen 2018; Cooper, Baglin and Strathdee 2017).

The University of Tasmania Sandy Bay Campus is 3.5 kilometres from the Hobart CBD and over 15 kilometres from the younger and growing suburbs of Claremont (17 kilometres), Bridgewater (24 kilometres), Sorell (28 kilometres), and Brighton (31 kilometres), all experiencing socio-economic disadvantage. The current Sandy Bay campus is proximate to other populous suburbs in greater Hobart, including Kingston (14 kilometres), Lindisfarne (11 kilometres), and New Town (8 kilometres), all of which experience relatively higher levels of socio-economic advantage. See Table 1. While locations considered "far" for Tasmanians in the greater Hobart area fall within the 'inner regional' territory, such as Huonville (42 kilometres), Port Arthur (104 kilometres), and New Norfolk (48 kilometres), these areas experience relatively higher levels of socio-economic disadvantage. Therefore, both distance and socio-economic background are likely to be a preventative factor in accessing and participating in higher education for people from these areas.

Improving retention

While improved access to higher education as a result of a relocation of the Sandy Bay Campus to the Hobart CBD will likely increase the participation of students experiencing disadvantage, it is the completion of their studies which will result in the potential for improved social and economic well-being (Wirihana 2017). Retention is measured both competition rates (Crosling, Heagney and Thomas 2009) and attrition (Grayson and Grayson 2003). The completion rate for Australian university students is around 73.6% overall, specifically 72.6% for people from medium socio-economic groups, 68.9 for low socio-economic groups, and 46.7% for indigenous persons (Edwards and McMillen 2015). Urban universities generally fare better than regional universities.

Regional students have poorer retention rates to those within metropolitan areas. The former are 4.7% more likely to withdraw from university than the latter (Cardak et al. 2017; Edwards and McMillen 2015).[3] Similarly, those from groups of low socio-economic status are 6.0% less likely to complete a university degree than those of a higher socio-economic status (Edwards and McMillen 2015). Also, those who work part-time are twice as likely to withdraw from university studies than those studying full time (Edwards and McMillen 2015). Furthermore, first in family students possess higher instances of attrition than multigenerational university students. It is estimated that there is a 40% greater chance of the former withdrawing from university study (Southgate et al. 2014), mostly within the initial two years of enrolment (Spiegler and Bednarek 2013). In their initial year of study 26% of these students wished to withdraw, which rose to 34% in each subsequent year (O'Shea 2016). This disparity is explained by economic and social factors rather than academic incompetence (Bennet et al. 2015; Jia and Maloney 2014). In some cases, it is suggested that disadvantaged students are stigmatised by university administrators and staff as collectively coming from troubled families and thereby unable to independently succeed in their studies (Macqueen 2016).

Financial pressures are the primary cause of student attrition across the stages of the degree (Bennet et al. 2015; Li and Carroll 2017). Chief of these concerns is the cost of accommodation (both private rental and on-campus or college dorms), which is particularly

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[3] Though there is some debate to this, see Bennet et al. (2015) and Li and Carroll (2017)

felt amongst disadvantaged groups (Halsey 2018). This is compounded for rural and regional individuals who often rely on family to support their costs of living (Fleming and Grace 2015; Lim 2015). To this end, scholarships have been shown to be successful in encouraging retention amongst disadvantaged groups, providing a retention rate in some instances of up to 91.6% (Zacharias et al. 2016). Collectively, funding of this nature enables students to devote their hours to study rather than having to work to cover living expenses, covered tuition fees, and enabled students to enjoy a 'study-life balance' (in not undertaking paid employment or subsidising the need to work many hours). Students on scholarships reportedly experience less anxiety (primarily about finances and managing coursework requirements), and feel encouraged students by feeling supported by their university in the provision of their bursary (Zacharias et al. 2016). This is not to say that simply "throwing money" at students is the *key* to retention, but it is an essential component of improving retention amongst students (Curtis 2015).

Social factors are also highlighted as key components in the retention of students in the literature (Crosling, Heagney and Thomas 2009), particularly social isolation for first in family students (Lehmann 2007). Student retention has been linked to ensuring that students feel integrated into the university network and supported throughout their degrees, both personally and academically (Li and Carroll 2017; Bennet et al. 2015; Choi et al. 2013; Lim 2015; Sung and Yang 2009; Tinto 2003). It is advised that inductions should centre on slowly and sequentially introducing students into university over an extended period to enable a gradual familiarisation with campus life, timetabling, environments and culture (Crosling, Heagney and Thomas 2009). Enabling students to pre-read and prepare for their units in advance is an encouraged component of orientation, as opposed to solely merchandise and entertainment (Crosling, Heagney and Thomas 2009).

Ongoing interaction with and support from academic staff has been highlighted as essential to retention (Li and Carroll 2017; Bennet et al. 2015; Choi et al. 2013; Lim 2015; Sung and Yang 2009; Edwards 2016). This is particularly the case amongst new and international students (Tinto 2005; Li and Carroll 2017). Suggestions in this area include interventional support for struggling and/or failing students (discipline-specific), pre-semester tuition to ensure students enter university with necessary skills, early and consistent advice on progress in terms of assessments, and private tuition for students, particularly international

students (Choi et al. 2013; Tinto 2005). Access to and receiving encouragement and support from academic staff is also said to improve retention of students in making them feel valued (Tinto 2005; Li and Carroll 2017; Lillyman and Bennett 2014). Students who are first in their family to attend university face difficulty in this regard, generally having less social-capital and being less inclined to ask academic staff for support (Scevak, Southgate and Rubin 2015). This cohort is believed to be more likely to withdraw from university if feeling socially isolated (Lehmann 2007). Staff can be encouraged to take the initiative through the presentation of benefits such as awards, bonuses and promotion (Grayson and Grayson 2003).

