

Interview transcripts

Part of the Master thesis: Mixing Housing Tenures: Does Proximity 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

Interview transcripts	1
Interview: private renting tenant 1	3
Interview: private renting tenant 2	9
Interview: private renting tenant 3	14
Interview: social housing tenant 1 and 2	20
Interview: social housing tenant 3	25
Interview: social housing tenant 4	33
Interview: private owner tenant 1	40
Accessing recordings if needed	46

Interview: private renting tenant 1

Interview transcript: private renting tenant (1) - Male - 28 years of age - lives in the estate 3 years

Interview was conducted by phone on the 25th of May 2020 between 19:30 - 20:00. The following conversation took place after permission was given by the respondent to start recording.

Interviewer: Thanks for taking the call.

Respondent: No worries.

Interviewer: Before we start I would just like to tell you about the purpose of the research and some things regarding your privacy.

Respondent: Ok, that's great.

Interviewer: The purpose of the research is to gain 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 would like to find out about your experience and whether or not you feel interaction has occurred - why has it or why has it not. Is that clear enough for you?

Respondent: Yeah, that is clear.

Interviewer: As I said already, this interview is being recorded. Anytime you would like me to delete it or stop using the recording then just get in touch and let me know. Also, if you would like, I can send you the findings so you can decide whether or not I am accurately matching what you said. Also, just to mention again, your name will not be used, it is all anonymous. Is it ok for you then to carry on with the interview?

Respondent: Yeah, that is fine, go ahead.

Interviewer: So the first thing I would like to ask you is - if you could just tell me a bit about your experience living in the estate. How long have lived there?

Respondent: Yeah, myself and my partner moved in about 3 years ago. That is our first apartment together. We are happy to move into this area. I grew up in an area close by so I'd have a good sense of the area and where it was, and stuff going on in the area.

Interviewer: Sounds like you are happy enough living there at the moment?

Respondent: Yeah, I mean it meets all of our needs. It is pretty close to the city center, close to all our friends. Yeah, we have had no issues with our landlord or any of our direct neighbours so it is all good.

Interviewer: What sort of relationship would you have with your neighbours at the moment?

Respondent: 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.

Interviewer: Would you like to know them a bit more or is it ok the way it is?

Respondent: I think, yeah where I grew up, when I lived in my own area I always knew my neighbours well. I think it is nice yeah, but it is difficult to get unless you have something in common and it is difficult to establish that when you are only ever coming and going from the area.

Interviewer: I know you have touched on it already, but what drew you to living in the estate? could you tell me a bit more about that?

Respondent: Yeah, a lot of it was to do with location and price. As well as that, it is quite close to an area I grew up in so that was key. It is also an up and coming area. Things are getting better in the area, cafes opening and stuff like that.

Interviewer: Before you would have moved there, what would your perception of the place you were moving to have been like?

Respondent: Yeah, I think certain parts of the area would've been perceived as a bit more rough than they are now. I wouldn't have gone there much when I was younger. Really it is not that bad, just certain spots and times of day are not as safe. In general it is better than the perception I had of the estate a few years ago.

Interviewer: Would you say then that your perception has changed since living there?

Respondent: Yeah definitely, for the better in fact. I think getting to know the people there, seeing the people there, the atmosphere is not as tense as I thought it might have been.

Interviewer: What are your opinions on the introduction of tenure mix/private housing to the estate?

Respondent: It is obvious that there are newer looking buildings after been built around the social housing and the likes. It is not something I have thought about much, but it definitely is something that is noticeable.

Interviewer: In terms of cross-tenure interaction, how would you describe your own experience?

Respondent: I think it is more likely that I would interact with people from my own tenure as they tend to be in my building. 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 more just a passing 'hello' at most.

Interviewer: What do you put this down to?

Respondent: Yeah, I guess, its a sense of we all live in the area but don't really interact at all. I mean we don't have much amenities in the area that we would all share, except for maybe the gym. We do not have an excuse to meet though.

Interviewer: Would you like to get to know more established residents a bit more then?

Respondent: I mean I would like to. It is probably not something I am pushing but if it happened I would be happy. 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 so it is easier to ignore the fact that I do not have one here because I have one close by.

Interviewer: How would you describe your involvement in the estate, I know you touched on this already, but would you feel as though you are a part of the community where you live now?

Respondent: I do not feel part of a community here really. I mean like, there is a community there though, but it is more for the other residents (social housing). Whereas the newer renters don't really have a sense of community here because we are only here fairly recently and don't run into each other as much, it is more a coming and going kind of thing. I mean, I kind of see it is a support network. If you have a community, family and friends close by you don't really need to have that in this area.

Interviewer: Would you use local facilities/amenities often?

Respondent: I think that is an issue, there is not many. One that is there that I use quite a bit is the gym. Loads of the locals go there. That is where I would interact with them. It is like we have something in common because we see each other quite a bit maybe walking around the streets and then we see each other in the gym and its like we become familiar with each other then. Then you are both doing something that you enjoy which creates a commonality. That is what I'm saying, if there was more stuff like the gym in the area then, there might be more interaction across tenures.

Interviewer: So for you it would be nice to be more familiar with people in the area?

Respondent: Yeah, when you see someone in the gym, it is easier to say hello on the street. Whereas - if you do not have that link you might walk past that person otherwise.

Interviewer: What about the length of stay of residents, is that something you would notice?

Respondent: I tend to see the same people, I can maybe think of 2 or 3 people which would have moved out. But we do not see each other often, only when entering or leaving the building. I wouldn't even know what apartment they live in or how long they have been there before.

Interviewer: Could you see yourself living here long-term?

Respondent: At the moment it is somewhere that I can see myself living for the next few years. The cost of potentially moving somewhere else, like to a house or something. It is in an area that I am likely to stay in unless I was going to buy a house or an apartment. The proximity to family and friends and the city, the area is on the up.

Interviewer: I know we have touched on it already, but how would you actually describe your interaction with residents across tenures?

Respondent: It is mostly brief. I guess it's because we are always passing. It would be easier to have like a conversation if you are sitting on a bench, in a cafe or in a shop. I don't really have that. It is always a passing - hello, never a longer conversation than a few seconds.

Interviewer: In your experience, have residents experienced discrimination on the basis of tenure?

Respondent: My perception before I moved there was unfair you know. I was judging the area before I even knew it properly. I think that is something the area struggles with. A small portion of the area brings a bad name to the estate which gives the rest of those residents a bad name too and they end up suffering because of this.

Interviewer: Is that something that you think dampens the willingness to interact more?

Respondent: Potentially yes. 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.

Interviewer: Within the estate, the different tenures are easily distinguishable from one another - is this something that you are aware of?

