

Mixed Housing

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A Shared Future: The Policy and Strategy Framework for Good Relations in Northern Ireland (ASF), published in 2005, highlights the importance of developing and supporting mixed housing. This paper outlines the main policy issues concerning mixed housing, identifies methods which can aid in the creation and maintenance of mixed religion housing, and gives recommendations to assist in the development of the triennial action plan (TAP).

In their analysis of consultation responses to *A Shared Future: A Consultation on Improving Relations in Northern Ireland*, Darby and Knox (2004) noted that the overwhelming view of respondents was the need to move towards a more integrated society, although many respondents felt that shared living is aspirational, in the short term at least. Indeed, some respondents felt that the goal should not be one of total integration, arguing that the views of those who wish to live in single-identity areas must be respected, and the vision for the future should be one of increased integration and reduced segregation, recognising that segregation will always be present.

ASF acknowledges how the Government, since 1998, has been committed to exploring ways of providing mixed housing, and acknowledges that the Northern Ireland Housing Executive is committed to promoting mixed housing where it is practical, desirable and safe (2.5.1). ASF states that the highly segregated nature of social housing is unsustainable, both morally and economically. The document argues that residence in a particular area should be a matter of housing need or personal choice rather than an insistence that “only one sort or one colour” live in certain areas (2.5.3). In addition, ASF highlights how segregated housing gets in the way of meeting need and prevents the best use of housing and land (2.5.1).

ASF highlights the Housing Executive’s intention to work with the Department of Social Development, Housing Associations and others to bring

proposals forward for two pilot projects of integrated housing in the medium term, and states that applicants wishing to live in areas where people of all backgrounds are welcome should have a real choice (2.5.4). However, the document further acknowledges that integrated housing projects cannot be uniformly imposed.

Mixed religion housing policy aims

The two main areas of development within ASF are:

- *to develop shared communities where people of all backgrounds can live, work, learn and play together;*
- *to support and protect existing areas where people of different backgrounds live together (2.5).*

In developing specific policies for the triennial plan:

The Department of Social Development, through the Northern Ireland Housing Executive will:

- *ensure that residence in a particular area should be a matter of housing need or personal choice rather than an insistence that “only one sort” live in certain streets or districts (2.5.6).*

The Housing Executive should, as a matter of priority:

- *bring forward as soon as practicable its proposed pilot schemes on integrated housing;*
- *ensure that applicants wishing to live in areas where people of all backgrounds are welcome should have a real choice, subject to availability;*
- *consider how best, in consultation with PSNI and others, to protect, mixed housing areas;*
- *continue, through the new Community Cohesion Unit, to support the relationship building at neighbourhood level (2.5.7).*

Policy Context

The Belfast Agreement made a specific commitment to promoting integrated housing and to help people have the right to freely choose their place of residence and to be left in peace there (p16). The Housing Executive has a statutory duty under Section 75(2) of the Northern Ireland Act 1998. Under this the Housing Executive has a key role to play in promoting community relations and community cohesion. In 2004 it published its first community relations strategy, and in 2005 the Community Cohesion Unit was formed. To promote good relations, the agency aims to:

- *Respond quickly and effectively to the needs of people in danger as a result of community conflict.*
- *Work in partnership with others to address the complex housing needs of a divided society.*
- *Respect the rights of people who choose to live in single identity neighbourhoods.*
- *Facilitate and encourage mixed housing as far as this is practical, desirable and safe.*

Literature Review

Developing shared communities

Segregation in the social sector

ASF recommends that the Housing Executive implement their integrated housing schemes as soon as possible, and that applicants wishing to live in mixed religion residential areas should have a real choice (2.5.4). Research has shown that mixed religion housing has been highest amongst the middle-classes. Boal (1982) highlighted that residential integration had largely been confined to middle-class areas and more recently, Murtagh (2000) also found evidence of residential integration at the higher end of the housing market.

Social sector housing estates or non-market have had the lowest rates of integrated living. The NI Housing Executive classifies integrated estates as having populations of more than 10% Protestant or 10% Catholic, and currently, less than 10% of social housing in Northern Ireland is integrated.

Boal observed that there was a degree of ethnic residential mixing in Belfast in 1972 when violence was commonplace. Such mixing tended to be of a temporary nature. He was of the opinion that public sector housing tends to have fairly high levels of segregation because of the operation of working class factors. The Housing Executive has a statutory responsibility for homelessness and during times of conflict applicants presenting as homeless are likely to seek security amongst their own ethnic group. Doherty and Poole (1995) suggest that residential segregation is a system of considerable stability derived from the inertia within the system. Once segregated areas develop, they tend to be perpetuated by what may be termed normal residential processes within the housing market. Smith and Chambers (1991) refer to the ratchet effect whereby although segregation falls when there is no conflict, it does not fall back to where it had been before the preceding outbreak of violence. Rather than witnessing an oscillating level of segregation there is a ratchet effect in operation by which segregation rises in a stepwise fashion.

