Mixing Housing Tenures: Does Propinquity in Space Facilitate Social Interaction Between Residents Across Housing Tenures?

A Case Study of Fatima Mansions, Dublin

Alex Quinn: S4115635
Master Socio-Spatial Planning
Faculty of Spatial Sciences
Supervisor: Dr. Christian Lamker
University of Groningen
15-07-20

Table of Contents

List of Images

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abstract

Mixing housing tenures is now a widely employed policy tool designed to ameliorate problems of social exclusion in disadvantaged areas. Implicit is the belief that the isolation and concentration of disadvantaged households can exacerbate problems of poverty and stigma. It is anticipated that a diverse range of tenure mix, ie - social housing, private owner/renter can provide disadvantaged residents with access to networks rich in resources and link them to job opportunities and role models, or what in social capital theory has been referred to as 'bridges'. Indeed, the benefits accruing from tenure mixing are predicated on propinquity in space providing the crucial context for facilitating social interaction between residents occupying different tenure types. This research, however, implies that propinquity in space is an overly simplistic rationale and that the socio-spatial landscape of mixed-tenure developments is fraught with intricacies that are depreciated by advocates of social mixing policies. Residents' lifestyles, socio-spatial boundaries and social housing associated stigma are all critical mediating factors for cross-tenure interaction and demand due concern. A major quandary is that tenure diversification policies are at odds with current Irish social housing policies, which presently target exclusively deprived households (low-income and benefit dependent households). The resultant stigma anchored to a residualised social housing system ensures that social interaction with residents across housing tenures is more of a fictitious hope than a reality.

Key words: social mix, propinquity in space, urban regeneration, tenure diversification, stigma

Chapter 1: Introduction

Contemporary Irish deprivation maps, which measure the relative affluence or disadvantage of a particular geographic area according to a number of indicators including: the proportion of skilled professionals, education levels, employment levels, and single-parent households found in an area, distinctly illustrate that pockets of severe disadvantage tend to cluster where social housing is prominent (Pobal Deprivation Index, 2016). In Ireland, as elsewhere, it would appear that the most discernible signs of social and economic deprivation in relation to income, health and education are to be found in such locations (Hearne and Redmond, 2014). Indeed, the spatial concentration of severe disadvantage in areas with high concentrations of social housing is a stark reflection of the changing pattern of the tenures distribution at the national level: housing 18.4% of households in 1961 to just 9.7% in 2016 (Carnegie et al. 2018). The tenure is now strongly residualised, ie - dominated by low-income and benefit dependent households, an outcome which finds its spatial voice in the acute concentrations of deprivation to be found in areas where social housing clusters (Norris et al. 2018).

In an Irish context, these circumstances have prompted interest, on the part of planning and housing policy, in the idea of social mix (Carnegie et al. 2018). While social mix and its various connotations stretch beyond mixed tenures, encompassing a range of attributes that includes income, age, education, household type, ethnicity and gender of local residents - in an Irish policy context it tends to refer more generally to the mixing of housing tenures (Lawton, 2015). This is primarily achieved through the demolition and replacement of public housing with private housing in order to attract higher income home buyers and private renters into the neighbourhood (Carnegie et al. 2018). Implicit is the argument that high concentrations of low-income households can result in narrowing an individuals social networks and nurture the establishment of a 'culture of poverty' (Sampson, 2012). Contemporary advocates of social mix policies claim that the benefits for disadvantaged residents of living in propinquity to private/ owner tenants include (but not restricted to) access to networks rich in resources that can link disadvantaged residents to job opportunities and role models, or what in social capital theory has been referred to as 'bridges' (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Morris et al. 2012; Putnam, 2000).

While much of the value of social mix is predicated on the hope that social interaction will occur between and across varying income levels and housing tenures, the bulk of international empirical

inquiry into the topic indicates that such a hope is more aspirational than achievable in practice (Morrison et al. 2012). The evidence base for cross-tenure interaction within mixed-tenure developments remains fragmentary and insubstantial; more often than not, studies on the subject identify that the various tenures '*tend to live alongside each other but not together*' (Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2003: 871; Graham et al. 2009).

Speaking on the Irish context, Lawton (2015) expresses the view that policy makers have fallen short of the mark in considering how exactly disadvantaged and advantaged groups will interact within these socially engineered mixed tenure neighbourhoods. Such policies, it would appear, have been overly reliant on an *intuitive* rather than *explicit* evidence base and as Galster contends, have drawn support based *'more on faith than fact'* (2007).

On the matter, Galster (2012) suggests that drawing attention to residents' understandings of the day-to-day lived experience of tenure diversification has taken a back seat to more quantitative inquiries within much of contemporary research on the subject (Galster, 2012; 2003; Lawton, 2015). While quantitative methods are useful in revealing the frequency of cross-tenure interaction in a specific location or uncovering statistical indicators such as median household income and unemployment patterns following tenure diversification or between neighbourhoods with varying levels of tenure mix - they provide little insight into the *lived experience* of tenure mixing (Arthurson, 2008). The absence of a more in-depth qualitative depository has, in part, added fuel to the scepticism surrounding the potential of social mix policies to facilitate cross-tenure interaction, and ensured that the question of how cross-tenure interaction will occur, following the tenure diversification of a neighbourhood, remains not at all clear (Galster, 2012).

The purpose of this study is to gain an in-depth understanding into the intricacies of how and why cross-tenure interaction does or does not occur within socially engineered mixed-tenure estates. The research questions and the subsequent research approach have been designed and chosen to facilitate this purpose. The central research questions have been formulated as follows:

(1) *From the perspective of local residents, has the socially engineered tenure mixing of Fatima Mansions facilitated social interaction between and across varying tenures?*

(2) *What key factors intervene in facilitating or debilitating cross-tenure interaction within the estate?*

These questions have been constructed in light of an effort to ground the debate on social mixing policies in the day-to-day lived experience of those who occupy the spaces of the policies implementation, ie - the residents who inhabit the neighbourhoods dwellings. It is anticipated that the findings of this research will have implications for Irish social housing policy and also for planning practice related to the design of mixed-tenure developments and regeneration schemes concerned with implementing tenure mix.

This research utilises the Fatima Mansions estate in Dublins south inner-city as a case-study site. As part of the estates recent regeneration which began in 2004, tenure diversification has taken place through the demolition of local authority social housing units and their replacement with houses and low-rise apartment blocks (Carnegie et al. 2017). The original number and tenure of dwellings has subsequently changed from 394 all public rented dwellings to 180 public rented dwellings, 70 affordable dwellings sold at below market value and 396 private dwellings sold on the open market (Carnegie et al. 2017). The regeneration of Fatima Mansions took place within a policy context shaped by the prevalent ideals and aspirations of social mix and therefore provides an adequate opportunity to investigate the subject of this research in the Irish context.

1.1 Thesis structure

This thesis is structured as follows: chapter two considers what is meant by social mix in terms of policy, in urban studies literature and in an Irish context. This chapter will also review the relevant international literature investigating whether social interaction occurs across tenure within mixed-tenure developments. A conceptual framework will also be illustrated in this chapter which highlights the main factors mediating cross-tenure interaction as brought to attention in the literature review. Chapter three summarises and justifies the methodology employed in this study. Chapter four provides an overview of the case study site. The objective is to provide the reader with adequate background information regarding the regeneration of Fatima Mansions and the subsequent tenure diversification which transpired. Chapter 5 presents the findings and discussion of this research. It is in this chapter where the research questions will be answered and discussed in relation to the literature. Chapter 6 considers the key lessons for policy deriving from the research. The final chapter provides a conclusion.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

This theoretical discussion begins by providing a broad overview of social mixing policies. This will involve locating what constitutes a socially mixed neighbourhood, identifying the mechanisms most commonly employed to achieve social mix across national contexts, uncovering the premise on which social mixing policies are based and presenting an outline of the anticipated benefits emanating from the policies implementation. This is followed by a summary of its treatment within urban studies literature, including the three leading contemporary debates configuring discussions about social mix within academia. Each of these discussions draw attention to a particular lens through which the use of social mix polices can be viewed. The focus will then turn to presenting the empirical evidence surrounding the efficacy of social mix to incite cross-tenure social interaction. This section will provide an overview of the key factors mediating cross-tenure interaction within socially engineered mixed tenure neighbourhoods. The final section will illustrate the key theoretical concepts in a conceptual framework which will be used as a tool to configure and provide coherence to the research.

2.1 Defining social mix

Contemporary urban planning and neighbourhood regeneration policies in much of Europe, the US and Australia emphasise the need to break down or prevent concentrations of disadvantaged residents from forming through achieving a more balanced social mix (Lawton, 2015). The mechanisms used most commonly to achieve a social mix include 'income mixing' or 'poverty deconcentration' of social rented neighbourhoods by encouraging households with higher-incomes to live there (Arthurson, 2010; Carnegie et al. 2018). This is usually achieved through mixing tenures. By mixing tenures it is anticipated (hoped) that a more balanced social mix may work to create more stable and vigorous communities than what would have been the case if disadvantaged residents were to remain concentrated together in one isolated neighbourhood or estate (Arthurson 2007; Carnegie et al 2018., and Graham et al. 2009). Implicit is the argument that high concentrations of low-income households can result in narrowing an individuals social networks and nurture the establishment of a 'culture of poverty' (Sampson, 2012). In other words, dysfunctional behaviour is said to become normalised and reproduced in the absence of a more heterogenous, further reaching, set of social networks.

Disentangling what constitutes a socially mixed neighbourhood, however, is not straightforward. Social mix and its various connotations stretch beyond mixed tenures, encompassing a range of attributes that includes income, age, education, household type, ethnicity and gender of local residents (Kleit and Carnegie, 2011). Indeed, a neighbourhood could present itself as being socially mixed according to one attribute while simultaneously lacking mix in another. Despite this contention, a mix of tenures is still the most frequently promoted indicator as it can stand as a point of reference for mixed socio-economic classes (Morris et al. 2012). Certainly, cross-class mixing is a central goal of social mixing policy (Blokland and Van Eijk, 2010). Adding further to the difficulty of teasing apart what constitutes a socially mixed neighbourhood is the fact that social mix is not uniformly the sole product of deliberate government intervention. Empirical studies detailing the fundamental differences in both process and outcome attributed to mixing which has evolved organically over time and that which stems from policy interventions (Morris et al. 2012).

The strategies employed to achieve social mix through policy intervention are also open to variance. For instance, in the US, concentrations of low-income groups are often dissipated through the building and creation of public housing at scattered sites in non-minority and often middle-income neighbourhoods (Popkin et al. 2000). In Irish, European and Australian policy arenas, however, deconcentration is primarily achieved through the demolition and replacement of public housing with private housing as a means to attract higher income home buyers into the neighbourhood (Arthurson 2007; Morris et al 2012; Carnegie et al. 2018).

Notwithstanding the degree of difference that marks the strategies employed to achieve social mix, the premise on which social mix policies are based remains uniform in character: the line of argumentation subscribing to the notion that a segregation of groups, has negative consequences, both at the scale of the neighbourhood level and in terms of wider society (Lawton , 2015). Implicit is the belief that the isolation and concentration of low-income households and groups can exacerbate problems of poverty and stigma (Rose et al. 2013). Implicit further is the assumption that the presence of a better-off population in close proximity can have a positive impact on the life chances for those of lower social standing (Arthurson 2010; Graham et al. 2009). Within this line of reasoning the disadvantaged position of certain groups is to be explained by the absence of people who are better-off, the transmission of middle-class behavioural norms cited as the remedy for dissipating disadvantage (Crump, 2002). Such a response is indeed

individual and behavioural - implying that disadvantaged neighbourhoods, lacking middle-class role modelling and leadership, are marginalised from the social bridges needed to alter their situation for the better (Lupton and Tunstall, 2008).

Advocates of contemporary social mix policies claim that the benefits of living in more heterogenous communities for low-income groups and areas with high concentrations of social housing are several. The claims emerging through the entirety of the literature used in this chapter can be summarised as follows:

A. *Improved access to formal and informal social networks, which create links for residents in accessing a further reaching set of opportunities such as employment opportunities that would have otherwise been difficult to access. Such networks need not be confined to employment opportunities - expanding networks may entail gaining access to any resources difficult to find in our own social circle* (Arthurson 2008; Blokland and Van Eijk, 2010);

B. *Positive role models to assist residents in integrating into the behaviours deemed appropriate of wider society. This factor is linked to mediating issues of low education retention rates, crime, poor health and high levels of unemployment* (Galster, 2007);

C. *Decreased postcode prejudice and a lowering of the stigma that comes with living in neighbourhoods that are perceived as negative or undesirable* (Arthurson 2008; Carnegie et al 2017);

D. *Increased access to a mix of health, education and community services that can be difficult to access in areas of concentrated socioeconomic disadvantage due to service 'overload' within these particular neighbourhoods* (Arthurson, 2008; 2010).

E. *A boost to the local economy by stimulating a need for services consistent with middle-class lifestyles* (Blokland and Van Eijk, 2010);

F. *A reduction in anti-social behaviour, which has been associated with disadvantage and concentration of poverty* (Morris et al. 2012).

At this point, it is important to reiterate that the claims above are often more aspirational than achievable in practice. This is particularly the case for A and B noted above, whereby social interaction among social groups (tenures) is required. Notwithstanding this, support within

contemporary policy arenas throughout much of Europe, the US and Australia remains strong, irrespective of the evidence base for mixing tenures which, as eluded to, remains fragmentary and insubstantial (Arthurson, 2007; Carnegie et al. 2018; and Graham et al. 2007). This evokes the key question - what meaning is attributed to social mixing policies within policy arenas? After all, policy is always created in arenas of contested interpretations that shape the policy agenda and definition of the policy problem (Howlett, 2011). If it is indeed the case that social mixing policies are based more on 'faith than fact', then the tenets underlying this faith must be brought to attention (Galster, 2007).