Respondent: The building I live in is probably better kept than a lot of the other houses in the area. It is easy to see which ones are private renters and which ones public housing just by how well kept certain buildings are.

Interviewer: Would you see benefit in a more spatially integrated tenure mix?

Respondent: Yeah, 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, drives us apart.

Interviewer: Would you like to clarify or expand on anything that you have said?

Respondent: Not that I can think of.

Interviewer: Thanks again for taking the call.

After the recording finished the interviewee was asked to nominate prospective interviewees. The interviewee also asked for some constructive feedback to build on for the next interview.

Interview: private renting tenant 2

Interview transcript: private renting tenant (2) - Female - 33 years of age - lives in the estate 2 years

Interview was conducted by phone on the 10th of June 2020 between 11:00 - 11:30. The following conversation took place after permission was given by the respondent to start recording.

Interviewer: Ok, so that is on now, lets get to it

Respondent: Yeah great

Interviewer: Could you just tell me how long you have been living in the estate?

Respondent: How long has it been now, it was around May 2018 as far as I can remember, so two years roughly

Interviewer: Could you see your self living there for the foreseeable future?

Respondent: I could and I couldn't, it is great for getting into work, you know the Luas is just around the corner, loads of stuff close by too, but the rent is brutal like, if I could get a mortgage on a house I would do that at the drop of a hat

Interviewer: What do you like about living there? And what do you like less?

Respondent: As is said there, it is very handy, very central, you can cycle into town in about 15 minutes which is great, but I suppose, it is a bit isolating in a way, apartment living isn't for everyone you know, 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.

Interviewer: For yourself, would you spend much time in the estate like, using local amenities, facilities and stuff like that?

Respondent: Not particularly no, now I would go to the local shop to get a few bits but other than that no not really. See where the cafe is in the centre of the estate, I would never go there, have no need to, I don't really know anyone around there, that is for locals I suppose, if I text a friend to go for a coffee we would usually go into town or whatever.

Interviewer: Would you have friends and family close by?

Respondent: Yeah, I grew up not too far from here actually, I would go there regularly, that still feels more like my place than here does, I just live here, all of my family live where I grew up like, I would go there more than them coming here too, I don't know, my Mam always takes the piss out of me for living in Fatima like.

Interviewer: Overall, how would you describe your connection to the estate?

Respondent: Well, I wouldn't really have one to be honest, I came here expecting to kind of form at least some sort of relationship with my neighbours, but that never really happened. Obviously, a lot of the people living in these apartments are not from here, they would have connections elsewhere, as is said, it seems as if people are always coming or going, that is the only time we would meet, when someone is on the move, there is no point of introduction, as well as that once you close your door your gone like, whereas growing up in a house on a street is much different, stuff happened on the street, people where doing things in the garden, you would no people much more than here, but that is to do with having a house isn't it, your there for the long run, whereas here it all seems a bit temporary.

Interviewer: What about the sense of community in the estate, not just in your building?

Respondent: For me, we don't really have a sense of community in the apartments, I see faces I know from time to time, that's about it. In the council part, it is different, that has more of a neighbourhood feel do you know what I mean, the streets are more lively, kids are always out playing there, things are happening, we have nothing to do with that though, sure how could we,

those people live here years, and I have no reason to go there either, 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.

Interviewer: That is something I would like to touch on more, you mentioned there that there is a community but it is mostly in the council part, why do you feel that to be the case?

Respondent: They are locals, do you know what I mean, on the other hand we are just blow ins, they grew up here, have family in the estate, spend more time in the estate. It is like the same for me where I grew up, everyone knows each other, and that takes time, it also takes something to bring you together, we don't have that here at all. As well as that, 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, I'm not a part of it, it is a bit uncomfortable, like you are trespassing or something.

Interviewer: What do you mean by "it takes something to bring you together"?

Respondent: How can I explain that, well where I grew up, what brought people together was that we all had a common interest in making the area a nice place to live, if something was wrong people took action together, a lot of people there lived in that area for life, so they would socially invest in the area do you know what I mean, in this place though, a lot of people living in the apartments don't see any point in getting into the nitty-gritty in the area, 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, that seems a bit mad, I don't want to step on anyones toes. I know it sounds bad, but if they reached out to me to get involved in something I would like, definitely I would.

Interviewer: So it is important to you to kind of make that breakthrough?

Respondent: I probably tell myself it is not, but yeah it is, I like telling people I live in Fatima, but when it comes down to it I'm just another one of those people living in the apartments that don't get involved in the area, do you get me, it would be nice to feel like, yeah, a part of this place, to add to it, at the moment I add nothing really, and its a shame because this area had big trouble in

the past, I live here now, I want to help making it a place where we all feel at home, but as I said a few minutes ago, where do you start with that, how do you break the seal, do you get me.

Interviewer: What benefits do you see in more interaction and relationships between more established residents and those living in the private apartments?

Respondent: Im not sure about that, I can only speak for myself really, but, its difficult to say, for one, it would make the area a nicer place to live for everyone I think, we don't need to best friends, but to just know a persons name, and to ask how they are, to know a bit about them, to have a little chat, that goes a long way like, that could sew the seeds for becoming even closer, but without that kind of initial contact none of that is possible, we just carry on being separate do you what I mean.

Interviewer: So for you the little things would go a long way?

Respondent: One hundred percent they would, those little meetings are what make you feel a part of an area, yi know, it's nice to walk down the street and see familiar faces, stop and have a little chat, that adds so much to living in a place, I suppose that 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, maybe I need to make more of an effort or whatever though.

Interviewer: Just moving on, within the estate, the different groups tend to live on different streets and occupy different buildings - is that something you would notice? How do you feel that plays out?

Respondent: i'm not sure how it plays out, I suppose on some level it is clear, I know that they live there, on that street, in those types of houses, whereas this building is separate, looks different too, what does that do though? for me, it kind of illuminates, to some extent, the different groups who live here, do you know what I mean like, like little pockets of difference all in the same place of about a one minute walk, what is the word I'm looking for, oh yeah, I suppose it accentuates the differences if you get what I'm saying.

Interviewer: I know you mentioned at the beginning that you were stuck for time, I don't want to be keeping you too long.

Respondent: No, you are fine, that was grand, but I think we better wrap it up as I have to get going.

Interviewer: Ok, let's wrap it up of course, thank you for your time, honestly, I know you're busy so thanks for that.

Respondent: That is grand, and good luck with the rest of the project, I will see if I can get anyone for you.

Interviewer: That would be great yeah, listen I will let you go.

Respondent: Bye

Interview: private renting tenant 3

Interview transcript: private renting tenant (3) - Male - 28 years of age - lives in the estate 1 year

Interview was conducted by phone on the 12th of June 2020 between 15:00 - 15:30. The following conversation took place after permission was given by the respondent to start recording.