Attraction of new interstate and international students

There are a range of motivating factors behind the selection of universities by students, including distance (Cooper, Baglin and Strathdee 2017; Doyle 2014), course offerings (Tomaszewski, Perales and Xiang 2016), perceived civic nature of universities (Goddard and Tewder-Jones 2016), the location of the university (Bjarnason and Edvardsson 2017; McKenzie 2009), and the prospects of post-degree employment (Addie 2017). There is an increasingly noticeable pull amongst aspirant students for pursuing education in more developed cities (McKenzie 2009). Such cities (and the universities therein located) sell themselves in offering a lifestyle with the thrill and allure of urban life, liberties and culture (Bjarnason and Edvardsson 2017; Hanssen and Mathisen 2018). For regional and international students alike, city universities offer an opportunity for self-investigation, independence and an adventure (McKenzie 2009), as well as the prospect of future employment close-by.[4] It is suggested that the decline in regional university enrolment is due to regional university aspirants selecting urban universities over their regional counterparts (Vichie 2017).

These trends bode well for Hobart and the attraction of new students to the University of Tasmania. Similar to the revitalisation of the City of Newcastle, the Greater Hobart area is currently experiencing a considerable transformation, led by the development of the $75 million Museum of Old and New Art (Mona) (Ryan 2016; O'Connor 2013; Booth et al. 2017). Mona is recognised as contributing to a substantial increase in cultural tourism to the state, both interstate and international, with its museum (situated near Glenorchy) and its annual festivals such as Mona Foma and Dark MOFO (O'Connor 2013; Ryan 2016). The resulting "Mona Effect" is evident in increased confidence and investment in the state, particularly in tourism related infrastructure and experiences in the south of this state. As a result, Hobart, and many of its attractions, are listed as 'must visit' destinations with internationally recognised travel and tourism related experts. Hobart now offers an increasingly urban lifestyle, experience and adventure, alongside its traditional nature-based offerings.

At the University of Newcastle, the NewSpace seeks to be integrated in its urban centre by offering a series of viewpoints of the city (The University of Newcastle 2017a). The campus

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[4] Many city graduates stay within the region rather than returning home, see Bjarnason and Edvardsson (2017) and Vichie (2017).

can house 2,340 people, houses a library, a series of newly-style collaborative teaching spaces for tutorials, 3 lecture halls, and a cafeteria (The University of Newcastle 2017b). The University does not have campus parking for students, and instead encourages students to take public transport, walk or ride a bicycle, or take a university-funded shuttle bus from the Callaghan campus (The University of Newcastle 2018c). A similar approach by the University of Tasmania to relocate its southern campus to the CBD with modern facilities and learning environment, may capture the interest of a greater number of interstate and international students seeking 'a lifestyle with the thrill and allure of urban life, liberties and culture'.

Within Australia, the disproportionate majority of students who had relocated for study were international persons, most selecting urban universities (199,022) over regional (17,048) centres (Otswald 2018; Richardson and Friedman 2010). Tasmania has one of the highest population of students nationwide moving from urban to regional centres for their courses (Otswald 2018). Within the Tasmanian context, 41% of its regional students and 74% of its international students move to the city of Hobart for study (Otswald 2018).

Studies have shown that students are guided in their university selection by their understanding of the institution's reputation, the courses on offer, and the quality of those courses and the faculty that teach it (Padlee and Reimers 2015; Douglas, Douglas and Barnes 2006; Hemsley-Brown and Oplatka 2014; Price et al. 2003). Perceptions of university prestige is known to be shaped by social networks, schools, but also the quality of the universities facilities, conditional to it forming part of the university's advertising strategy (Chesters and Watson 2013; Hanssen and Solvoll 2015; Vidalakis, Sun and Papa 2013; Hanssen and Mathisen 2018). For first in family students, choice of university is generally dependent on the accessibility of scholarships and government support, as well as including considerations of distance from current residence, length of degree, and institutional reputation (Spiegler and Bednarek 2013).

Though facilities have been shown to be secondary to course quality, students do express interest in libraries (stock, quiet study spaces, and presence of computers to work on), lecture halls, bathrooms, temperature regulation and cafeterias (Price et al. 2003; Padlee and Reimers 2015; Kärnä, Julin, Nenonen 2013). Interestingly, student satisfaction with their education is said to influence their attitudes towards campus facilities (Hanssen and

Solvoll 2015), and that students in their later years are more negative towards university infrastructure than commencing students (Kärnä, Julin, Nenonen 2013).

Conclusion

It is clear from the evidence provided in the literature analysed for this report that the location of a university is a critical factor in enabling access to, and participation in, higher education, particularly by those experiencing social and economic disadvantage. While proximity to a campus alone does not improve retention and ultimate completion of studies, resulting in improved social and economic well-being, the likelihood is significantly increased.

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