2.3 The meaning of social mix: three leading discussions

Within academic literature three leading contemporary debates configure discussions about social mix. Each of these discussions call attention to a particular lens through which the use of social mix can be viewed. The varying discussions also raise distinct questions surrounding the expectations of social mix policies. The first considers the use of social mix policies as *a remedy for social exclusion* through creating a more socially balanced form of community for disadvantaged groups within society. It is from this perspective that policy makers often cite their claims and justify the use of social mix as a policy tool (Galster, 2007). Two components will form the forthcoming discussion on this particular interpretation including: (a) policy-makers' perspectives of social mix as a remedy for exclusion, and (b) academic critiques which challenge these claims. Both (a) and (b) being discussed simultaneously. The second interpretation positions the use of social mix policies as *a state-led form of gentrification* or what - Lees et al' have termed '*gentrification by stealth' (*2011). Here, the critical urban literature illuminates the ways in which social mix policies are supposedly used to mask ulterior motives. The third interpretation proposes that the assumptions circulating policy makers' claims regarding the benefits of social mix are best understood and explained in the context of the changing pattern of tenure distribution at the national level. Notably, this angle focuses on *the steady contraction of the tenure* which has taken place in many countries in recent decades and the subsequent change in the public perception and role of social housing that has followed.

2.3.1 Social mix policy: a remedy for social exclusion

A dominant critique in the academic debate concerns two policy making perspectives that have come to shape much of the discourse underpinning the use of contemporary social mix policies.

Concurrently, policy makers depict social mix policies as either/both a remedy for social exclusion or/and as a means to promote community cohesion and social inclusion (Arthurson, Levin and Ziersch, 2015). In US policy arenas, the former depiction of social mix policies is realised in the belief that social integration invariably stems from the creation of new mixed-income housing developments built to replace public (social) housing (Chaskin and Joseph, 2010). Despite this anticipated after-effect attributed to social mixing, in reality the experience of public housing residents is often characterised by an increase in scrutiny and intrusion that forms new kinds of stigma, exclusion and isolation (Ruming, Mee, and McGuirk, 2004; Arthurson 2012, 2013a). Similarly, Arthurson (2013b) who depicts the Australian case, critiqued the claim ingrained in contemporary policy arenas that developing mixed-income communities is a necessary prerequisite for the development of inclusive and cohesive communities. This critique is based on the findings emerging in a number of empirical studies which contend that although broader neighbourhood reputations often improve succeeding tenure-mixing, internally public housing residents often associate private-rental with an increase in neighbourhood stigma (Arthurson 2013b, Carnegie et al. 2017).

Social mix policies are also interpreted by advocates as a tool to build cross-class communities in which neighbours interact with each other and form bonds through which social capital builds (Chaskin and Joseph, 2010). It is argued that individuals living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods are limited in their capacity to reach beyond their immediate social networks in the absence of a better-off population who can provide what is referred to in social capital theory as 'bridges' (Putnam 2000; Blokland and van Eijk, 2010). The assumption often upheld by policy makers is that living in close proximity to higher-standing social groups may provide opportunities to interact with people who possess a more diverse set of social networks, and in turn attain benefits from such interaction (Chaskin and Joseph, 2010). In reality, social housing residents are are often more likely to have more diverse social networks than private-renters by almost all measures (Morris et al. 2012). The expectation that middle-class populations can exchange upwardly mobile social capital through interaction is indeed based on an implicit class-based discourse that posits the middle-class as role models equipped with diverse networks, or perhaps even leaders through which 'good behaviours' can be transmitted (Lupton and Tunstall, 2008).

A final argument forming a crucial part of this discussion is a critique of the notion implicit in social mixing policies that the neighbourhood is a container through which a carefully thought design can be implemented to ameliorate social problems. Such a position has been strongly critiqued by Slater - who suggest that social mix policies have focused on how '*where people live affects their life chances*', but have failed to address the question '*why people live where they do*' (2013). Thus, it is argued that, by shying away from the structural dynamics that produce socio-spatial inequalities, it is maintained that poor neighbourhoods precipitate in their own decline.

Overall, this particular discussion forming part of the academic debate would suggest that social mix policy and the benefits it assumes are shaped by an underlying class-based discourse that positions the middle-class as potential role models for lower-standing social groups. It would also argue that the policy is shortsighted, placing the neighbourhood as a point of focus while eschewing the structural dynamics that produce socio-spatial inequality in the first place.

2.3.2 Social mix policy: a state-led form of gentrification

The second and related point of interest in the academic debate identifies social mix policies as a state-led form of gentrification. It is argued that class-based policies that promote gentrification are discursively disguised by policy makers as social mixing (Kelly, 2014). From this perspective, it is maintained that policy makers take advantage of the positive associations and morally persuasive tone of 'social mix' to politely avoid the class constitution involved in the processes being undertaken (Lees et al 2011). The term '*gentrification by stealth*' being used to convey the concealed intention in which critical accounts often identify as a key trait of social mix policies (Lees et al. 2011). Kelly (2014) provides a tangible example of the point above by locating the aforesaid trait in Dublin - where policies advertising themselves as promoting 'social mix' and 'generating diversity' have been employed as a means to legitimise the privatisation of publicly owned housing and land in the inner-city. In consummation, the practice of masking state-led forms of gentrification under the name of social mixing policies has been positioned within this line of academic debate as symptomatic of contemporary neoliberalism (Arthurson et al. 2015). Not least, it is argued that neoliberalism, in seeking ways to legitimise the contraction of the public housing sector, takes advantage of the persuasive tone of social mix to advance the private-rental market and the orientation towards home-ownership as a tenure of choice (Lees et al. 2011).

2.3.3 Social mix policy: a state solution to a state caused problem

The final contemporary debate aligning the discussion posits that the claims in which proponents of social mixing policies subscribe must be seen in the context of a severe contraction of the public housing sector which has occurred in many countries in recent times (Graham et al 2009). In the UK, social renting has been a diminishing tenure category over the past decades, retreating from 29 percent of households in 1971 to 18 percent in 2006 (DCLG, 2007). Similarly, the Irish public housing sector has contracted from 18.4 percent of households in 1961 to just 9.7 percent in 2016 (Carnegie et al. 2018). The decline of social renting has brought with it a change in the public perception and role of social housing. Not-least has the radical contraction of the tenure resulted in an increasingly stigmatised perception towards neighbourhoods of pre-dominantly social housing and towards the tenure as a whole (Norris et al. 2019). Whereas previously, social renting was constructed as a tenure of choice for large swathes of the population, it is now often characterised as tenure of last resort owing to the fact that it is pre-dominantly dominated by low-income and marginalised households (Jacobs and Flanagan, 2013). The concentration of low-income and marginalised households clustering in social housing estates has indeed arisen through design, as opposed to default. On this subject, the critical urban literature highlights the contradictory role of the state who concurrently sets in motion a contraction of the public housing sector and then propose a solution, usually in the form of poverty deconcentration through tenure mixing (Norris et al. 2019).

2.4 The scope of empirical inquiry

As noted in the previous sections, the anticipated benefits of social mixing policies are multiple. To name a few, an increase in employment opportunities for marginalised groups, a reduction in neighbourhood stigmatisation and an increase in social well-being have all been posited as potential benefits accruing from social mix (Graham et al 2009; Norris et al 2019). Reflecting this broad range of anticipated outcomes attributable to social mix, the empirical studies attempting to tease apart the effects of social mix are themselves multi-faceted. Generally the attention of any given study tends to be on one particular outcome or aspect of creating socially mixed neighbourhoods. For instance, Norris et al (2019) focus on whether the stigmatisation of a neighbourhood declines post the creation of social mix. Other lines of interest, aim to uncover what the introduction of social mix entails for the members a particular tenures well-being (Graham et al. 2009). A number of studies have also drawn attention to specific welfare outcomes

such as a decline in unemployment rates following an increase in social mix (Randolph and Wood, 2004). Others further, have sought to identify the similarities and differences between state-led and organic social mixing processes in terms of outcomes (Morris et al. 2012). The question of whether an increase in spatial proximity between varying social groups results in an extension of an individuals social networks has also been marked as another area of inquiry (Blokland and van Eijk, 2010). A final example of the multi-faceted avenues of investigation around social mixing policies places the built environment as a point of interest. Such studies aim to capture whether varying levels of interaction occur between owner and rental residents in mixed developments when housing is spatially integrated or distinct in appearance (Arthurson, 2010).

It is not within the scope of this theoretical framework to present an in-depth outline of the empirical studies attributable to the varying lines of inquiry surrounding social mix policies. An imperative requirement, however, is to highlight what the empirical evidence can tell us about the central focus of this particular research. As such, it is useful to narrow the scope of attention to uncovering the evidence for *social interaction* across tenure lines within mixed-tenure developments.

2.5 The evidence for social interaction: does interaction occur?

Social interaction between and across residents of different housing tenures has been held as a key outcome for which social mixing policies should strive. The anticipated benefits that will emerge from such interaction and the question of how these will occur, however, are not at all clear (Galster, 2012). It is often assumed that increasing the spatial proximity of different housing tenures automatically results in more interaction and contact through which cross-tenure bridges can be formed (Lelévrier, 2013). This review seeks to uncover what the primary evidence suggests about the efficacy of social mix to incite social interaction and contact between residents of different housing tenures. Indeed, the degree to which interaction and contact does or does not occur post the creation of social mix is not black and white. As Morris et al (2012) point out, different studies on the subject indicate varying conclusions - some of which note higher and more beneficial levels of social interaction than others. It is within this space that this review will unfold. The key task being to detect and reveal the myriad of factors and contexts in which the different intensities of cross-tenure mixing transpire. Three key factors mediating social interaction

within mixed-tenure developments emerged in the international literature. These factors are discussed in turn.

2.5.1 Spatial lay out and physical arrangements

The spatial lay out and physical arrangement of socially engineered mixed-tenure developments has been positioned as a key factor that plays a fundamental role in mediating social interaction (Arthurson, 2010; Jupp, 1999; Lelévrier, 2013). Studies concerning the matter have raised issues about tenure-mixing implemented through two distinct spatial and physical arrangements and have sought to uncover the ways in which each arrangement may differ in terms of facilitating or constraining interaction. The two distinct arrangements include: (1) whereby the various tenures are distinct in character and/or spatially clustered, and (2) whereby the various tenures are physically indistinguishable and/or spatially scattered within the mixed tenure development (Arthurson, 2010).

A study of 3 French mixed-tenure developments, involving semi-structured interviews with over 83 residents identifies a direct relationship between the level of spatial integration and the social interaction that occurs between different tenures (Lelévrier 2013). The study finds that the construction of new residential complexes that sharply contrast with the rest of the neighbourhood, in both architectural form and social composition, have lower levels of cross-tenure interaction than those neighbourhoods where the visual contrasts of the different tenures are less pronounced (Lelévrier 2013). In the cases where visual distinctions are present, social housing residents felt that the easily recognisable spatial separation hampered interaction by amplifying internal social and symbolic hierarchies. Similarly, an Australian case-study compromising of several mixed-tenure developments found that both social housing and private renters/home owners felt that distinguishable housing tenures and spatial separation at the street level separated the local community (Rumings et al 2004).

In an Irish context, a recent case-study on three separate mixed-tenure developments also highlights the importance of visually identifiable social cues and there role in mediating cross-tenure interaction. Through a number of focus group interviews it emerged that social housing tenants felt that the clear demarcation between housing tenures reinforced the dialectic of 'us' and 'them' (Carnegie et al 2017). Such a dialectic has been attributed to establishing social

boundaries and barriers that debilitate the willingness and likelihood of interaction by reinforcing social hierarchies within mixed-tenure areas (Lelévrier 2013).

Cut from a similar cloth, Jupp (1999) posits that the single greatest barrier to interaction is the tenure-mixing arrangement within a particular estate/neighbourhood. By looking at 10 mixed-tenure estates, involving interviews with 1000 residents, it was found that where the various tenures are located on different streets, little mixing occurred. Conversely, where there was street-level mixing of housing tenures, higher levels of cross-tenure interaction arose, but even this remained low. Conflicting with the findings of Jupp (1999), a Scottish study conducted by Beekman et al (2001) that examines 10 case study areas where tenure diversification had taken place identified that the careful street-level mixing of tenures led to conflict as opposed to facilitating a higher level of interaction. This study suggested that a fine grained scale of social-mix at the street level increased the likelihood of tension and conflict between tenures. Generally, it was found that while owners and public renters did not have issue living in close quarters, resistance increased considerably as the spatial proximity between tenures increased.

The placement within the mixed-tenure development of the different tenures has also been positioned as a potential contributor to facilitating/constraining opportunities for interaction. Lelévrier (2013) identifies that where the location of private housing clusters at the fringes of the development - such tenants had no need to use the heart of the neighbourhood - and therefor had less opportunities for interaction. In contrast, where the heart of the area was spatially integrated and supported by a range of services and shops, daily interaction at the street level increased. Notwithstanding this, the author cautions the reader from concluding that spatial integration leads to sufficient levels of interaction. Rather, it is argued that spatial integration facilitates higher levels of interaction in comparison to spatially separated and physically distinguishable housing tenure developments. Crucially, however, the level of interaction between different tenures remained low, whether or not the area was spatially integrated or separated. Likewise, Jupp (1999) suggests that although different physical arrangements of tenure proximity vary the opportunities for interaction - the case remains that interaction is low across all of the varying estate designs.

Different spatial lay outs and physical arrangements of tenure proximity and spatial integration thus vary the opportunities for interaction. Despite this, the variance still results in relatively small differences. While the majority of the literature would suggest that the the spatial integration and spatial proximity of different tenures facilitates more practices of interaction, such a position is not unchallenged. Rather, tenure proximity within mixed-tenure developments has been found to both exacerbate tension and facilitate interaction in different studies respectively. Notwithstanding this, in the cases where social interaction does take place in mixed-tenure developments it is usually where the different tenures are spatially integrated and physically indistinguishable. The placement of the different tenures within the development has also been brought to attention. Here, it was found that daily interaction increased in the situations when the heart of the area was spatially integrated and frequently used by the residents of different tenures.