Interviewer: So first of all, could you tell me how long you have been living in Fatima now?

Respondent: Yeah, I have been living here the bones of a year I suppose, I would have moved in about this time last year, so yeah, all in all, about a year.

Interviewer: Whereabouts in the estate are you living?

Respondent: I'm just across from the Luas stop, the apartments facing the luas yeah, it is alright, you know yourself like, does the job, close to town and all that.

Interviewer: Could you see yourself living there long-term?

Respondent: I suppose I don't really have a choice at the moment, to buy is out of the question, no way I would get a mortgage, you know, and living here is grand, it is close to everything and I have friends and family living close by so that's great, plus I can get in and out of work on my bike which makes life easy.

Interviewer: I know you would have grown up not too far from here, how does it fair living here in comparison to where you grew up?

Respondent: Ah living in an apartment is a different story all together, very different to growing up in a house on a street, you would not really know your neighbours too well at all here, whereas growing up on Emmet road you would be fairly familiar with them, but in a way I don't really mind

that, sure I can just pop down to my mams house anytime, it is only 10 minutes on bike so I would spend a lot of my time down there still.

Interviewer: How would you describe your connection to the estate you live in now?

Respondent: Ehm, well I am only here a year so it still feels a bit disconnected I suppose, but I didn't really come here looking to make loads of friends really, especially living in the apartments that feels like its own little world, yeah we are kind of located in the estate, but it doesn't really feel like it, I could be in an apartment anywhere in Dublin and it would be the same deal.

Interviewer: What do you mean 'it feels like its own little world'?

Respondent: Well, how can I explain, I know the apartment is in Fatima, but it might as well be anywhere like, it doesn't really have a kind of neighbourhood feel to it, I couldn't tell you 2 things about anyone that lives here in this building, let alone in the estate. I don't think people in this building really mind each other, yeah we would say hello I suppose, but people have their own lives to get on with, everyone seems to leave in the morning and come home late, it is like clockwork, everyday is the same.

Interviewer: To zoom out, you mentioned the wider estate, what sort of relationship would you have, with those living in the heart of the estate (social housing tenants) for instance?

Respondent: Ehm, do you mean like the council part?

Interviewer: Yeah exactly yeah.

Respondent: Little or none to be honest, that seems further away than the one minute walk, do you know, I get the sense that part is quite tight-knit, more people there know each other, you can see that easily, always kids out playing together, parents chatting away, that has more of a family vibe, people know each other years probably and have strong ties in the area.

Interviewer: What do you mean it seems further away than a one minute walk?

Respondent: Yeah, it has a completely different feel is what I am trying to get at, in the apartments here, we are all more or less strangers, whereas over there they all know each other, and when it comes down to it, I can't see how that would change, you would need to live here years to get to know people well, as well as that, these two kind of parts of the estate are very different in terms of culture I guess, the council part is very working-class, I'd say half the people in these apartments are afraid of their life to mix with the locals to be honest, they are not used to that.

Interviewer: Could you tell me about more about the culture thing you mentioned?

Respondent: Yeah, I suppose I feel like there is sort of cultural divide between the two parts, we spend most of our time out of the place, hardly know each other, whereas in that part it seems like they all get along, it has that 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, sometime 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, you know what I mean.

Interviewer: Would there not be much families living in the apartments?

Respondent: Ah no, not really, it seems to be mostly couples and young people, do you know, having said that, I did see a few young couples wheeling a baby around actually, but for the most part it is young workers, a lot of them would be from other countries too, we have a fair few students too actually, but I don't even know really, I would probably recognise 4 or 5 people who I live on the same floor with, that is the thing about living in an apartment, your not really going to meet people, except when your on the move, or going somewhere and in that case it is only ever a non of the head, but 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 then to be honest.

Interviewer: Just to get back to the different groups living in the estate, is age difference something you would notice?

Respondent: Yeah I wanted to mention that actually, 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 in these apartments means that they spend less time in the area, it is all about work at this age, your kind of working to the 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 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.

Interviewer: How do you feel the council tenants kind of perceive private renters, or those living in your apartments?

Respondent: This estate, lets 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, I think that hasn't entirely gone away, yeah the place has been given a make-over but people moving here are still a bit weary of the place, that doesn't disappear over night. When people ask me where I live, and I say beside Fatima, or in Fatima, their reaction is always ' Jesus, that is a rough spot', doesn't bother me, but id say that might keep people from making more of an effort with mingling with the local Fatima crowd, its unfortunate but perceptions carry weight don't they, if you think so and so is a bit rough, your not going to be rushing to make friends if you know what I mean.

Interviewer: How do you think these perceptions come about, do you know what I mean?

Respondent: Ah you know how it is, social housing is given a bad wrap in this country really, we tend to associate it, I guess, with a certain type or group of people, its very easy to paint a load of people with the same brush, for instance, ill give you an example, I would often hear people in the corridor moaning about the litter on the street, or about load 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.

Interviewer: What about the other way around?

Respondent: I couldn't really tell you to be honest, I haven't had enough chats with anyone from that part so I can't really say.

Interviewer: Ah no worries, that's grand, we are nearly done at this stage. Is there anything else you would like to cover before the interview concludes? I wanted to ask you about what you think might make interaction between these different groups happen more regularly?

Respondent: I suppose that is something that might happen over time, but that would take people to be living in the estate for longer, that way they would have a chance to get to know people, if you have kids it is a big advantage, but who is going to have kids while living in an apartment I suppose, but yeah, if you see yourself living here long-term you are going to see the benefits of knowing your neighbours, that sort of thing doesn't matter if your are only planning on living here for a year or two. As well as that, 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.

Interviewer: So what do you think would work?

Respondent: Well I'm no expert, but I suppose, you have to ask the question, why is social housing not seen as something like a choice for a wider portion of the population, it shouldn't be just for low-income people, that for me creates a kind of boundary I suppose and it makes it easy to set them apart.

Interviewer: Yeah, id say we can finish up now man, unless there is anything else?

Respondent: Thats grand, nothing else to add.

Interviewer: Is that alright if you stay on for a moment after I close the recording just to suss any potential interview participants?

Respondent: Yeah, that's no worries.

After the recording finished the interviewee was asked to nominate prospective interviewees. The interviewee also asked for some constructive feedback to build on for the next interview.

Interview: social housing tenant 1 and 2

Interview transcript: social housing tenant (1) and (2) - (1) Male - 36 years of age - lives in the estate 36 years and (2) Male - 65 years of age - lives in the estate 56 years

Interview was conducted by phone on the 29th of May 2020 between 21:00 - 21:30. The following conversation took place after permission was given by the respondent(s) to start recording. This interview included two residents at once. This was not an intentional occurrence. The initial respondent asked whether it was fine if a relation took part. The interviewer felt that it was fine and the interview commenced.