2.5.2 Lifestyle factors

Lifestyle is consistently noted as an important factor determining whether social interaction occurs between housing tenure groups (Morris et al. 2012). Studies on the subject identify that residents within mixed tenure developments often lead disparate lifestyles and rarely meet (Arthurson 2007; Beckhoven and Van Kempen, 2003). Moreover, in the cases when interaction does take place it tends to be brief and infrequent - many of the studies concluding that there was probably not enough cross-tenure interaction to achieve the anticipated benefits of tenure-mixing (Morris et al. 2012; Rosenbaum et al. 1998). Butler and Robinson (2001) argue that within mixed-tenure developments different tenure groups oftentimes live a form of 'tectonic co-existence', with little social interaction occurring between them. Generally, it is argued that within mixed-tenure developments, the various tenures '*tend to live alongside each other but not together*' (Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2003: 871). Through the use of a number of relevant empirical studies, the following section tries to disentangle and present some of the important lifestyle factors that intervene in making social interaction and contact more or less likely to transpire between residents from different housing tenures.

In a study by Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) of 3 mixed-tenure housing estates where regeneration had taken place it was found that private and public tenants occupied different social worlds and used the neighbourhood in different ways. The study showed that the former conducted large parts of their lives outside of the estate, whereas public renters tended to used the

neighbourhood for the majority of their social and family activities. Private tenants were also less involved in the local community as they tended to spend more time away from the neighbourhood, used local services less frequently, and their lines of employment placed them in different social networks. Overall, the study concluded that there was minimal social interaction between tenures and in the instances where contact occurred it brought little benefit to social renters through such contact.

A survey study by Beckhoven and Van Kempen (2003) of two Dutch neighbourhoods that had undergone tenure diversification presents a similar set of findings. It emerged that much of the new private tenants conducted almost all of their social lives outside of the neighbourhood, including shopping, recreation and visiting friends and family. With the bulk of their lives happening beyond the local neighbourhood, it was found that little time was left for neighbourhood interaction. This study also identified that established residents, primarily public housing tenants, have a strong bond with the neighbourhood whereas newcomers tend to have a weak to moderate bond.

A Dutch study that explicitly attempts to unravel how the varying levels of neighbourhood attachment manifest in weakening the perceived need for cross-tenure interaction is provided by Van Kempen and Wissink (2014). In this study it was found that owing to the depth of long-standing bonds in which many established residents have with the local neighbourhood - they often have an extensive social network within the area and there seems to be no room for the forging of new contacts. The study also reveals that newcomers, who are predominantly private-renters, are often unenthusiastic about forging cross-tenure contacts. Notably, the new population of private renters often felt that the established community is already fixed and to a large extent inaccessible. Adding to this finding, a study by Blokland and Van Eijk (2010) points out that even in the cases where in-coming residents declare an outspoken preference for a tenure-diverse neighbourhood, they still move in networks divided by tenure. This study concludes that an outspoken preference for a tenure-diverse neighbourhood does not translate to the forging of more cross-tenure contacts. Like the studies aforementioned, the authors suggest that interaction is constrained under the conditions that the different tenures continue to lead disparate lifestyles, have distinct levels of neighbourhood attachment and conduct their lives to varying extents within and outside of the neighbourhood.

The housing trajectories of the different tenures has also been positioned as an influential lifestyle factor working against the creation of socially beneficial cross-tenure interaction within mixed-tenure estates. In a French study of 3 mixed-tenure developments it emerged that the long-established, mostly social housing tenants, cite that the probability of cross-tenure interaction and familiarity is severely hampered by the short stay period and high turnover of the incoming private-rental population (Lelévrier, 2013). The time it takes to build a degree of familiarity is deemed to be hindered by the continuous coming and going of what the authors refer to as a transient population (Lelévrier, 2013). An Irish study conducted by Wonnerberger (2011) builds on this point in reference to a mixed-tenure development of a former social housing estate - citing that not only does the consistent flux of the new population interrupt the level of familiarity necessary to incite interaction; it also operates to lessen the perceived need for forming cross-tenure ties. It was found that both resident populations, social and private tenants, felt that forming extensive ties was not worthwhile. For the private-renters the neighbourhood was often seen as a stepping stone to eventually becoming a homeowner elsewhere and therefor socially investing in the area was deemed unnecessary. In relation to the established community, it emerged that social interaction was held in little regard in anticipation of the new population occupying the neighbourhood for relatively short time periods.

While the studies above tend to view socially engineered tenure mixing as unsuccessful, at least in relation to facilitating social interaction among the different tenure groups, other studies draw less critical conclusions. These studies hold that the likelihood of cross-tenure interaction increases where income differences are of a modest range. For instance, a Swedish study conducted by Galster et al (2008) aiming to uncover which mixed-tenure developments are more likely to facilitate interaction identified that cross-tenure interaction only occurred where the social distance was not too extreme. The study suggested that low-income residents benefitted more from middle-income neighbours than high-income neighbours and therefor found it more worthwhile to form social ties with the former. It was found that members of the low-income group often felt that the higher-income neighbours moved in social circles distant to their own and that for this reason social interaction was averted. A study by Smith (2002) also recognises the role of social distance in mediating the likelihood of cross-tenure interaction. Like Galster et al (2008), this study illustrates that where larger income differences exist the probability of interaction seems more remote. Indeed, the larger/smaller income disparities between tenures is

dependent on the pattern of tenure distribution at the national level (Graham et al. 2009). Where social housing is strongly residualised (i.e. dominated by primarily low-income and marginalised groups) the social distance to other housing tenures is often widened and therefor socially beneficial cross-tenure interaction is less likely to materialise (Graham et al. 2009).

A number of studies have suggested that children's play facilitates interaction across different tenure groups (Arthurson 2010; Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2003; Jupp 1999). Allen et al (2005) in a study of three mixed-tenure areas in England found that children gave little notice to tenure difference and that this was reflected in their friend circles. In another study, Beckhoven and Van Kempen (2003) contend that households with children conducted more social activities within the neighbourhood which resulted in more cross-tenure contact between parents. Arthurson (2010) expands on these findings, suggesting that the one realm where social interaction did transpire was in local schools. The study found that within the local school, children came from all tenures and that this facilitated some contact between parents from different tenures. However, these findings are not conclusive. Beekman et al (2001) found little evidence to suggest that children attending the same school facilitates a greater propensity for cross-tenure social interaction. Moreover, a number of studies have found that middle-income residents often choose to send their children to schools outside the local mixed-tenure neighbourhood, especially in the cases when the quality of the local schools is perceived as being poor (Stenson and Watt, 1999). Beckhoven and Van Kempen (2003) paint a striking image of this issue in their study by pointing out that 80 percent of high-income, pre-dominantly home owners, sent their children to schools outside of the local neighbourhood whereas the vast majority of social housing tenants made use of the local school.

2.5.3 Stigma of social housing

Stigma associated with social housing has been positioned as another key factor mediating cross-tenure interaction within mixed-tenure developments (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; Arthurson 2010; Carnegie et al. 2017). A qualitative study by Arthurson (2010) that touches on the role of stigma in debilitating the likelihood of cross-tenure interaction posits that the stigma associated with social housing fabricated certain, and often preordained, ideas of social housing tenants which performed to dampen the willingness of private-renters and homeowners to engage in cross-tenure interaction. In an Irish study conducted by Carnegie et al (2017) that explicitly focuses

on the issue it was found that social housing tenants had a strong sense of internal stigma and that it severely undermined the anticipated opportunities for cross-tenure interaction. Owing to, and stemming from the feelings of being internally stigmatised, social housing tenants often characterised the private-renters and owner-occupiers as unsociable, distant and faintly aloof. A similar narrative is provided by Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) who found that negative perceptions attached to social housing tenants hinders cross-tenure interaction from the get-go. In this study it emerged that private-renters and owners often held negative conceptions of social housing tenants and arbitrarily cited such tenants as the blame for neighbourhood problems. Again, as in the study of Carnegie et al (2017), social housing tenants had an acute awareness of the perceived disdain towards them which operated to make cross-tenure interaction less appealing. Indeed, stigma associated with social housing varies considerably across national contexts (Graham et al .2009). Where social housing is strongly residualised, such as in Ireland for that matter, it would appear that stigma is more pronounced, and thus results in the probability of cross-tenure interaction becoming more remote (Carnegie et al. 2017).

2.5.4 Summary

In summary, the international literature finds little evidence of social interaction between residents of different housing tenures in socially engineered mixed-tenure neighbourhoods. The findings which emerged in the studies thus make a case for scepticism surrounding the efficacy of social mix policies to facilitate cross-tenure interaction. Where social interaction does take place in socially engineered mixed-tenure neighbourhoods, however, it tends to be brief and infrequent, where social distances are modest, where the different tenures are spatially integrated and physically indistinguishable or where owners and private-renters have connections to the local area, such as children attending the local school or where social housing associated stigma is minimised. All in all, it would appear that within mixed-tenure neighbourhoods the different tenures tend to operate within different social worlds and live disparate lifestyles that rarely overlap.

2.6 Conceptual framework

The purpose of a conceptual framework is to illustrate the relationship between concepts and their impact on the phenomenon being investigated (Ngulube and Mathipa, 2015). Depicted

diagrammatically, the conceptual framework provides a scheme that highlights the main variables and key factors that are of interest to the research problem. The objective of this research is to gain an in-depth understanding into the intricacies of *how* and *why* cross-tenure interaction does or does not occur in the arena of socially engineered mixed-tenure estates. With this in mind, the conceptual framework designed and utilised for this research illustrates the key factors and variables that mediate social interaction within socially engineered mixed-tenure neighbourhoods.

To briefly summarise these factors: cross-tenure interaction within mixed tenure estates is mediated by (1) the degree to which the different tenures are spatially integrated and physically indistinguishable - in qualitative research this factor is realised by the extent to which residents feel the spatial lay out and physical arrangement intervenes in mediating cross-tenure interaction, (2) the degree to which lifestyles between tenures are felt among residents to either correspond or remain disparate - which includes: attachment to the local area, housing trajectories, time spent in the area and connections to the local area such as children attending the local school etc and, (3) the degree to which social housing associated stigma is minimised or pronounced as felt by residents. Each of these factors have been shown in the empirical studies to either *facilitate* or *debilitate* the opportunity for cross tenure interaction. The facilitative and debilitative strands of each factor can be seen in the figure. The use of this framework in the research strategy is to be detailed in the next chapter.
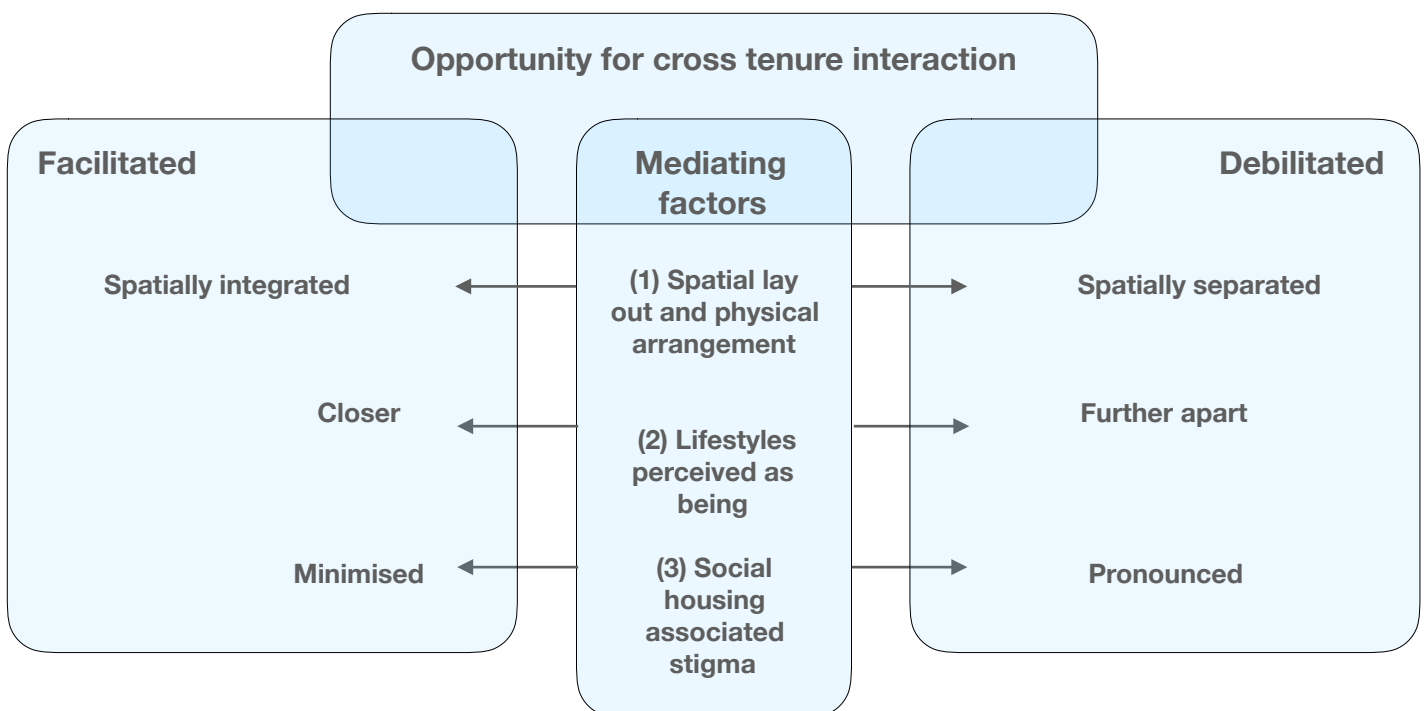

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter begins with a brief outline of the research question formulated to fulfil the purpose of this study. This is followed by a detailed account of the research methodology chosen to answer the research question. The intention is to make the reader aware of why a particular approach was chosen above others. Following this, a research strategy is provided that specifies the main stages of research activity undertaken in this study. Potential pitfalls of the research approach and the mitigating actions taken will be then detailed. The final section draws attention to a number of ethical duties upheld in this research.

3.1 Research question

The purpose of this study is to gain an in-depth understanding into the intricacies of how and why cross-tenure interaction does or does not occur in the arena of socially engineered mixed-tenure estates. The research questions and the subsequent research approach have been designed and chosen to facilitate this purpose. The central research questions have been formulated as follows:

(1) From the perspective of local residents, has the socially engineered tenure mixing of Fatima Mansions facilitated social interaction between and across varying tenures?

(2) What key factors intervene in facilitating or debilitating cross-tenure interaction within the estate?

These questions have been constructed in light of an effort to ground the debate on social mixing policies in the day-to-day lived experience of those who occupy the spaces of the policies implementation, the residents who inhabit the neighbourhoods dwellings.

3.2 Research methodology

In recent times, in Ireland but also elsewhere, there has been a lack of in-depth qualitative research into how and why cross-tenure interaction does or does not occur from the viewpoint of those most affected by the policies implementation (Arthurson, 2015; Lawton, 2015; Galster, 2012). Drawing attention to residents' understandings of the day-to-day lived experience of tenure diversification has taken a back seat to more quantitative inquiries within much of contemporary research on the subject (Galster, 2012; 2003; Lawton, 2015). The absence of more qualitative in-depth analyses has, in part, added fuel to the scepticism regarding the efficacy of social mix policies to facilitate cross-tenure interaction. As Galster (2012; 2003) suggests, the lack

of a more in-depth qualitative analyses that is grounded in the life experiences of those most affected by the policies implementation has ensured that the question of how cross-tenure contact will occur, following the tenure diversification of a neighbourhood, remains not at all clear.

While quantitative methods are useful in revealing the frequency of cross-tenure contact in a given location or uncovering statistical indicators such as median household income and unemployment patterns following tenure diversification or between neighbourhoods with varying levels of tenure mix; they provide little insight into the lived experience of tenure diversification for those who occupy the spaces of change and are therefor unequipped to answer the central research question and fulfil the purpose of this research as outlined above (Lawton, 2015; Arthurson 2008b). Gathering the information necessary to shed light on the lived experience of tenure diversification and to gain an in-depth understanding into the intricacies of how and why cross-tenure interaction does or does not transpire is something that can only be captured using a qualitative methodology (Darcy, 2007).

Qualitative research tends to utilise smaller sample sizes and employ data collection techniques such as interviews, focus groups, and observation to gain an in-depth understanding of the attitudes, experiences, and decisions of particular interactions within society that a more quantitative research methodology is less well placed to achieve (Anthamatten and Hazen, 2011). The research study reported in this paper utilises a fundamentally qualitative methodology in an effort to ground the debate on social mixing policies in the day-to-day lived experience of those most affected by tenure diversification policies, the residents who inhabit the neighbourhoods which have undergone change.

3.3 Qualitative case study methodology

A qualitative case study methodology has been deemed appropriate for this research on the basis that such an approach is particularly useful to employ when there is a requirement to attain an in-depth understanding of a complex issue in its real-life context (Crowe et al, 2011). It facilitates the research in answering how and why type questions, while considering how a specific phenomenon is influenced by the particular context within which it is located (Baxter and Jack, 2008). According to Yin (2009) the case study approach is to be considered when: (a) the focus of the research is to capture information on 'how', 'what' and 'why questions and (b) when the researcher wants to

cover contextual conditions because they are deemed relevant to the phenomenon under investigation. This particular research is concerned with (a) understanding the intricacies of how and why cross-tenure interaction does or does not occur within (b) a specific context and therefor a case study approach lends itself well to answering the research questions and supporting the overall purpose of the research.

Stake (1995) argues that once the researcher has determined that the use of a qualitative case study methodology is best positioned to answer the research questions and fulfil the overall purpose of the research, then the type of case study must be considered. For both Yin (2003) and Stake (1995) alike, the selection of a specific type of case study design is determined by the purpose of the study at hand. Stake (1995) categorises case studies as either intrinsic, instrumental or collective. An intrinsic case study is typically employed when the purpose of the research is to learn about a unique phenomenon. This type is to be used when the particularities of the case are themselves of interest. In contrast, the instrumental case study utilises a particular case to gain a broader understanding of an issue or phenomenon. This type holds that the case is of secondary interest; it is used to play a supporting role for gaining a broader understanding of something else (Stake, 1995). The collective case study, on the other hand, is employed to study multiple cases as a means to explore similarities and differences between cases (Baxter and Jack, 2008). An instrumental case study is employed in this research as the case study area is utilised not merely to gain an in-depth understanding of the research subject in a particular area; but to also play a supportive role in facilitating our understanding of the broader issue of how and why cross-tenure interaction does or does not transpire in socially engineered mixed-tenure estates.

3.3 Research strategy

The focus of this section is to point out the main stages of research activity undertaken in this case study. This includes: binding the case, providing a rational for the case selection; collecting data, deciding on a sample size as well as analysing the data (Crowe et al. 2011).

3.3.1 Binding the case

A common concern attributed to case study research is that researchers tend to have too broad a focus as a result of not clearly binding the case. In order to steer clear of this problem, Yin (2003) suggests that the researcher should place boundaries on the case study according to both time

and place. Binding the case will help ensure that the study remains within a reasonable scope. In light of this, this case study established a spatial boundary: Fatima Mansions estate in Dublin, Ireland; and a time boundary which was determined by the collection of data between the 20th of May to the 22nd of June 2020.

3.3.2 Selecting the case: Fatima Mansions, Dublin, Ireland

According to Crowe et al (2011) selecting a relevant case study is first and foremost determined by the capacity of the potential case to effectively aid the researcher in answering the research question. In relation to an instrumental case study, selecting a 'typical' case study works well (Baxter and Jack, 2008). For this particular research it was crucial to select a neighbourhood which had experienced socially engineered tenure mixing in order to support the aim of gaining an in-depth understanding into the intricacies of how and why cross-tenure interaction does or does not transpire within such estates. Fatima Mansions in Dublins south inner-city provides a befitting example of a neighbourhood which has undergone a process of intense tenure diversification (Carnegie et al. 2017). As part of the estates recent regeneration, tenure diversification has taken place through the demolition of local authority social housing units and their replacement with houses and low-rise apartment blocks (Carnegie et al. 2017). The original number and tenure of dwellings has subsequently changed from 394 all public rented dwellings to 180 public rented dwellings, 70 affordable dwellings sold at below market value and 396 private dwellings sold on the open market (Carnegie et al. 2017). The redevelopment of Fatima occurred within the context of the prevalent ideals and aspirations of social mix policies and thus provides an adequate opportunity to investigate the subject of this research in the Irish context.

Aside from the potential of the case study to answer the research question, the selected case study site should also allow the researcher access to the unit of analysis (ie. case study site and interview participants) under investigation (Crowe et al. 2011). Access is therefor a key consideration. The researcher is aided by the strength of their relationship to the case study site (Yin, 2003). The site chosen as a case study for this research is well known to the researcher and therefor gaining access to relevant individuals was without bother.

3.3.3 Data collection technique

In depth semi-structured interviews formed the backbone of this papers empirical investigation. This particular form of qualitative interview is commonly employed to elicit detailed narratives and stories and thus provides a useful tool for answering the questions underpinning the subject of this research (Whiting, 2008). Interviews were undertaken with residents occupying different tenures within the case study estate. A criterion sampling technique was used to select participants who met the specific criteria of those groups indicated in table 1 below (Silverman, 2013). All of the interviewees were recruited via targeted email and conducted by phone or online video chat. In many cases the participants were already known to the researcher. Participants not known to the researcher were recommended by initial participants.

The aim of the semi-structured interviews was to engage respondents in a discussion that elicited in-depth narratives and stories relevant to the themes emerging in the theoretical review (Whitings, 2008). However, the theoretical framework does not constitute a straight-jacket whereby interview responses are force-fitted to preconceived themes alone (Crowe et al. 2011). If the participant brought up an issue relevant to the topic of inquiry not reflected in the themes organising the interview they were encouraged to elaborate nevertheless. However, organising the interviews in relation to relevant themes helped to ensure that the discussion remained in line with the topic of inquiry (Whitings 2008).

To keep the interviews on track an interview road map was prepared which reflected the research questions and signposted key themes to help steer the interviews in the right direction. None of the interviews were uniform in character, however. Different participants attached added weight to the varying themes organising the interview. As such, a particular theme often became a central point of each interview respectively. Interviews often took a conversational tone which helped the interviewee feel comfortable. Questions pursued in the interviews were informed by the conceptual framework illustrated in chapter two. Each of the factors presented in the framework provided a theme from which questions could be formulated (Crowe et al. 2011).

As brought to attention in the theoretical chapter, the factors mediating cross-tenure interaction are felt differently according to tenure type (Morris et al. 2012). Subsequently, the interview questions varied depending on an individuals housing tenure. This gave the researcher the

opportunity to compare perspectives across the sample, while allowing participants to create narratives in response to questions that spoke to their particular experience or perspective.

3.3.4 Sample size and analysis

In qualitative research, saturation is commonly placed as a yardstick by which sample size is determined - when the researcher continues interviewing until few new themes or information emerge (Townsend, 2013). However, if saturation is not reached, it does not mean that the research findings are invalid, it simply entails that the topic is not fully explored (Morse, 1995). What mediates the validity to a greater extent is the 'depth' of data rather than the 'frequencies', so interview participants must be well placed to effectively represent the topic of the research (O'Reilly and Parker, 2012). As such, this research did not continue interviewing until saturation was reached. Instead, the number of interview participants was determined by the adequacy of the potential data to address the research questions underpinning this paper (Back and Edwards, 2012).

A total of 8 in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with residents across tenures from the local estate. Of these, 4 were public housing tenants, 3 were renting in the private sector and 1 was a private market owner. This breakdown of participant types was chosen to represent the overall neighbourhood tenure composition. The interviews were analysed thematically. As Yin (2009) points out, a distinction is to be made between inductive and deductive approaches of thematic analysis. An inductive approach allows the data to determine the themes while the deductive approach involves coming to the data with preconceived themes that are expected to be reflected in the data collection, based on theory or relevant empirical investigations. While this research adopted a deductive approach, this does not constitute a straight jacket and the case has not been force-fitted to reflect preconceived themes alone (Crowe et al. 2011). The thematic analysis thus allowed for and drew attention to unforeseen insights emerging in the interviews.

All of the interviews were recorded and transcribed, providing an in-depth source of empirical data for the research findings. The interview transcripts were collated by drawing together thematic issues as a means to capture patterns, similarities and differences (Rice and Ezzy, 1999).

Interviewee Category	Age	Length of Residence	Interview Code
Social Rental Tenant	36	36 Years	SR1
Social Rental Tenant	65	60 Years	SR2
Social Rental Tenant	41	20 Years	SR3
Social Rental Tenant	27	16 Years	SR4
Private Rental Tenant	28	3 Years	PR1
Private Rental Tenant	33	2 Years	PR2
Private Rental Tenant	28	1 Year	PR3
Private Owner Tenant	29	11 years	PO1

Table 1: Indicative interview outline

3.4 Potential pitfalls and mitigating actions

As with all research, the case study approach is not without limitations. These limitations have often centred around the capacity of the approach to produce results that are transferrable to other settings (Crowe et al. 2011). There are several mitigating actions that can be employed to address this concern, which are geared towards enhancing the overall quality and trustworthiness of the research (Baxter and Jack, 2008). A number of these are relevant to this study and detailed in this section.

Misinterpreting the findings emerging in the data collection has been placed as a key issue to consider when conducting case study research (Yin, 2003). In order to avoid this issue a respondent validation was undertaken. This action is utilised in case study research to ensure that participants are given the opportunity to clarify whether or not the interpretation of the researcher is accurate (Crowe et al. 2011). As such, all findings were shared with participants to test their accuracy. This often involved running a direct quote by a participant post-interview in order to ensure the researchers interpretation was accurate.

The positionally of the researcher provides another potential pitfall in case study research that requires attention. On the issue, Crowe et al (2011) suggest that the researcher must address their relationship to the case study site and illustrate how this might influence the research. The researcher, although not from the case study area, has grown up in close proximity and therefor

has an established rapport with a number of participants. While establishing a rapport with the case study group is necessary to allow participants feel at ease during interviews, it can also increase the likelihood of participants modelling answers based on what they feel is most beneficial to the researcher (Baxter and Jack, 2008). To steer clear of eliciting perceivably desirable findings, Whitings (2008) suggests that the purpose of the research should be emphasised clearly from the outset. In this research it was made clear that the quality of the findings is dependent on gaining a true insight into the research subject which is reliant on participants voicing their actual experiences of cross-tenure interaction within the case-study estate.

A third concern refers to the issue of maintaining transparency throughout the research process (Crowe et al. 2011). Transparency can be achieved through giving an in-depth account of the steps taken in the research - including: case selection, data collection and the reasons for the chosen method (Yin, 2009). Drawing guidance from a number of case study research articles and texts, the research strategy illustrated in the previous section outlines each of these steps and provides a rational for their use.

It became clear following the first interview that a strict set of questions hampers the flow of the interview. This stands particularly under the guide-lines (Covid 19 restrictions) to restrict interviews to phone-call, which meant that the usual cues of conversation recognised by body language and verbal indication were absent. Having received feedback from the first participant a number of changes were made to allow the interview take on a more conversational tone. From this point the remainder of the interviews were more fluid. While the researcher had a set of questions at their disposable during the interview - these questions operated to guide as opposed to dictating the conversation.