Interviewer: How long are you living in the estate?

Respondent: All of me life? Yeah, I am in Fatima 36 year's now.

Interviewer: Can you tell me a bit about what it was like growing up in the estate?

Respondent: It was rough as fuck bud, with the the drugs and all.

Interviewer: Could you see yourself living here over the next few years or what do you think?

Respondent: I just don't know about that one, I'm from here and I have nothing against here, but I think I want to better myself.

Interviewer: Is there anything you like about living in the area?

Respondent: The only thing that I like is that I am from the area, there is nothing, it's just rough as fuck.

Interviewer: Has the regeneration brought any change to that situation?

Respondent: It's worse I think.

Interviewer: In what way do you mean?

Respondent: Like the drugs all the selling and all.

Interviewer: And as part of the regeneration a wider mix of residents was brought in - how has that played out?

Respondent: No, its all like a click, do you get me, the private renters don't get a look in around here, I think they think they are better than the people that's from here, do you know that sort of way.

Interviewer: That would be something you feel yeah?

Respondent: Yeah, and in ways you can't blame them either, do you know that way.

Interviewer: So you wouldn't have much interaction with them?

Respondent: I just hello and goodbye to anyone, like yourself.

Interviewer: Tell me a bit more about how you feel they perceive locals?

Respondent: Yeah, I do get that, when you look at them they think they are better than people from here, you know, when you say you are from Fatima everyone goes 'scumbags' down there.. but not everyone are scumbags do you know what I mean.

Interviewer: Then people moving in have a certain idea of the place already?

Respondent: Yeah, yeah of course.

Interviewer: As you said already, you like that you are from the area?

Respondent: Yeah of course I do, that is where I am from. I get on with all the young fellas but its not a place I would like to see my son living in.

Interviewer: When the regeneration happened, the idea was that there was going to be a more mix of people and getting along with each other am I right in saying there is not much cross over though?

Respondent: No there is not, no community in this place anymore, years ago in the flats there was a great community spirit.

Interviewer: You don't think that is there anymore?

Respondent: No, definitely not, they moved too many different kinds of people into one area, and then all the old Fatima heads got houses everywhere in different areas.

Interviewer: Whats the difference between the people moving in, how come they don't click?

Respondent: It's just a mad feeling, I swear to god you would have to live in it to understand what I am talking about.

Interviewer: So you kind of walk by say hello and that's it?

Respondent: Yeah say hello and goodbye, sure anytime they are all drinking out there they are all killing each other.

Interviewer: What made it that a strong sense of community existed before the regeneration?

Respondent: Because everyone was from Fatima, the flats had a different feeling, people out on the balcony all the time, everyone knew each other, always chatting away and helping each other out no matter what, we are in houses now, it's not the same feeling, once you are in a house your door is shut, in the flats doors were left open, that's gone now.

Interviewer: You think that matters?

Respondent: The people would have been there for years, so they are all settled together years.

Interviewer: And then when people move in they don't have the same sense for the area?

Respondent: No they definitely don't.

Respondent: See in my ma's avenue, everyone that lives in that avenue is from Fatima and the old flats, so it's a good little community they have in the avenue, but outside you have mixture of people from everywhere, just coming and going, it's mad, you go a few feet down the road and it feels like a different planet.

Interviewer: So within that little avenue they would have been from Fatima before the regeneration?

Respondent: There close, but outside that it's all separate do you know what I mean.

Respondent: All my da's family are from the flats.

Interviewer: When were the flats built?

Respondent (2): Around the 60's, I am here 56 years, when it first opened it was great, great neighbours, best community you could get, never left short of anything, people would do anything for you, everyone looked out for each other, not like that anymore though, that's all gone now, it's sad - you wouldn't know half of the people that live here now.

Interviewer: How do you feel it's changed since the regeneration?

Respondent (2): They done nothing about it, they promised this and promised that and actually took no action about it.

Interviewer: What do you mean?

Respondent (2): Like there is a big community centre over there, they have like a homework club and all that, but it's the same old people doing things for the area, they (private renters) do nothing for the area - they are not involved in anything like, they don't need.

Respondent: In the flats they used to have Fatima boys, they had loads of soccer teams.

Interviewer: What was good about that?

Respondent: It gave the young fellas something to do didn't it.

Interviewer: Is there anything else you would like to cover before the interview concludes?

Respondent: All good on my part.

Interviewer: Thanks for taking the call.

After the recording finished the interviewee was asked to nominate prospective interviewees. The interviewee also asked for some constructive feedback to build on for the next interview.

Interview: social housing tenant 3

Interview transcript: social housing tenant (3) - Male - 41 years of age - lives in the estate 20 years

Interview was conducted by phone on the 1st of June 2020 between 16:00 - 16:30. The following conversation took place after permission was given by the respondent to start recording.

Respondent: I am originally from O'Devaney Gardens, they went through the same kind of process, they are still going through it now, the regeneration thing.

Interviewer: How long have you been living in Fatima?

Respondent: I am in here since I was 20 or so, so a longtime, 20 years.

Interviewer: Are you living in the apartments?

Respondent: Yeah, now officially I live with her, it is her flat you know, but your not going to be going to the council or anything (laughs)

Interviewer: Definitely not. In terms of the social potential of living in the apartments, how is it different to growing up in the flats, how does the pulse differ?

Respondent: There is definitely differences, they are good and bad, particularly over here the drug problem over here was bad, do you know what I mean, it was really bad, it was bad in O'Devaney Gardens but it was worse here, it was more like, you would get asked everyday - what are you looking for - now it is not completely gone, there is a little corner of a street where young fellas stand around selling, on the phone, do you know what I mean, you would see them coming in and out meeting, but back in the 80's and 90's it was basically an open drug market here, it was just so blatant, all day and all night you would hear people whistling and asking everybody - I mean, that has been, not completely cleaned up but it's a lot better do you know what I mean.

Interviewer: Ok

Respondent: Because of the way the place was built back in the day, it was kind of a maze where you could go in and out, the last while there has been a bit of anti-social, before this pandemic lockdown, it was picking up again, feeling anti-social.

Interviewer: What do you mean it was a maze?

Respondent: The way they were built, it suited it, you could get from one flat to the other, Fatima was built in a weird kind of way, the young fellas knew, you could be on the roof and come down the other side of the flats, the cops didn't know that, if you lived there you knew all the little in's and out's and how to get from one place to another, where the cops didn't.

Interviewer: Now, at the moment that is a lot of different isn't it, everything has changed.

Respondent: The way apartments are everywhere, they look the same and there is the house, there is houses as well.