Finally, this research took place whilst Ireland, like much of Europe, was taken considerable actions towards mitigating the effects of Corona-virus. At the time of research, the Irish government had published a roadmap to recovery which set out a plan to ease restrictions in 5 phases. Data collection occurred during the 1st and 2nd phase of the roadmap which began on the 18th of May and was due to end, if all going well, on the 20th of June where phase 3 would begin. While a number of restrictions were lifted, the advice was 'to stay at home as much as you possibly

can' (https://www.gov.ie/en/publication/ad5dd0-easing-the-covid-19-restrictions-on-may-18-phase-1/). In line with these precautions, the interviews occurred through the use of phone call or online video chat. In terms of avoiding a corona-analysis, the interview questions were designed to elicit insights drawn from pre-Corona. This action proved to be unnecessary as participants themselves were quick to state that in order to provide an accurate depiction of the research topic they would mould their response in light of a more ordinary time.

3.5 Ethical duties

Ethical issues are of upmost concern when people are being interviewed (Whitings, 2008). Of particular importance is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that the interviewee is provided with sufficient information to make an informed choice about their involvement (Crowe et al. 2011). An email clearly stating the purpose of the research and what would be required of potential participants was sent to all recruits. In addition, participants were made aware that any information shared during interviews would remain confidential and their anonymity would be prioritised at all times (Whitings, 2008). Moreover, it was emphasised that the information shared with the researcher would not be passed on to others unless specific consent had been given.

Chapter 4: Overview of Case-study Site

The following chapter gives an overview of the case study site. The objective is to provide the reader with adequate background information regarding the re-development of Fatima Mansions and the subsequent tenure diversification which took place. This will involve detailing the Irish housing policy context through which the estates re-development unfolded, illustrating the estate before and after regeneration as well as providing a breakdown of the new tenure composition.

The current Fatima Mansions area, in Rialto, Dublin, is the outcome of a large scale redevelopment project which began in 2004. The original Fatima Mansions was developed in 1951 as a mono-tenure social housing estate. However, in the context of the demise of Dublin's traditional industry base in tandem with poor management policies, the estate had gone into a sharp decline by the 1980s. While Dublin Corporation invested considerably in refurbishment procedures during the mid-1980s, by the late 1990s, Fatima Mansions was stifled from significant social challenges including high unemployment levels, severe stigmatisation and an acute heroin problem (Fatima Community Regeneration Team, 2000).

Image 1: The original Fatima Mansions developed in 1951

As can be seen in image (1) above, the original Fatima Mansions included a series of 4 storey housing units. Each unit had four shared balconies. In total, the estate had 394 dwellings, all of which were public rented from local government (Carnegie et al. 2017).

It is important to view the transformation of Fatima Mansions within the context of the prevalent ideals of social mix policies (Lawton, 2015). The aim of achieving a more balanced social mix in areas of high concentration of local authority social housing being strongly in tune with central government housing policy at the time (Hearne and Redmond, 2014). Indeed, a central focus of the estates regeneration involved an intense bout of tenure diversification which had taken place through the demolition of local authority social housing units and their replacement with houses and low-rise apartment blocks (Carnegie et al. 2017). The original number and tenure of dwellings has subsequently changed from 394 all public rented dwellings to 180 public rented dwellings, 70 affordable dwellings sold at below market value and 396 private dwellings sold on the open market (Carnegie et al. 2017). Image (2) below illustrates the estate prior to the demolition of local authority social housing units. Image (3) and (4) show the estate following regeneration.

Image 2: Prior to regeneration in 2004

Image 3 and 4: Low rise apartment blocks and houses following regeneration

The regeneration of Fatima Mansions was undertaken through a public-private partnership approach (PPPs). This approach, which is commonly adopted in Ireland, entailed the regeneration of the estate through a public-private partnership whereby public land would be given over for development purposes, in return for social housing provision for those who are already housed on the estate (Lawton, 2015). Under the name of PPPs, a private developer would receive a part of the social housing site for free in order to develop and sell private-market housing and, in return, the city council would receive new social housing which would be developed on the remainder of the site (Hearne and Redmond, 2014).

For the government, this partnership (or exchange) was deemed to accomplish two goals: (1) it would provide regeneration at a zero cost to the public purse on the basis of the land swap and (2) the PPP approach was also positioned to address social exclusion and poverty by providing development gain to adequately fund effective social regeneration and community facilities in which traditional, state-funded, regeneration attempts had not achieved to any significant degree. Moreover, it would achieve the central government policy of a more balanced social mix of housing tenures (private, social, affordable) in estates of high concentration of local-authority housing (Hearne and Redmond, 2014).

The dramatic property boom in Ireland that occurred between the period from 1996 to 2007 set forth the key backdrop for the rise of public-private partnerships (PPPs) as a mechanism to regenerate social housing estates (Hearne and Redmond, 2014). Throughout the property boom, new house prices soared by 270 percent nationally and by 329 percent in Dublin City (MacLaran

and Kelly, 2014). A similar story is to be told in the second-hand market whereby prices increased by 375 percent. Stemming from a rapidly rising housing market, land prices increased substantially and, more importantly, the value of land in areas not considered appropriate for development before hand, also increased (Hearne and Redmond, 2014).

In line with a general shift in housing policy towards a more entrepreneurial approach, Dublin City Council decided to regenerate a number of inner-city social housing estates using the leverage of these rising land values (MacLaran and Kelly, 2014). Throughout the period from 1996 to 2007, on the wave of a booming property market, Dublin City Council was pursuing the regeneration of more than 12 large local authority (social housing) estates, all of which were located in the inner-city. Table (1) compares the original social housing numbers with the regeneration proposals of a number of inner-city estates that were selected for PPP induced regeneration during the period.

Estate	Original social-rented units	New mixed-tenure units estate total	New private units	New social units
Fatima Mansions	394	615	465 (75%)	150 (25%)
St Michaels Estate	346	885	720 (81%)	165 (19%)
St Teresa's Gardens	346	600	450 (75%)	150 (25%)
Dominick Street	198	360	240 (66%)	120 (34%)
O'Devaney Gardens	278	823	542 (66%)	281 (34%)
Total	1'562	3,283	2'417 (73%)	866 (27%)

Table 2: Regeneration proposals through PPP between 1996 - 2007 (Hearne, 2011)

Indeed, private developers entered these partnerships on the presumption that land values and housing prices would continue to rise (Hearne and Redmond, 2014). From 2007, and into 2008, however, Irish property prices fell dramatically. In the period between 2007 to 2012 residential property prices fell by more than 50 % (Central Statistics Office, 2013). As a result, the anticipated profit margins for private developers, coming from the sale of private residential units, from which the economic viability of PPP induced regeneration was based on, dwindled dramatically. The majority of regeneration projects that had reached contract in 2007 were subsequently deemed very high-risk schemes for private developers (Maclaran and Kelly, 2014). The reality facing a number of these local authority housing communities was that they were no longer living on sites

high in land-value and profitability, which had formed the basis of the PPP model (Hearne and Redmond, 2014). Consequently, in 2008, Dublin City Council announced that, owing to private developer disengagement, a number of regeneration projects across the city were to be postponed until there was an upturn in the market and PPP became viable once more (Dublin City Council, 2009). Of the 12 estates originally selected for regeneration, only Fatima Mansions was completed.

The redevelopment that transpired saw the social housing stock reduce from 394 to 180 dwellings (Carnegie et al. 2017). Much of the original Fatima community being re-housed outside of the estate, often in one of Dublin's outer suburbs (Hearne and Redmond, 2014). Image (5) illustrates the position of housing tenures within the new mixed-tenure development. The regeneration of Fatima Mansions also saw the development of a community centre which includes an indoor sports hall, an outdoor all weather pitch, an art studio, conference facilities as well and an education and training room (Lawton, 2015). Other facilities built through the redevelopment include a new gym, a crèche as well as a community café (Carnegie et al. 2017). Image (6) and (7) show the new community centre and public space (left) and the all weather pitch following regeneration (right).

Image 5: Housing tenure position within new mixed-tenure development

Image 6 and 7: F2 Community Centre, public space and all weather pitch following regeneration

While the public-private partnership approach made the case (claimed) that the regeneration of Fatima Mansions would be zero cost to the public purse, the City Council had to invest several million euro to fund, develop and adequately manage the public housing aspect of the project, including supplying a significant staff support for the functioning of the community centre (Hearne and Redmond, 2014).

The next chapter will present the findings of this case-study research. This chapter has sought to provide the reader with adequate background information in relation to the place-specific policy context through which the estates tenure diversification has transpired, chapter (5) will attempt to unravel whether or not cross-tenure interaction has occurred or not from the perspective of residents. Moreover, these perspectives will draw attention to the intricacies of how and why such interaction occurs or does not within an Irish context specifically.

Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion

Interviews with residents revealed that both social renters and private renters/owners tend to live disparate lives within the estate. Lifestyle, socio-spatial boundaries and social housing associated stigma emerged as the dominant factors mediating cross-tenure interaction. What follows is a presentation and discussion of these three separate threads. The two central research questions formulated will be utilised to structure the following chapter. The first section is concerned with simply answering the question of: (1) From the perspective of local residents, has the socially engineered tenure mixing of Fatima Mansions facilitated social interaction between and across varying tenures? The second section deals with the key factors emerging in the interviews which intervene in mediating cross-tenure interaction, and seeks to answer the question of: (2) What key factors intervene in facilitating or debilitating cross-tenure interaction within the estate? It is in this section that the purpose of this study can be realised: to gain an in-depth understanding into the intricacies of how and why cross-tenure interaction does or does not occur in the arena of socially engineered mixed-tenure estates. The participant outline is positioned below in order to remind the reader of the participants tenure type when interpreting the findings presented in this chapter.

Interviewee Category	Age	Length of Residence	Interview Code
Social Rental Tenant	36	36 Years	SR1
Social Rental Tenant	65	60 Years	SR2
Social Rental Tenant	41	20 Years	SR3
Social Rental Tenant	27	16 Years	SR4
Private Rental Tenant	28	3 Years	PR1
Private Rental Tenant	33	2 Years	PR2
Private Rental Tenant	28	1 Year	PR3
Private Owner Tenant	29	11 years	PO1

Table 1: Indicative interview outline

5.1 Has cross-tenure interaction occurred?

Consistent with the international research, interviewees revealed that both social renters and private renters/private owners tend to live disparate lives within the estate. With little exception,

residents of the varying tenures repeatedly declared that both groups tend to live a form of tectonic co-existence with little interaction occurring between them. A typical response was:

> I would rarely see people from Reuben street (home owners) or the apartments (private renters) mixing with people from Fatima (social renters). It is like two different worlds co-existing and living alongside each other with little or no overlap from what I have seen. (Participant, PO1)

> For me, the social aspect of living here, the social side of it is something that stops when you leave the council part of the estate. (Participant, SR4)

Where interaction does occur across tenure lines it tends to be brief and infrequent. This viewpoint stands equally for social renters and private renters/owners alike. Residents from the different tenures note that interaction is commonly reduced to a passing 'hello'.

> When I leave the building I'm passing the social housing but I don't really interact with those people because we do not know each other, and we never have a chance to meet or anything so it is never more than just a passing hello at most. (Participant, PR1)

This viewpoint is similarly reflected by a social housing tenant who depicts the briefness and limited scope of interaction that takes place with private renters/owners within the estate:

> In the private part of the estate, well that might as well be no-mans land if you know what I mean. I haven't got anything out of the people living there, not more than a non of the head really. (Participant, SR4)

A related finding that emerged in the research that is less evident in the international research on social mix is that interaction among residents within the estate was confined almost entirely to social housing tenants. In discussions about social interaction with residents across tenures within the estate, private renting tenants were swift to express that although cross-tenure interaction was brief and infrequent, interaction with other private renters/owners was only marginally more

frequent. One respondent summarises the lack of social interaction within the private renting apartments well in suggesting that:

> I wouldn't have a notion about anyone in this building really. People are just doing their own thing, getting up and going to work, coming home and that's it, well it seems like that for me in anyway. (Participant, PR2)

Another private renting tenant describes a similar situation whereby interaction with residents from the same tenure appears to be remote:

> I mean like, our next door neighbour, we kind of talk to each other every now and then. Apart from that, a lot of our neighbours, yeah there is not a lot going on in the direct area so there is a sense of you would only see people as they are coming and going, so you don't really have a whole lot of interaction other than saying hello as you pass them. (Participant, PR1)

While private renters/owners suggest that social interaction is fairly scant in relation to both cross-tenure interaction and interaction with residents from their own tenure; it became clear in the interviews that the reasons behind the lack of interaction with social housing tenants differs considerably to the reasons declared for other private renters/owners. The next section of this chapter will attempt to tease apart these differences as well as more broadly drawing attention to the key factors that intervene in debilitating cross-tenure interaction within the estate.

5.2 Key factors mediating cross-tenure interaction

The following section is structured around three key themes that emerged from the interviews: the varying tenures living disparate lifestyles, the role of spatial boundaries which are both physical and felt, and social housing associated stigma. Together these three themes highlight how the socio-spatial orderings of the respondents' daily lives are constituted and how these orderings inform their experience and anticipated opportunity for cross-tenure interaction within the estate. Each of these themes are to be discussed in turn.

5.2.1 Lifestyle factors

Lifestyle is consistently noted as an important factor determining whether social interaction occurs between housing tenure groups (Morris et al, 2012). The following sub-section will attempt to disentangle and present some of the important lifestyle factors mediating cross-tenure interaction within the case study estate.