Interviewer: How would you feel about living in Fatima now, do you feel like a part of the community there?

Respondent: That is one of the things that has changed since the flats, in the flats you knew everyone on your balcony, you knew your people, we are kind of getting to know everyone a bit more during this lockdown, people are more friendly and we are all stuck in, but it hasn't been as much the same, I only know me next-door neighbour and that's it really.

Interviewer: What do you think that was, why in the flats was it more talking and stuff?

Respondent: I just think you were more on top of each other, we shared a balcony, it was a communal balcony, there was no border between my balcony and neighbours balcony, whereas now we have our own balcony and you have a glass shutter between me and next-door, and you are not connected, your only connected to one person on that side, your not connected not the other side, so it is probably more privacy, in that sense yeah, but then again some sense of community has been lost.

Interviewer: Is that something you would miss?

Respondent: In some ways yeah, there was a lot of families and your sisters lived beside you, or your cousins living with you, you were more connected, or your cousin was married to their cousin, so it was very clannish, the downside to that is that everybody knew everybody's business - so if you had a fight with your missus everyone knows, things like that, you were never short of a bit of sugar or milk, you could knock in to your neighbours flat anytime.

Interviewer: Looking at Fatima now, what is it like in that regard?

Respondent: There is still some original people here, but a lot of people would have moved out to houses, like definitely in O'Devaney they have moved all the people out, they have been waiting on the place to be built for ten years, and your not going to move back after being in a house ten years, but here there is still some originals, but a lot of people from different areas have moved in.

It is the council part I live in, if you walk around the corner to the private part, we do not know anybody around there, it is two separate kind of worlds.

Interviewer: Could you tell me a bit more about that, what is that like?

Respondent: For instance, we have here a bit of tension, a lot of fights with young fellas happen, or they are drunk and would have a row, and everyone is out on the balconies watching it, we are kind of used to that, but that always happens on my side, it doesn't happen around in the private part, it is really individuals living around there, they are paying a lot more rent as well, there was security around there as well and there was none around here, that is interesting.

Interviewer: Would you feel they have any view of Fatima.

Respondent: I don't think they even know that it is called Fatima, a lot of them are students thing like that, wouldn't know anything about the area.

Interviewer: So they are just kind of in the area, not really a part of it?

Respondent: That apartment block could be any apartment block, any random, indiscriminate apartment block that is around Dublin, there is a lot of them around Dublin now that were built during the boom, just kind of lashed up, that are charging 1600 a month around here, or actually 1800 for living around there, because it right beside the luas and it is near Thomas st.

Interviewer: The flats were taken down and they put in more of a mix, you have a lot of private renting in Fatima and stuff, the intention was that there would be an overlap, the idea being that it will benefit the more indigenous population.

Respondent: A lot of people around here, they don't tend to mix outside of the their social milieus really, they have their own circles that they grew up with and are familiar with, now not everyone you know, there is younger people who are going to college or university and would be more open, but there is a lot of people here that you would be surprised if you saw them in O'Connell Street in town, you would be shocked - even like that, there is fellas like that, they live in their area, they go to the pub there, they get their dole in the post office there, it is very rare that you would see them outside of a two mile radius - like they were already doing the 2 kilometre lockdown before the pandemic, you know (laughs), wouldn't leave the area at all unless they are going to a job or university.

Interviewer: Yeah I mean, I am trying to find out whether these different residents kind of move within different circles within Fatima - you are saying that Fatima people kind of use the neighbourhood a lot more.

Respondent: The way that 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 there too, and then after that is the private area which is out more towards the Luas, out more towards the street, they don't come in to the part of the area where all the stuff is, you just wouldn't see them there, you might see a woman with her child walk around a little bit, but they are not playing football on the pitch - it is strange, it is almost like there is a divided line, an unofficial divided line, an invisible divided line but you know it's there like.

Interviewer: How would this line be felt?

Respondent: It is definitely felt, definitely is, but you can understand, if you moved here from somewhere else, and you hear a big row around here or something like that, I wouldn't be running around either, they are probably a bit weary of it.

Interviewer: It was the same growing up in Inchicore, that would occupy less of your mind, they are not used to that maybe?

Respondent: Particularly, I think the violence, I have had people here, other artists and poets, they would be on the balcony and something might start and they be like what is going on, you do become a little bit de-sensitised to the noise and the violence.

Interviewer: That would be the heart of the area, and they are on the periphery so don't really come into it, then the chance of meeting are.

Respondent: 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 atmosphere here, a community of some sorts.

Interviewer: Yeah, anytime I am down in Fatima, in the council part, there is always life happening?

Respondent: Especially now when the weather is good, the social distancing is gone out of the window (laughs)

Interviewer: Probably sick of it at this stage, why does that culture not exist in the private-renting?

Respondent: I never see kids out around there, 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. Around here there is kids at 3 and 4 walking around, there is always somebody watching them, somebody out in the garden keeping an eye on them and things like that, a neighbour or whatever - but I still think there was a lot more of that back when it was flats.

Interviewer: Yeah, from talking to other residents they would say the same thing, that there is less of a sense of community now - it is more in pockets.

Respondent: In the planning meetings they had for O'Devaney, they asked me to go over, I wrote a book on the area obviously, give a little reading, they were asking me about what do they we should do, the same thing, over there they want to try and mix private and public in the same area, when you just put one part of the area social and one part private you create a little ghetto inside the place, a ghettoisation, if your a kid and you know - oh you live in the poor part do you, you live in the cheap part? You know what kids are like - you are going to the kid who lives in the cheap part while we live over here - even though it's the same place.

Interviewer: People would pick up on stuff like that?

Respondent: Definitely you know they pick up on it. Mixing it is a good idea, then you have the other side of it, would you be willing to pay 1800 a month if you're mixed in with people who are paying 200 quid a month, some people would turn their nose up at that.

Interviewer: What do you see a way that could work?

Respondent: A lot of them seem to be students, or 5 or 6 of them in the house together, you would want to be on a lot of money if you're able to pay 1800 a month.

Interviewer: What is happening with O'Devaney now?

Respondent: Originally the plan was all social housing, me and sister still live there so, they were getting this brilliant football pitch, this was during the boom, it was going to be amazing looking, everyone could pick - oh I will live next-door to me sister, keeping it like this, then of course the bust came and that was all thrown out the window, and most people have been moved out to

what they thought would be temporary and then come back - but my ma moved out to a house beside O'Devaney, she is there, she is paying there, now it is getting re-built and it is not going to all social housing, now it is going to be 70/30 social housing, and it keeps moving down, could be 60/40 now - could be tensions around that.

Interviewer: Just to go back to one thing you said there, you talked about a sort of internal ghetto sometimes.

Respondent: For instance, the people at the Herberton, they don't know the history, around here they'd still call it Fatima - a younger taxi man wouldn't know where Fatima is, whereas an older one would know it. The Luas still says Fatima though (laughs)

Interviewer: The private renters get off the Luas and walk down.

Respondent: It is literally two minutes - and then they are at their apartments. It is interesting how you can have such a different thing in a five minute walk you know.

Interviewer: Would you be involved much in the area?

Respondent: Not really no, there is not much stuff going on, there would have been a lot more years ago, summer projects and all of that.

Interviewer: There is an F2 project, do you know what they do?

Respondent: Yeah, I know they have a few things, aerobic classes - I am not really involved in that way you know.

Interviewer: Would you be involved in O'Devaney?

Respondent: There is nothing there, it is gone, that is the end of it.

Interviewer: People speak very fondly of growing up there and how they miss it, they have a strong relationship to the place.

Respondent: For some people it will never be the same for them, some of them have rose-tinted glasses, you know you can have nostalgia, whereas I remember a lot of people went on heroin, a lot of robbed cars, a lot of violence, I don't think you should try and white wash that away and say it was a lovely place all the time - different people have different experiences.

Respondent: Walking over that way know and it is completely gone, it is kind of weird to walk through a place where you had your first kiss, your first scrap, you lost your virginity, the first time you got drunk, always in that one small area and now it is totally gone, it doesn't exist, that is kind of weird to walk through a place like that and it does make you feel very nostalgic.

Interviewer: What does it feel like?

Respondent: It's strange, it is almost ghostly, I am not that old, I am only 41, and the place where a lot my life happened is completely gone, wiped off the face of the earth, it like walking through a ghostly area - and now the new place is built on top of that - completely gone - although I obviously try in the novel - I have tried to preserve it a little bit.

Interviewer: I won't keep you any longer, that is great, thanks very much - recording stopped.

Interview: social housing tenant 4

Interview transcript: social housing tenant (4) - Male - 27 years of age - lives in the estate 16 years

Interview was conducted by phone on the 22nd of June 2020 between 17:00 - 17:30. The following conversation took place after permission was given by the respondent to start recording.

Interviewer: How long have you been living in the area?

Respondent: Ehm, I'd say, i would have moved here just after the regeneration, I would have been about 12 at the time, so about 16 years thereabouts.

Interviewer: Whereabouts in the estate are you living?

Respondent: Ehm, do you know the area, I'm living just beside the astro pitch, do you know the houses opposite the pitch, the council part, I'm just there yeah.

Interviewer: How do you find living there?

Respondent: Ah it's grand, no hassle really, I'm still living with me mam which can be a bit hard at times, yi know, would be nice to have me own place, but no, I can't complain.

Interviewer: What do you like about living there?

Respondent: Well, I would say that the people are what make living here a good spot, I spent a good part of me life in this area, everyone is sound, in this part of the estate everyone knows everyone, if something needs to be done, like a broken pipe being fixed, or your walls painted you only have to ask one of your neighbours like, we have our own little economy I suppose, it's mad, it's a bit like - you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours if you know what I mean, sure half of my jobs are done within Fatima.

Interviewer: What sort of work are you doing?

Respondent: I'm a painter by trade, but I do all jobs, I do odd jobs as well.

Interviewer: Ah nice, you mentioned there that there is kind of a support network within the estate, could you tell me a bit more about that?

Respondent: Yeah, like, that is what I mean, you ask your own before you go outside and ask someone you don't know, I suppose that the line of work people in this part of the estate do is fairly manual, we have a lot of carpenters, electricians, painters, plumbers do you know that way, and that is something that people need, and when they need it they can call on someone who lives here, call on their own.

Interviewer: Yeah, that is great, must make things very handy, is Fatima a place where you would spend much time, what sort of things do you do there like?.

Respondent: What do you mean?

Interviewer: Well, how would you use the estate, like local facilities and meeting family, friends etc.. does that happen within the estate much?

Respondent: Ah yeah, sure most of my family live in about a five minute radius, it is a bit claustrophobic sometimes you know, but yeah it is good, I would use the gym a fair bit too, it is handy cause it is a minute walk, that is a good incentive to go, do you know what I mean. Growing up here, I suppose almost everything happened outside your front door, birthday parties and all that, stuff was always happening, in this part of the estate the street is used as a sort of communal space, its 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 there doors chatting with each other.

Interviewer: How do you think this kind of culture, kind of social culture develops like?

Respondent: I was only talking to a friend about this recently, I think it is kind of rooted in the old Fatima, when it used to be flats, people used to share balconies, that meant you had a place to share and meet with people in a place that wasn't yours or mine, do you know what I mean, those space act as more than just an entrance to your flat, they are social spaces used for chatting and interacting, that culture has carried on to now, even if we are living in houses which doesn't have the same feel, it is more private I suppose, as in it has a bit less potential for meeting, but it hasn't gone away completely, I think that is good, you still bump into people.

Interviewer: What do you feel is the significance, or importance, of having a place as you mentioned that is shared?

Respondent: It is very important, see that is difference with the apartments across the way, they are like little boxes, all separated from each other, I don't even know how do they meet and get to know each other, outside the houses here we have like a little cul de sac where cars don't drive down, that makes a great space for stuff to happen, it lets kids play outside, it means people can throw an eye on them too, and it means parents don't have to worry about their kids as much, they know they are safe in the cul de sac, its great to have kids playing outside on the street, for me that signifies a place with a bit of life, do you know what I mean, if I was going to tell you the main difference between this part of the estate and the apartments it would be that this place has a bit of something, a bit of life I suppose, whereas that place where the apartments are seems a bit more cold, less stuff going on, I don't know.

Interviewer: That is what this study is about really, I am trying to get a sense of the interaction that takes place between social housing tenants and private renters who are living in the apartments, I know you mentioned over the last few minutes that this is what happens, the social life or strong sense of community in your part of the estate, you say - your part of the estate when referring to these aspects of living in Fatima, why do you make that distinction if you know what I mean?

Respondent: Well, because 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, it doesn't really go any further, that is why I say - in this part of the estate - because this is where I know people well, it's

what I call Fatima Mansions like. 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 nod of the head really, and that is alright with me, they mind their own business really, and to be honest what would you expect like, the people living in this part of the estate know each other years, they have lived shared lives in a way. The people living in the private part come from everywhere, and it's like they are constantly on the go, do you know what I mean. As well as that, it is a different crowd of people really, a lot of them seem to be quite young and well to do I suppose, they are probably a bit cautious about even coming in to this part of the estate.

Interviewer: So for you, they are a bit different than the more established community, could you walk me through a few of these differences?