Throughout the interviews it was revealed that private and public tenants use the neighbourhood in different ways. It emerged that the former tend to conduct large parts of their lives outside of the estate whereas public tenants tended to use the estate for the majority of their family and social activities. PR3 explains:

> We (private renters) spend most of our time out of the place, hardly know each other, whereas in that part (council part) it seems like they all get along, it has a kind of neighbourhood feel. If I look down from my balcony, you would always see kids knocking on doors, calling for their mates, kicking ball, that doesn't really resemble life in the apartments. Sometimes I feel like I'm just observing a place from my little balcony but I'm not a part of it, more of a spectator. (Participant, PR3)

In contrast, discussions with social housing tenants on their use of the neighbourhood revealed that such tenants regard the neighbourhood as an important social arena where much of their lives transpire:

> I suppose almost everything happens outside your front door, birthday parties and all that stuff, stuff is always happening. In this part (council part) of the estate the street is used as a sort of communal space, it is not just a place to get from A to B do you know what I mean, it's where life happens, it's where you meet someone who needs their kitchen painted, needs a chat, needs a favour or whatever. It's a bit like the arteries of the estate. Sure on any day people are standing outside their doors chatting with each other. (Participant, SR4)

The stark difference between the varying rhythms of both the private and public parts of the estate was felt by another social housing tenant who suggests that:

> In the private part, no one is ever standing around there, never any music playing, there is an atmosphere here, UB-40 blaring out of a speaker right now, people on the street, young-ones sunning themselves, kids out on their bikes, things are happening, yeah there is an atmosphere here. (Participant, SR3)

In teasing apart the apparent mismatch in terms of use that exists between the council and private part of the estate - it emerged in the interviews that the rhythm of work constitutes the daily lives of private renters/owners to a strong degree. This is not to say that the same ordering does not operate in the council part of the estate; it is to say, however, that owing to a broader age mix in the council part, other rhythms ensure that the street is kept busy at more times of the day. The ramifications of these varying rhythms for cross-tenure interaction is expressed by a private renter who explains that:

> In the council part, there is a bigger mix of ages, you would have kids, adults and older people, everyone in these apartments is roughly the same age I would say. I think the age of people means that they spend less time in the area. It is all about work at this age, you are kind of working to pay the rent, and that is the way it is. Looking at where I grew up, it was the same thing, you would have had a big mix of ages, not just working age, that means that the neighbourhood is used in more ways than just a place to sleep really. I guess our part of the estate operates on the work time, it is dead for most of the day. On the other hand, because the council part has a bigger mix of ages, it has more life, stuff happening throughout the day, more time for mingling. (Participant, PR3)

Another lifestyle factor identified in the data revolves around the varying levels of neighbourhood attachment that the different tenures within the estate exhibit. In accordance with the international literature, it became clear in numerous discussions that public tenants tend to have a strong bond with the estate whereas private renters tend to have a more weak to moderate bond. Often, private renters pointed out that their predominant social ties were with their old neighbourhoods, usually where they grew up. Owing to the depth of long-standing bonds in which many private renters have with their old neighbourhood - they often have an extensive social network within that area and there seems to be no room or perceived need for the forging of new contacts:

I think because I lived close, I kind of already have a sense of community not too far from where I am living at the moment (Fatima) so it is easier to ignore the fact that I do not have one here because I have one close by. I kind of see it as a support network. If you have a community, family and friends close by you don't really need to have that in this area. (Participant, PR1)

Cut from a similar cloth, another private renting tenant voices that the perceived need for interaction within the estate is dampened by the strong bond that is tied to a former neighbourhood:

I don't really mind that (speaking on the lack of interaction with other residents in the estate), sure I can just pop down to my mams house anytime, it is only ten minutes on bike so I would spend a lot of time down there still. I would have friends over when I want, they live close by so I'm not missing out on anything, would be different if I lived here and had no one close by, probably be a lot worse to be honest. (Participant, PR3)

While for private tenants the perceived need for interaction across tenures was, to some degree, diminished by an already established set of social networks in a former lived neighbourhood; for social renters the perceived need for forming cross-tenure relations was lessened by the feeling that the private tenants operated in circles different and often distant to their own. As such, the anticipated need for forming cross-tenure relations appeared socially unprofitable:

The reason people in the council part are close comes out of necessity, like a community is built on being able to play your part, being able to do something for someone that can help them in a way. I will give you an example, if a young lad here needs a job, he has a sort of network in this part of the estate that facilitates that, like if he wants to be a painter, someone will give him a start, that is how I got my foot in the door. On the other hand, what sort of opportunities could someone in the apartments (private renter) give to a young lad here, most of them probably work in jobs where you need a degree or qualification, they can't exactly extend that opportunity to someone here, the bridge is a bit too far if you know what I'm saying. (Participant, SR4)

Throughout a number of discussions it was revealed that even when residents declared an outspoken preference for establishing cross-tenure interactions, the route to carry out such interactions was not distinctly visible. One private renting tenants depicts the anticipated benefits of establishing a degree of familiarity within the estate before detailing the lack of certainty felt in navigating the intricacies of forming an initial contact with residents across tenure lines:

> Those little meetings are what make you feel a part of an area. It is nice to walk down the street and see familiar faces, stop and have a chat. That adds so much to living in a place. I suppose it is what counts when it comes to feeling a part of an area - that you are a part of the furniture in some small way and that is missing big time for me. (Participant, PR3)

> When it comes down to it I am just another one of those people living in the apartments that don't get involved in the area. Where do you start, how do you break the seal, what am I going to do - just walk down there, I don't want to step on anyones toes. (Participant, PR3)

A similar story is to be told in relation to social housing tenants who are also unclear of how exactly to go about forming initial relations with private tenants:

> Where do you start. Do you just go over to the apartments and hand out fliers or something. I don't know like. We should try more to make this place feel more like we all live together and not separate like it is at the moment. I think if they (private renters/owners) felt like we were interested in getting to know them in some shape or form, that could go along way, could put the wheels in motion. (Participant, SR4)

Another finding that emerged in the interviews which fits within the broader topic of lifestyle factors regards the presence of children and schools in the estate. As pointed out in chapter two, a number of studies have suggested that children's play facilitates interaction across tenure lines (Arthurson, 2010; Beckhoven and Van Kempen, 2003; Jupp, 1999). It is suggested that households with children are likely to conduct more social activities within the neighbourhood which can stimulate cross-tenure contact between parents. Within the case study estate, however,

it emerged that children from the varying tenures tend to rarely meet, living a similarly distant existence to adult residents:

> I never see kids out around there (private part), out on their bikes or anything like that, I can see a family around there from my balcony, the two little kids do be on the balcony everyday with their toys, but they seem to be just stuck on that balcony. I wonder all the time would they not let them out and play with the other kids. (Participant, SR3)

> Them kids are never going to meet. Kids from the apartments all play inside the apartment complex behind the gates. You would have kids from Fatima (council part) walking up and down outside the gates screaming in and throwing things at the kids inside the gates. It is a very stark image. It is almost like the kids behind the gates are being protected from the area around them. (Participant, PO1)

Looking further than children's play patterns, it was identified that the children form varying tenure backgrounds tend to attend different schools:

> I suppose the upwardly mobile (private tenants), I don't like saying that, but the newer residents, a lot of them kids go to the educate together so there is that kind of segregation in education as well (Participant, PO1)

On discussing the potential of educational integration for establishing cross-tenure interaction within the estate - one respondent explains:

> I think with the kids mixing, that is how you integrate these separate groups (different tenures), because kids don't hold the same prejudice or such an acute awareness of the difference between them so I really feel like if they were in the same school then they would mix a lot more. (Participant, PO1)

Discussion

The findings imply that private tenants generally live busy lives that are dominated by the rhythm of work. This, in tandem with the finding that such tenants are not wholly tied to the local estate, means that there is little time or opportunity for mixing with other residents, no matter what the tenure type (as shown in the UK by Jupp 1999; and in the Netherlands by Beckhoven and Van Kempen, 2003). Far from being oblivious, social housing tenants appear to have an acute sense of these varying rhythms which coincide within the estate. Such tenants often characterise private tenants as a population who is in constant motion - either coming or going and therefor the anticipated opportunity for interaction is diminished. It was also revealed that for some social housing tenants establishing cross-tenure ties was deemed to be of little importance on the basis that residents from other tenures were perceived as moving in circles distant to their own and therefor had little to offer (as shown in Sweden by Galster, 2008). Striking a different chord, however, it emerged that a considerable amount of residents interviewed declared an outspoken preference for cross-tenure mixing. Notwithstanding this preference, it was identified that they were often unsure of how to navigate the tenure divide (Blokland and Van Eijk, 2010). As a final lifestyle factor, it was suggested in numerous discussions that owing to the use of separate play areas/schools, children from the different tenures have little interaction and rarely meet. Indeed, such a finding means that the parents of such children are also less likely to meet and create ties (Beekman et al. 2001).

5.2.2 Socio-spatial boundaries

The findings of this study concur with the international literature on social mix that highlights the important role in which the spatial layout and physical arrangement of mixed tenure developments can play in facilitating or debilitating cross-tenure interaction. Within the study it was revealed that residents have an acute awareness of the spatial distinctiveness and separation which exists between public and private housing. Consistently, residents expressed the viewpoint that the visual distinctions and spatial separation between tenure types present in the estate acted to exacerbate internal social and symbolic hierarchies, which hampered the anticipated opportunity for cross-tenure interaction:

I suppose on some level it is clear. I know that they (social housing tenants) live there, on that street, in those type of houses whereas this building is separate and looks different too. What does that do though? For me, it kind of illuminates, to some extent, the different groups who live here. Like little pockets of difference all in the same place of about a one minute walk. What is the word I'm looking for, I suppose it accentuates the differences. (Participant, PR2)

Another private renting tenant explicitly depicts the effect in which the visual distinctiveness of tenure type has on the potential for cross-tenure interaction within the estate. It is expressed that the easily identifiable tenure mix impeded interaction between residents of different tenures and also had a powerful symbolic segregational impact:

I think it is easier to interact with people that have something in common with you. If your living in a house that is a bit more run down and somebody else lives in a really nice apartment then it is difficult. One side of that group might feel a bit awkward about talking to the other side whereas if they both live in a similar looking accommodation it would probably be easier. That probably shouldn't be a reason but I see it as something that splits people. It drives us apart. (Participant, PR1)

Adding complexity to the findings noted above, one social housing tenant expresses the viewpoint that the distinction, although detrimental to cross-tenure interaction, evokes an identity value that perhaps trumps the potential benefits of a more spatially integrated tenure division:

When there is that difference it makes it easier to create those differences in your head doesn't it. It kind of puts a tag on you I suppose, makes you different to them (private tenants) from the very start. On the other hand, it is not like people living in the council part are ashamed of it, so you could interpret the distinction as something like a badge that gives a feeling of identity. (Participant, SR4)

The position of the varying tenures within the estate was also cited as problematic in terms of facilitating a lack of cross-tenure interaction. In accordance with that brought to attention in the International literature, residents identify that the location of private housing which clusters at the

fringes of the development means that such tenants had no need to use the heart of the neighbourhood - and therefore had less opportunities for interaction. One private renter explains:

> I have no reason to go there either (the heart of the area). My apartment block is on the outskirts of the estate, so I am more of an observer of that part than a participant really. That sounds weird but it is true. (Participant, PR2)

Another resident details a similar situation in stating that the peripheral position of the private residents accommodation within the estate ensures that the opportunity for interacting is stifled:

> The way that it is built. The council part is where there is a small football pitch, there is a community centre, there is a butchers and things like that and then there is a gym too. After that is the private area which is out more towards the Luas (Dublins rail service), out more towards the street. They do not (private tenants) come into the part of the area where all the stuff is. You just wouldn't see them there. (Participant, SR3)

For one social housing resident the separation of housing tenures meant that parts of the estate have become ghettoised according to tenure:

> When you just put one part of the area social and one part private you create a little ghetto inside the place - a ghettoisation. (Participant, SR3)

In addition to the socio-spatial boundaries that derive from the spatial layout and physical arrangement of the different tenures, it emerged that a series of less visible lines marked the socio-spatial landscape with an equally influential governance. It surfaced in numerous discussions that various parts of the estate take on coded meaning which communicate that people are invited or not. For residents, it was often expressed in subtle ways to them that a particular part of the estate had come to be perceived as a territory of a particular tenure:

> You can definitely feel these kind of invisible lines. If I pass through the council part it feels like I am walking into a place that is not mine. Im not a part of it, it is a bit uncomfortable - like you are trespassing or something. (Participant, PR2)

It is strange, it is almost like there is a divided line, an unofficial divided line, an invisible line but you know it is there like. It is definitely felt, definitely is. (Participant, SR3)

In providing an example of a particular space within the estate where such lines are present, one resident reveals that certain spaces are strongly perceived as the territory of social housing tenants only. Private residents were reluctant to get involved in, for instance, the community cafe or activities provided by the community centre owing to the perception that such spaces were the territory of social housing tenants:

See where the cafe is in the centre of the estate? I would never go there, have no need to. As well as that - I don't know anyone around there. That is for locals I suppose. (Participant, PR2)

I know there is a community centre that does a lot of stuff, but what am I going to do? Walk down there and just say how can I help? I don't want to step on anyones toes. (Participant, PR2)

Other spaces within the estate, however, have become occupied by private tenants. One private owner expresses the position that the community garden has come to signify a space to be used by private tenants exclusively:

The community garden is a strong signifier of the way the different tenures don't overlap. It is mostly used by Reuben street residents (private owners). You do not see kids out of Fatima (council part) using it. Now it is a local man from Fatima who runs it - but the people from Fatima don't get involved in it that much. I know with the homework club they had a slot set up to bring the kids from Fatima in. The residents kicked up a fuss because the kids out of Fatima were walking on their rhubarb or something. They did not want them in there anymore after that. (Participant, PO1)

Discussion

Within the study it was revealed that residents have an acute awareness of the spatial distinctiveness and separation which exists between public and private housing. Consistently, residents expressed the viewpoint that the visual distinctions and spatial separation between tenure types present in the estate performed to exacerbate internal social and symbolic hierarchies, which hampered the anticipated opportunity for cross-tenure interaction (as previously shown in Ireland by Carnegie et al. 2018). Ultimately, this distinction operated to reinforce the dialectic of 'us' and 'them' - a finding already outlined in previous research, which has been shown to debilitate the anticipated potential for interaction (Lelévrier, 2013).