Respondent: Ah it is just a feeling like, it is hard to explain, if I walk by a person who lives in the apartments they are less open, they have a different vibe, they might say hello or whatever but that is as far as it goes, but I don't blame them for being anti-social or anything, it must be hard to move into a place and kind of get to know the locals, especially if your moving to a place that already has a sort of established sense of community that has been forged over a long time, I think, as well as that, you know 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 if you know what I mean.

Interviewer: So you think that these people moving in might be a bit weary or something?

Respondent: Well that is the point I am making, it might be a bit wrong but yeah, 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. But, maybe if they were here long enough they would realise that most people living here in the council part are just doing their thing really, getting up and going to work like the rest of them. At the end of the day though, that would take time, I think if you were living here long enough that would change, but yeah, if you're only living here short term then getting to know people might not be that important.

Interviewer: Apart from being a bit weary, what else do you think keeps both kind of groups, the council part and the private part separate?

Respondent: I probably mentioned it already man, but yeah, the reason the people in the council part are close comes out of necessity, d'ya know, 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, ill 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 offer to a young lad here, most of them probably work in jobs where you need a degree or qualification do ya know what I mean, they can't really extend an opportunity to someone here, the bridge is a bit too far if you know what I'm saying. But that doesn't mean that they have to remain strangers, that could change with time, but to really have a meaningful impact on this place they would need to be able offer something, that sounds mad but I think it is true in a way, we would have to be offer them something too.

Interviewer: But can't a positive impact, on the part of the private renters, be more than just offering employment opportunities?

Respondent: Ah of course yeah, that is not what I am saying like, I was just giving an example of how it might be difficult for them to make that kind of bridge with people that live here. Im not saying they can't become a part of the community in a different way, but that would take a lot of effort I think, like you would have to really try, could be useful to get involved in some of the things the community centre is doing like the homework club, maybe there is some teachers living in the apartments that could offer a help in hand, that's what I'm talking about, getting involved in something like that would show the people around here that you are serious about living here, that it matters to you, that you want to be involved, I think the people living in this part would really appreciate that, it wouldn't go un-noticed. It does happen as well, I have to say, but it could happen a lot more.

Interviewer: What about the other way around, do you think that people living in the council part also have a role to play?

Respondent: Ah of course, it is definitely a two way street, I know me and my mates had an idea to hold a 5 a side tournament on the astro-pitch, we wanted to get people living in the apartments involved, stuff like that could be great, but it means stepping outside of your comfort zone and reaching the hand out doesn't it, and that can be difficult. Where do you start, do you just go over to the apartments and hand out fliers or something, I don't know like, but yeah we should try more to make this place feel more like a place that we all live together and not separate like it is at the moment. I think, yeah, if they felt like we were interested in getting to know them in some shape or form, that could go a long way, could put the wheels in motion.

Interviewer: Yeah of course man, I wanted to ask you a bit about the kind of built environment in the estate, as in - how do you feel about how the different tenures, parts of the estate, are places within the estate - is that something you would have any feelings towards?

Respondent: What do you mean, like if I'm aware of the differences between the council part and private part?

Interviewer: Yeah exactly, is that something that you feel a certain way towards?

Respondent: Yeah, even though the regeneration brought with it a wider mix of people, it is obvious who lives where, very obvious, I don't know if that is much of a problem though, like its not like the houses are in bits and the apartments of much higher quality, that would be a problem, but the houses are nice aren't they. But yeah, 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 from the very start, on the other hand, its 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 you a feeling or identity, do you know what I mean.

Interviewer: Is that badge something that is important to you?

Respondent: Yeah of course it is, Fatima is a part of who I am, I wouldn't be the same person if I didn't grow up here, it has given me a lot.

Interviewer: Is there anything else I need to ask you, ehm, we have touched on most of the stuff that I wanted to ask really, is there anything else you would like to cover before the interview concludes?

Respondent: Let me think, ehm, yeah, I suppose it is important to say that Fatima isn't all great do you what I mean, we still have a lot of problems that haven't gone away since the regeneration, it might look a lot better and the buildings are shinier, and there is nice amenities, but there is still massive issue around here, a lot of people are still out of work, I know the regeneration brought with it a lot of kind of hopeful and looking forward to the future, but those problems are deep rooted and stretch much further than just doing up the estate, its mad like, I don't know who else you talked with, but I'm sure they told you the same thing, we still have a lot of issues around here, do you what I mean, especially around drugs.

Interviewer: Yeah, I know you were telling me beforehand that you don't have that much time, so we will live it that man, thanks a lot for your time, that is my last interview now, all done so I am going to get to it, so everything is alright for you there?

Respondent: Yeah, best of luck with everything, that's no hassle man, no worries.

Interview: private owner tenant 1

Interview transcript: private owner (1) - Female - 29 years of age - lives in the estate 11 years

Interview was conducted by phone on the 29th of May 2020 between 10:30 - 11:00. The following conversation took place after permission was given by the respondent to start recording.

Interviewer: I told you what I am doing?

Respondent: So, it's, you're looking at the PPP scheme isn't it?

Interviewer: What I am looking at is, obviously Fatima would have been all social housing, and then with the regeneration there is more of a social mix, like private renters, social housing and homeowners, they all live in the same estate, I want to get a sense of the relationship between them, is it that they live alongside but not together, do you know what I mean? Im trying to find out what the strength of there relationship is and what determines whether or not they do have a relationship?

Respondent: Yeah, I suppose there is 3 kind of groups that you would be looking at really, so you would have the Fatima residents (social housing tenants), then you would have the newer young professionals moving into the apartments, and then you would have Reuben street which is maybe families that have been there a while and then also there is a lot of new families that have moved in, those families use the community garden a lot, it's their little vignette.

Interviewer: I suppose we can start with a few simple questions before we get into it. How long have you been living in the estate?

Respondent: Will I go like when my grandad bought the house, and history in the area?

Interviewer: No more just for you.

Respondent: So when I was born we moved, so my mam was living in Maynooth, and when I was born we moved back to Reuben street, I was there until I was 5 and then we moved to my granny's house and I was there for two years, then I was in Haroldscross for a year, then we moved back to Reuben street, then we moved to Inchicore, then we built our house, I think I was 17, so living here 11 years. But I was in Reuben street nearly everyday growing up because I would go there after school.

Interviewer: Have you liked living there over the last few years?

Respondent: Yeah, I did, particularly because I like being next to my Grandad, obviously like I am 29 now and you kind of have to, people outgrow each other or whatever, but yeah I do like living here and I like the area and I particularly find now over the last 5 or 6 years that I have become more part of it, I was volunteering with the homework club and you would get to know people from teaching, I would know some people around the area, I do feel a part of it.

Interviewer: That took a bit of time to feel a part of it?

Respondent: Yeah definitely, because like that we would be more the Reuben street side, when I was a kid it was hard like, cause I wasn't rough, I wasn't tough like some of those kids, I had friends from the flats and stuff - but I remember being a kid and being intimidated by a lot of the kids around there - I had a milkshake poured over me one day - walking back from the shop and it just smacked me.

Interviewer: What did it take to get in with the community?

Respondent: I think, for me it is probably through the kids, cause we would have had kids from the flats drop into us and we would do baking and stuff, and we got to know them and then we got to know their mam's through them, and then through the homework club I got to know a few people as well and now in school there is a few kids from the area in my class (respondent is a local school teacher) and then from the different backgrounds, so like there would be quite a lot of Polish kids live in the apartments (private renters) in Francis street (local school).

Interviewer: They would be in the private rental apartments?

Respondent: Yeah, it is funny, a lot of the foreign nationals would go to Francis street, and then the more upwardly mobile, I don't like saying that, but the newer residents, and especially on Reuben street, a lot of them kids go to the educate together, so there is that kind of segregation in education as well.

Interviewer: So you are saying that Fatima residents (social housing tenants) send their kids to the local school - the foreign nationals also do - and then those living in the private apartments and homes send their kids to schools outside the local area? What affect do you think that has?

Respondent: With the educate together there is loads of aspects of that education that are great - and it is brilliant that kids have an option for secular education - that is really important - but it is like we are a certain kind of people and we want our kids to be mixing with the same type of people - the kids in Fatima (social housing) don't fit in with that type.

Interviewer: Would you say there is a strong sense of community in the estate?

Respondent: Yeah, there is a strong sense of community, but I don't necessarily think they overlap - the community garden is a strong signifier of that - it is mostly used by Reuben street residents (home owners) - you don't see kids out of Fatima using it - now it is 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.

Interviewer: So the garden is more used by the Reuben street residents than it would be by Fatima residents?

Respondent: It is odd, because the funding to build the garden would have come from the regeneration project - so it is a bit odd that it is not anyone from Fatima actually using it.

Interviewer: What sort of impression do you think either group would have of each other?

Respondent: Listen, they (private renters/owners) are moving into the inner-city - a historically working class area - but they are expecting that they will have a community that is like a suburban area - you know things like - on the road there is always dog shite up and down the road - and there is an element of anti-social behaviour - the newer people leave like passive aggressive messages on the lamp posts - like look after your community and all this sort of stuff - you can't move into the inner city, in an area like that and expect to be like Terenure (affluent Dublin suburb) or a quite leafy estate - you chose to move into that area and you have to accept the problems - their not dealing with the acute poverty that a lot of people in Fatima are dealing with or reading from years of drug problems and how that ravaged the area - there is a generational affect of that as well - it takes years to get over that - so many children were handed over to Granny's and Grandad's.

Interviewer: So do you think these people moving in have a certain idea of what the area is or are they kind of detached from that?

Respondent: I think, a lot of people think it is a trendy place to live - there is elements of a working class community that they admire - maybe they fetishise it in a way - that it's cool to live here - but then the negative elements they don't want to accept those and they won't accept those - so they are picking and choosing parts of living in the area - a lot of these people say they are from Dublin 8 but would never say they are from Fatima - whereas people from Fatima - say I am from Fatima.

Interviewer: So it's only a good thing to say you're from the area and you like living in this kind of working class area but getting to know the people is not top of the agenda?

Respondent: I would rarely see people from Reuben street or the apartments mixing with people from Fatima, it is like two different worlds co-existing and living along side each other with little or nor overlap from what I have seen.

Interviewer: What do you think might help the situation?

Respondent: That is a hard one.

Interviewer: Would you see any benefit in more overlap - the whole idea of the regeneration was that we will have this newer middle class population and will have benefits for people from Fatima - they might have a further reaching opportunity for jobs and stuff - what might help there?

Respondent: I don't know how any outside force could make a difference - we need a change in peoples attitudes - it feeds into the question - what role do you play in the community - I feel like people are individualistic - they have their own little bubbles - and I don't think they have a sense of civic duty - what they might do in their own community - it does not go beyond Reuben street for a lot of them.

Respondent: The kids have a lot more freedom in Fatima, they are more open and they talk to you, they talk to people around the area, they get to know people around the area, whereas half the kids that live on Reuben street, you would say hello to them and they avert their eyes down to the ground - it's culturally divided.

Interviewer: They need a something in common maybe?

Respondent: The only way for that to happen, it may not necessarily happen in the first ten years, like the first generation of new comers into the area they are going to be coming from their world - but I think with the kids mixing - that is how you integrate these separate groups, 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 - like simple things, my pal from school lives up the road in Reuben street - I'm going to not around to him and go for a cycle - whereas they don't have that, they don't have any point of introduction, 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 walking up and down outside the gates screaming in, 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.

Interviewer: And as you said, it is not just the kids who can interact, it is the parents that are bringing the kids to the school that could interact if they were sharing the same school.

Respondent: You would wonder what is the reason, there is a reason those parents are not putting their kids into the likes of James street, and they are putting them into the educate together, you would wonder what is the reason - do they not want their kids mixing with working-class kids - what are the fears that they hold around that - what do they think is going to happen.

Interviewer: That is where the ideas manifest isn't it like, in the actions they take.

Respondent: There is such a stark difference, the kids in the educate together, there parents all come and collect them whereas the kids in Fatima are all walking and cycling home, they are looking at each other and see each other every day but they never interact, imagine that, they see each other every single day but there is no interaction between them, I find that wild like.

Interviewer: It is wild isn't it, that can become normal.

Interviewer: Is there anything else you would like to touch on before we finish?

Respondent: It is a two way street, the newer families do not want to integrate, that is definitely a thing, at the same time there is probably a little more that people from Fatima could do to care about there community, especially the younger generations like teenagers and stuff, they can be intimidating, they absolutely can be intimidating - that does create a standoffishness - and drugs as well, that is still a huge problem that absolutely has to be factored in - you have got this whole generation of kids who are now standing out on the corner selling drugs, all there parents were heroin addicts, they were raised by there grandparents - that is cycle that is near impossible to break - that is huge factor - it is not as simple as giving them new houses and a state of the art community centre - it is a cultural thing that is really hard to address - the solution isn't is throwing a load of middle class people into the area in anyway.

Interviewer: That is great, thank you very much for your time and taking the call.

Respondent: Ah no problem at all.

After the recording finished the interviewee was asked to nominate prospective interviewees. The interviewee also asked for some constructive feedback to build on for the next interview.

Accessing recordings if needed

Recordings have been safely stored on a USB in the researchers hands. If needed - email alexocuinn@gmail.com