A second situation - the location of private housing which clusters at the fringes of the development meant that such tenants had no need to use the heart of the neighbourhood - and therefore had less opportunities for interaction with social housing tenants who clustered in the center of the development (as shown in France by Lelévrier, 2013).

A third situation - the estate was also felt to be marked by socio-spatial boundaries which appeared to take on meaning and communicate to residents their invitation, or lack thereof, within certain spaces situated within the estate. Notably, it was identified that particular spaces have gained territorial significance to be used exclusively by private tenants or social tenants respectively (Norris et al. 2019).

5.2.3 Social housing associated stigma

Stigma associated with social housing has been positioned in the literature as a key factor mediating cross-tenure interaction within mixed tenure developments. In accordance with the literature, it was revealed in numerous discussions that stigma towards social housing meant that private tenants had certain preordained perspectives of social housing tenants which operated to discourage cross-tenure interaction:

> I would say half the people in these apartments (private tenants) are afraid of their life
> to mix with the locals to be honest, they are not used to that. (Participant, PR3)

My perception before I moved here was unfair you know. I was judging the area before I knew it properly. I think that is something the area struggles with. I have lived here for 3 years and I can see that happening - people not wanting to come to the area or not wanting to interact with people from the area because they have a certain perception of the place. (Participant, PR1)

In many situations private tenants openly declared the negative perceptions that exist towards social housing tenants in tandem with acknowledging that such perceptions were often unwarranted and based more on fiction than reality:

You know how it is, social housing is given a bad wrap in this country really. We tend to associate with a certain type or group of people. It is very easy to paint a load of people with the same brush (Participant, PR3).

This estate, let's be honest, it used to have a bad name. People have been running the place down for years - they probably do that without even knowing anyone living here. (Participant, PR3)

On a number of occasions, private residents depicted concrete situations in which perceptions took on an active role to fuel certain ideas and actions. For instance, one private tenant holds that it is often assumed that different problems are automatically perceived to be the responsibility of social housing residents:

I would hear people in the corridor moaning about the litter on the street or about music being played late at night. The blame without any real evidence is almost always directed at the council part and that is unfair isn't it. (Participant, PR3)

Another private owner expresses the viewpoint that:

There is a reason those parents (private tenants) are not putting their kids into the likes of James' street school and putting them elsewhere - you would wonder what is the

reason - do they not want their kids mixing with working class kids. What are the fears they hold around that - what do they think is going to happen. (Participant, PO1)

Social housing tenants often had an astute awareness of the perceived disdain towards them which fed into the creation of negative perceptions towards private tenants:

The private renters don't get a look in around here. I think they think they are better than the people from here - do you know that sort of way. When you look at them they think they are better than people from here - when you say you are from Fatima everyone says 'scumbags' down there, but not everyone is a scumbag do you know what I mean. (Participant, SR1)

It was expressed on few occasions that the former perception of Fatima Mansions as a troubled estate has not entirely gone away and that such perceptions discourage interaction. On this point, social housing tenants often spoke of how they felt that the idea of Fatima as a troubled estate lingered in the imaginations of those moving into the area. Social housing residents explicitly state that such perceptions undermine the anticipated opportunity for interaction on the part of private tenants:

Fatima was sort of notorious wasn't it. This place was a no-go for a long time. Has that gone away? To some extent it has, but not entirely. It takes a long time for peoples perceptions of a place to change. I think that people moving here might be still a bit cautious of Fatima Mansions - like it still carries a certain idea (Participant, SR4)
I feel like they sort of have an already made up idea of the place and that acts to keep them at arms length in a way (Participant, SR4)

In discussions about how these perceptions towards social housing tenants manifest - residents declared openly that the idea of social housing as a tenure is in itself deemed to be problematic and often stigmatised in the publics imagination. Within the estate, these perceptions appear to carry through and arise despite the little interaction that takes place between social and private tenants. For one resident, the efficacy of mixed-tenure developments to incite interaction across tenure lines was severely hampered by the negative connotations attributed to social housing:

I think the idea of social housing has to change in Ireland if these kinds of neighbourhoods are going to work. Peoples ideas of social housing are already set in a way. Why is it automatically associated with being low-income you know. Unfortunately, people moving in carry that mentality and it works against making any meaningful relations. (Participant, PR3)

Discussion

As aforementioned, the Irish public housing sector has contracted significantly in recent decades - housing 18.4% of the population in 1961 to just 9.7% in 2016 (Carnegie et al. 2018). The tenure is now strongly residualised - dominated by low-income and marginalised households. Not surprisingly, the tenure has become a prime candidate for stigmatisation. As a yardstick of the tenures stigmatised position, it emerged in the research that the stigma associated with social housing meant that private tenants had specific perspectives of social housing tenants which discourages cross-tenure interaction. Consistent with other Irish studies, the findings maintain that social housing is stigmatised by private tenants, even though there is little interaction between tenures. These findings thus suggest that perceptions carry weight and whether or not such perceptions are based on reality is a moot point, as the stigma towards social housing appears to hamper the anticipated opportunity for cross-tenure interaction (as also shown in the UK by Graham et al. 2009). In accordance with other Irish studies that consider the implications of stigma on cross-tenure interaction, social housing tenants in this study held an acute awareness of the perceived disdain towards them which, in turn, operated to make cross-tenure interaction less appealing (Carnegie et al. 2017).

Chapter 6: Key lessons for policy

This research has implications for Irish social housing policy and also for planning practice related to the design of mixed-tenure developments and regeneration schemes. In relation to Irish social housing policy a key concern surrounds the stigmatised nature of social housing and the negative impact such stigma has on the potential of social interaction occurring across tenure lines. While ameliorating the stigma associated with social housing would entail widening the use of social housing to a broader range of incomes and a departure from the conception of the tenure as - a tenure of last resort - (not strictly low-income and benefit dependent households) - ensuring that the segregation of social rented and private renting/home owner tenants is avoided within these developments would help prevent the formation of stigma induced hierarchies amplified by micro-spatial segregation. This research indicates that a number of planning strategies should be taken into consideration by policy makers if micro-spatial segregation is to be averted:

> Within the case study estate, residents either side of the tenure division declared that the clustering of their dwellings in separate blocks was a form of segregation that rendered residents of the varying tenure types as easily identifiable; hampered interaction between residents of the different tenures; and also evoked strong feelings of 'us' and 'them'. The majority of residents felt that the dispersal of private housing units across the development, rather than its concentration at the peripheries of the estate, would have led to more desirable outcomes. Therefore, the strategy of socially engineering mixed tenure developments should be complimented by design that limits the potential for internal hierarchies and stigma to develop by making public housing and private housing as indistinguishable as possible.

> Mixed tenure developments should also be cognisant of the positionally of facilities and amenities within the estate. For example, it was found in the research that much of the facilities and amenities are positioned in the council part of the estate, leading to the formation of tenure specific preserves. Whether or not such spatial preserves are based on reality is a moot point, as the perception that a particular space is the sole preserve of social housing residents was sufficient in discouraging private tenants from using such spaces.

> The community centres commonly situated in mono-tenure public housing estates may not be efficacious in facilitating cross-tenure interaction in mixed-tenure developments as they can become identified as the proprietorship of social housing residents. This was indeed the case in the case-study estate. The policy implementation of social mix should be therefore complimented by community buildings that produce a sense of equality for residents. Such buildings that provide a wider range of services - that also correspond to the needs of middle-income groups - are likely to be more effective in stimulating the mixed-tenure interaction.

> The evidence from the case study estate examined here affirms that cross-tenure interaction - through tenure mixing - is difficult to operationalise in existing, highly stigmatised former mono-tenure social housing estates. It was revealed that the former stigmatised reputation of Fatima Mansions remains in the imaginations of those moving into the estate. The construction of small scale public housing developments in mixed-income urban quarters may therefor be a more sufficient instrument to combat social housing stigma than tenure mixing former mono-tenure social housing estates.

> Lastly, the research reinforces that the focus on design is important; however, it also indicates that a focus on design and tenure position alone is insufficient in inciting interaction across and between tenures. These factors must be embedded in the wider context of macro level socio-economic inequalities and the stigmatised perception towards social renters which were reflected in the micro-level divisions at the estate level.

6.1 Avenues for further research

Further consideration needs to be directed at the relationship between tenure and social mix. It is often implicit in Irish housing policy that social mix is achieved through tenure diversification. However, the dynamics of social mixing between various social groups transcends this division. In reality, social mixing at the estate scale also hinges on the presence of distinct social groups within public housing, private-owner housing and private-rental housing. Further research on social mixing policies in an Irish context could benefit from emphasising factors such as income mix.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The findings of this research indicate that propinquity in space does not facilitate social interaction between residents across housing tenures in the case-study estate. This research is consistent with the findings of a considerable international research body, that suggests social housing residents and private rental/owner tenants lead disparate lifestyles and rarely meet within mixed-tenure developments. A major quandary is that tenure diversification policies are at odds with current Irish social housing policies, which presently target exclusively deprived households (low-income and benefit dependent households). The resultant stigma anchored to a residualised social housing system ensures that social interaction with residents across housing tenures is more of a fictitious hope than a reality.

The findings also imply that propinquity in space is an overly simplistic rationale and that the socio-spatial landscape of mixed-tenure developments is fraught with intricacies that are depreciated by advocates of social mixing policies. Residents' lifestyles, socio-spatial boundaries and social housing associated stigma are all critical mediating factors for cross-tenure interaction and demand due concern.

In illustrating that homeowners, private renters and public housing tenants lead disparate lives which rarely overlap, the study suggests that the idea of building shared social networks may no longer be in concert with the realities of contemporary social life. Put crudely, the findings connote that this may be an unrealistic expectation and an outdated ideal of social mix policies - and that it is not necessarily a strict prerequisite for a functional, socially cohesive neighbourhood (Arthurson et al. 2015). This is particularly relevant to strongly residualised social housing systems such as Ireland where a finer scale of social mix seems more likely to heighten awareness of differences between tenures - which can lead to internal stigma and community disruption as found in the case study estate. Overall, the findings of this research imply that is justifiable to persist in the interrogation of social mixing policies. In sum, as one resident concisely articulates:

I think the idea of social housing has to change in Ireland if these kinds of neighbourhoods are going to work. Peoples ideas of social housing are already set in a way. Why is it automatically associated with being low-income you know. Unfortunately, people moving in carry that mentality and it works against making any meaningful relations. (Participant, PR3)

Chapter 8: References

Allen, C, Camina, M, Casey, R, Coward, S and Wood, M (2005). Mixed Tenure, Twenty Years On – Nothing Out of the Ordinary, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York.

Arthurson K. (2013b). "Mixed Tenure Communities and the Effects on Neighbourhood Reputation and Stigma: Residents' Experiences from Within." Cities 35: 432–438.

Arthurson, K (2008) 'Australian public housing and the diverse histories of social mix', Journal of Urban History, vol.34, pp. 484-501.

Arthurson, K (2008b). The role of qualitative research in identifying residents' perspectives about social mix, in Maginn, PJ, Thomson, S, and Tonts, M (eds), Qualitative Housing Analysis: An International Perspective, 209–225.

Arthurson, K. (2007). Social mix and social interaction: Do residents living in different housing tenures mix. In Paper for the conference of the European Network for Housing Research, Rotterdam (Vol. 2528).

Arthurson, K. (2012). "Social Mix, Reputation and Stigma: Exploring Residents Experiences of Neighbourhood Effects." In Neighbourhood Effects Research: New Perspectives, edited by M. Van Ham, D. Manley, N. Bailey, C. Simpson, and D. MacLennan, 101–119. London, Berlin: Springer.

Arthurson, K. (2013a). "Neighbourhood Effects and Social Cohesion: Exploring the Evidence in Australian Urban Renewal Policies." In Neighbourhood Effects or Neighbourhood Based Problems? A Policy Context, edited by M. Van Ham, 251–268. Dordrecht: Springer.

Atkinson, R. & Kintrea, K. (2000) Owner occupation, social mix and neighbourhood impacts, Policy and Politics, 28, pp. 93–108.

Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. The qualitative report, 13(4), 544-559.
Beckhoven, E and Kempen, R Van 2003. Social effects of urban restructuring: A case study in Amsterdam and Utrecht, The Netherlands, Housing studies, 18(6): 853–875

Beekman, T., Lyons, F. & Scott, J. (2001) Improving the Understanding of the Influence of Owner Occupiers in Mixed Tenure Neighbourhoods. Edinburgh: ODS Ltd, for Scottish Homes.

Butler, T. & Robson, G. (2001), 'Social Capital, Gentrification and Neighbourhood Change in London: A Comparison of Three South London Neighbourhoods', Urban Studies, 38(12): 2145-2162.

Carnegie, A., Norris, M., & Byrne, M. (2018). Tenure Mixing to Combat Public Housing Stigmatisation: external benefits, internal challenges and contextual influences in three Dublin neighbourhoods.

Carnegie, A., Norris, M., Byrne, M. (2017). Changing Perceptions: Stigma and Social Housing in Ireland. School of Social Policy, Social Work and Social Justice, University College Dublin.

Central Statistics Office. (2013) Residential Property Price Index August 2013. Dublin: CSO.

Chaskin, R. J., and M. Joseph (2010). "Building "Community" in Mixed-Income Developments: Assumptions, Approaches, and Early Experiences." Urban Affairs Review 45 (3): 299–335.

Crowe, S., Cresswell, K., Robertson, A., Huby, G., Avery, A., & Sheikh, A. (2011). The case study approach. BMC medical research methodology, 11(1), 100.

Crump, J. (2002) 'Deconcentration by demolition: Public housing, poverty, and urban policy', Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 20(5), pp. 581–596.

Darcy, M (2007). Place and disadvantage: The need for reflexive epistemology in spatial social science, Urban Policy and Research, 25(3): 347–361.

DCLG (Department of Communities and Local Government) (2007) Housing in England 2005/06. DCLG, London.

Dublin City Council. (2009) DCC Housing Official Speaking at Dolphin House Regeneration Meeting, February 2009. In Neoliberal Urban Policy and the Transformation of the City (pp. 222). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Fatima Community Regeneration Team (2000), Eleven Acres, Ten Steps, A Brief from the Community of Fatima Mansions to the Public Representatives, Planners, Developers and Service Providers tasked with the Regeneration of the Housing Estate, Dublin: Fatima Groups United

Galster, G (2007). Neighbourhood social mix as a goal of housing policy: A theoretical analysis, European Journal of Housing Policy, 7(1): 19–43.

Galster, G. (2003) Investigating behavioural Impacts of Poor Neighbourhoods: Towards New data and Analytic Strategies, Housing Studies, Vol. 18, No. 6, pp. 893-914.

Galster, G. C. (2012). The mechanism (s) of neighbourhood effects: Theory, evidence, and policy implications. In Neighbourhood effects research: New perspectives (pp. 23-56). Springer, Dordrecht.

Galster, G., Andersson, R., and Musterd, S. (2008). Who Is Affected by Neighbourhood Income Mix? Gender, Age, Family, Employment and Income Differences. Urban Studies.

Graham, E, Manley, D, Hiscock, R, Boyle, P and Doherty, J (2009). Mixing housing tenures: Is it good for social well-being? Urban Studies, 46(1): 139–165.

Hazen, H., & Anthamatten, P. (2011). An introduction to the geography of health. Routledge.

Hearne, R. (2011). Public Private Partnerships in Ireland: Failed Experiment or the Way Forward for the State? Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hearne, R., & Redmond, D. (2014). The collapse of PPPs: Prospects for social housing regeneration after the crash. In Neoliberal Urban Policy and the Transformation of the City (pp. 219-232). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Howlett, M. (2011). Designing Public Policies. London: Routledge.

Jacobs, K. and Flanagan, K. (2013). 'Public housing and the politics of stigma', Australian Journal of Social Issues, pp. 319–337.

Jupp, B. (1999). Living Together: Community Life on Mixed Housing Estates, London: Demos.

Kathy Arthurson (2010) Operationalising Social Mix: Spatial Scale, Lifestyle and Stigma as Mediating Points in Resident Interaction, Urban Policy and Research, 28:1, 49-63, DOI: 10.1080/08111140903552696

Kathy Arthurson, Iris Levin & Anna Ziersch (2015). What is the Meaning of 'Social Mix'? Shifting perspectives in planning and implementing public housing estate redevelopment, Australian Geographer, 46:4, 491-505, DOI: 10.1080/00049182.2015.1075270

Kelly, S. (2014). Taking Liberties: Gentrification as Neoliberal Urban Policy in Dublin. In Neoliberal Urban Policy and the Transformation of the City (pp. 174-188). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Kleit, RG and Carnegie (2011). Integrated or isolated? The impact of public housing redevelopment on social network homophily, Social Networks, 33(2): 152–165.

Lawton, P. (2015). Socially Integrated Housing and Sustainable Urban Communities: Case Studies from Dublin. Dublin: National Economic and Social Council.

Lees, L., T. Butler, and G. Bridge. (2011). "Introduction: Gentrification, Social Mix/ing and Mixed Communities." In Mixed Communities: Gentrification by Stealth?, edited by G. Bridge, T. Butler, and L. Lees, 1–14. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Lelévrier, C. (2013). Social mix neighbourhood policies and social interaction: The experience of newcomers in three new renewal developments in France. Cities, 35, 409-416.
Lupton, R and Tunstall, R. (2008) Neighbourhood recognition through mixed communities: a 'social justice dilemma' Journal of Education Policy, 23:2, pp. 105-117.

Morris, A., Jamieson, M., & Patulny, R. (2012). Is social mixing of tenures a solution for public housing estates. Evidence Base, 1(1), 1-20.

Morse, J., (1995). The Significance of Saturation. Qualitative Health Research, 5(2): 147-149.

Ngulube, P., Mathipa, E. R., & Gumbo, M. T. (2015). Theoretical and conceptual frameworks in the social and management sciences. Addressing research challenges: Making headway in developing researchers, 43-66.

Norris, M., Byrne, M., & Carnegie, A. (2019). Combatting stigmatisation of social housing neighbourhoods in Dublin, Ireland. International Journal of Housing Policy , 19 (2), 254-266. of 'Social Mix'? Shifting perspectives in planning and implementing public housing estate redevelopment, Australian Geographer, 46:4, 491-505, DOI: 10.1080/00049182.2015.1075270

O'Reilly, M., and Parker, N., (2012). 'Unsatisfactory Saturation': a critical exploration of the notion of saturation sample sized in qualitative research. Qualitative Research, 1-8.

Phase 1 of Ireland's Roadmap for reopening society and business (2020). Published 18 of May 2020 from: Department of the Taoiseach and Department of Health. Accessed on the 19 of May 2020. Retrieved at: https://www.gov.ie/en/news/58bc8b-taoiseach-announces-roadmap-for-reopening-society-and-business-and-u/

Popkin, SJ, Buron, LF, Levy, DK and Cunningham, MK (2000). The Gautreaux legacy: What might mixed-income and dispersal strategies mean for the poorest public housing tenants? Housing Policy Debate, 11(4): 911–942.

Pobal HP Deprivation Indices (2016). Analyse areas with high levels of affluence or disadvantage. Accessed on the 9th of July 2020. Retrieved at: https://maps.pobal.ie

Putnam, R.D. (2000) Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Randolph, B and Wood, M (2004). The Benefits of Tenure Diversification, Final Report, Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute, Melbourne.

Rice, P. & Ezzy, D. (1999). Qualitative Research Methods: A Health Focus, Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Rose, D., Germain, A., Bacqué, M. H., Bridge, G., Fijalkow, Y. & Slater, T. D. (2013)., 'Social Mix" and Neighbourhood Revitalisation in a Transatlantic Perspective: Comparing Local Policy Discourses and Expectations in Paris (France), Bristol (UK) and Montréal (Canada)', International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37(2): 430–50.

Rosenbaum, J., Stroh, L. & Flynn, C. (1998). Lake Parc Place: a study of mixed-income housing, Housing Policy Debate, 9, pp. 703–740.

Ruming, K., K. J. Mee, and P. M. McGuirk (2004). "Questioning the Rhetoric of Social Mix: Courteous Community or Hidden Hostility?" Australian Geographical Studies 42 (2): 234–248.

Sampson, R (2012). Great American city: Chicago and the enduring neighbourhood effect, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Silverman, D. (2013). Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook. SAGE publications limited.

Slater, T. (2013). 'Your Life Chances Affect Where You Live: A Critique of the "Cottage Industry" of Neighbourhood Effects Research', International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37(2), pp. 367–387

Smith, A. (2002). Mixed-Income Housing Developments: Promise and Reality, Cambridge, MA and Washington, DC: Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University and Neighbourhood Reinvestment Corporation.

Stake, R.E., (1995). The art of case study research London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Stenson, K. & Watt, P. (1999) Crime, risk and governance in a southern English village, in: G. Dingwall & S. Moody (Eds) Crime and Conflict in the Countryside, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Talja Blokland & Gwen van Eijk (2010). Do People Who Like Diversity Practice Diversity in Neighbourhood Life? Neighbourhood Use and the Social Networks of 'Diversity- Seekers' in a Mixed Neighbourhood in the Netherlands, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 36:2, 313-332, DOI: 10.1080/13691830903387436

Townsend, K. (2013). Saturation and run off: How many interviews are required in qualitative research. Human Resource Management, ANZAM.

Van Kempen, R. & Wissink, B. (2014)., 'Between Places and Flows: Towards a New Agenda for Neighbourhood Research in an Age of Mobility', Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography, 96(2): 95– 108.

Whiting, L. S. (2008). Semi-structured interviews: guidance for novice researchers. Nursing standard, 22(23), 35-41.

Wilson, WJ. (1987). The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Wonneberger, A. (2011). The End of Community?: Concepts of Locality and Community before and after the Spatial Turn in Anthropology: A Case Study of the Dublin Docklands. Localities, 1, 125-158.

Yin, R.k., (2003). Case study research: Design and methods (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Yin, R.K., (2009). Case study research: design and method. 4 edition. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Alex Quinn

Mobile : 085-7481982

Email: alexocuinn@gmail.com

Appendix 1: Research information & Consent Form

To the residents of Fatima Mansions,

My name is Alex Quinn and I am currently undertaking a masters programme in Socio-spatial Planning at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands. My thesis is concerned with gaining an in-depth understanding into the intricacies of how and why cross-tenure contact does or does not occur within mixed tenure developments. Fatima Mansions has undergone an intense bout of tenure diversification as part of the estates regeneration and as such provides a good opportunity to get an understanding of the research topic in the Irish context.

I am looking to talk to people who live in Fatima on their experiences with tenure diversification. This includes both established and new residents - and residents from different housing tenures. These conversations will be carried out over phone or video call. The choice is yours. The recordings will only be used for my own research. All information is confidential and names will not be used. Recordings will be held on a secure university database. Furthermore, recordings may be deleted following the research if a participant wishes so. You are free to withdraw from the research at anytime without giving a reason.

The research is being supervised by Christian Lamker (c.w.lamker@rug.nl). If you have any further questions please email or phone me on one of the contacts listed above.

I agree to my responses being used for this research, and understand that some quotes may be included (anonymously) in the final paper.

Participants Name (printed):………………………….. Participants signature:…………………………

Researchers Name (printed):………………………….. Researchers signature:………………………..

I would be grateful if you could contact me on one of the contacts above and we can then organise a time that is convenient for you.

Yours sincerely, Alex Quinn

Appendix 2: Interview guide - private rental/owners

Schedule of interview questions employed in case study research

* Interview geared towards private rental/ owner tenants

> Introduction

> Ask for permission to begin recording

> Reiterate purpose of research

> Provide information and consent forms

Interview

Q1. How long have you been living in the area?

Q2. Could you see yourself living in the area long term?

Q3. What do you like about living there? Is there anything you dislike about it?

Q4. Would you spend much time in the estate - using local facilities, amenities, meeting friends and family etc.? In other words - how do use the estate?

Q5. What does the word 'local' - mean to you?

Q6. How would you describe your connection to the estate?
> Does it mean a lot to you, a part of your identity?
> Why/why not?

Q6. What do you think about the sense of community in the estate?
> Is that something you would feel a part of?
> Do you feel that everyone in the estate is a part of the community, or would different communities be side by side?

Q7. Would you have a stronger sense of community elsewhere?
> If so, where would that be and how would it differ?

Q8. How would you describe your relationship with other residents in the estate?

Q9. What would these relationships look like?

Q10. **Within the estate, there is new residents (private renters) and more established residents (social housing residents)- in your experience how would you describe the relationship between these two sets of residents? Is that something you would notice?**

> What impression do you have of either group - is it different? How so?

> What impressions do you feel either group has towards each other - if any?

> Why do you think this may be?

Q11. **In terms of your own experience, would you find it easier to interact with more established residents or newer residents in the area?**

> What barriers would you encounter in interacting with XY

Q12. **Is forming relationships and interacting with more established residents in the estate something that is important to you?**

> If so, why is that?

> If not, why is that?

> What benefit do you see in these relationships?

Q13. **What do you think might make interaction (the relationship) between established residents and newer residents more frequent, smooth or accessible? (depending on interview)**

Q14. **Within then estate, the older and newer residents tend to live on different streets and different buildings - is that something that you would notice in your everyday experience of the estate?**

> If so, what do you think about this?

> How do you think it affects residents perceptions? For you?

Q15. **Would the local school be used equally by children from both more established residencies and from the newer population ? What do you think about this? (if applicable)**

Closing phase

Q16. **Is there anything else you would like to cover before the interview concludes?**

Administration

> Ask the participant to nominate prospective interviewees

> Thank the participant for their contribution and time

Appendix 3: Interview guide - social renters

Schedule of interview questions employed in case study research

* Interview geared towards social housing tenants

> Introduction

> Ask for permission to begin recording

> Reiterate purpose of research

> Provide information and consent forms

Interview

Q1. How long have you been living in the area?

> What was it like growing up here? (if applicable)

Q2. Could you see yourself living in the area long term?

Q3. What do you like about living there? Is there anything you dislike about it?

Q4. Would you spend much time in the estate - using local facilities, amenities, meeting friends and family etc.? In other words - how do use the estate?

Q5. What does the word 'local' - mean to you?

Q6. In what ways do you feel the estate has changed since the regeneration?

> How do you feel about these changes?
> What do these changes mean for you?

Q7. How would you describe your connection to the estate?

> Does it mean a lot to you, a part of your identity?
> Why/why not?

Q8. What do you think about the sense of community in the estate?

> Is that something you would feel a part of?
> Do you feel that everyone in the estate is a part of the community, or would different communities be side by side?

Q9. How would you describe your relationship with other residents in the estate?

Q10. What would these relationships look like?

> How do they unfold?

> Where would they unfold?

Q11. Within the estate, there is new residents (private renters) and more established residents (social housing residents)- in your experience how would you describe the relationship between these two sets of residents? Is that something you would notice?

> What impression do you have of either group - is it different? How so?

> What impressions do you feel either group has towards each other - if any?

Q12. In terms of your own experience, would you find it easier to interact with more established residents or newer residents in the area?

> What barriers would you encounter in interacting with XY

Q13. Is forming relationships and interacting with newer residents living in the new building in the estate something that is important to you?

> If so, why is that?

> If not, why is that?

Q14. What do you think might make interaction (the relationship) between established residents and newer residents more frequent, smooth or accessible? (depending on interview)

Q15. Within then estate, the older and newer residents tend to live on different streets and different buildings - is that something that you would notice in your everyday experience of the estate?

Q16. Would the local school be used equally by children from both more established residencies and from the newer population ? What do you think about this? (only use if applicable)

Closing phase

Q17. Is there anything else you would like to cover before the interview concludes?

Administration

> Ask the participant to nominate prospective interviewees

> Thank the participant for their contribution