Social relations and social interactions within public housing space are fundamentally determined by the people who live there, alongside a wider process of market and social housing allocation. In this respect, the locality and nature of housing is a major determinant of how connections between individuals and communities are formed and maintained. As Manzi & Smith-Bowers (2006) acknowledge, the distribution of residential units and their occupants is not a consequence of random events but the product of complex social, economic and political processes. One of the most significant results of these processes is that housing consumption patterns can result in segregated areas otherwise known as 'enclaves', (suggesting choice) or 'ghettos', (suggesting constraint).

Non market housing development has been associated with marginalised households with high levels of unemployment and low incomes, higher than average proportions of children, and a high concentration of single parents. Whilst much of the housing has been located on the outskirts of towns and cities, some was also located in urban centres, a pattern which developed extensively in GB and other European cities as well as in Northern Ireland. There has been a process of residualisation in social housing estates throughout Northern Ireland and this has led to spatial polarisation. Key policy concerns to date have included how to avoid social segregation in residential areas and how to employ policies to combat social exclusion by enhancing social cohesion. In Northern Ireland, of course, this is further exacerbated by ethnic divisions.

Evidence suggests there is greater demand for integrated housing in Northern Ireland than the current supply. The Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey has consistently found that the majority of respondents would prefer to live in a mixed religion neighbourhood.

	Mixed religion	Own religion	Don't know/other
2004	80	19	2
2003	72	21	7
2002	74	19	7
2001	66	26	9
2000	70	22	8
1999	73	22	5
1998	71	21	9

In addition, there are around 400 families on the waiting list for social housing with mixed backgrounds.

The Contact Hypothesis

The most comprehensive reviews of contact literature are those of Amir (1969, 1976). Amir provides a useful summary of the favourable and unfavourable conditions that act to reduce or strengthen prejudices.

Favourable conditions are:

- When there is equal status contact between various members of various ethnic groups.
- When contact is between members of a majority and higher status members of a minority group.
- When an authority and/or social climate are in favour of and promote intergroup contact.
- When contact is of an intimate nature rather than a casual nature.
- When ethnic intergroup contact is pleasing and rewarding.

- When members of both groups in the particular contact situation interact in functionally important activities or develop goals or subordinate goals that are higher ranking importance than the individual goals of each of the groups.

The unfavourable conditions were:

- When the contact situation produces competition between the groups.
- When contact is unpleasant, involuntary or tension laden.
- When the prestige or status of one group is lowered as a result of the contact situation.
- When members of a group are in a state of frustration.
- When the groups in contact have moral or ethical standards which are objectionable to each other.
- In the case of contact between a majority and minority group the minority group are of lower status than the majority group.

The costs of segregated housing

Segregated housing dictates a more complex relationship between housing supply and demand that integrated housing would – demand for public sector housing from one religion cannot be met from supply in the other group's territory, even though the two areas may be in close proximity (Boal 1996). The result is that many Protestant areas are under-occupied or redevelopment schemes have left large empty areas whilst in neighbouring Catholic areas there remains a heavy demand for new houses and a greater density of population (Jarman 2002). However, segregated housing can lead to more than financial costs. Segregated residential areas lead to greater community isolation and to community fragmentation (Jarman 2002). Poole and Doherty (1995) state that residential segregation helps to cause what Boal called "activity segregation", i.e., the separation of social groups at non-residential places such as schools and workplaces. According to this viewpoint, activity segregation makes conflict more likely by fostering division and therefore hostility.

Despite the peace process, many communities still experience fear and avoid areas dominated by the other religion. Chill factors are important in explaining this fear; a “chill factor” implies that socially constructed fears impede normal activity. Shirlow (2001) reported on the highly religiously segregated nature of work places in Northern Ireland, and where mixing does occur, it tends to be when employees are more affluent or come from a less religiously segregated area.

The benefits of integrated housing

Most research has concentrated on the scale and effects of residential segregation. The costs of segregation have been highlighted above; however, there has been relatively little research on religiously integrated housing in Northern Ireland.

Murtagh and McDaid (2000) highlight the financial, housing management and social benefits of mixed housing. In terms of the positive financial and housing management benefits, greater efficiency in stock occupancy and the use of contested land are key issues. Integrated housing also encourages the development of trust and cross-community relations. Understanding of the other community’s values and culture help to build mutual understanding and tolerance.

The problems of developing integrated housing

Social housing providers face difficulty in securing land in high demand areas for all new build social housing, The use of land raises another problematic issue for policy makers in Northern Ireland, as communities claim ownership of land, making it difficult for policy makers to treat land as a neutral resource

Darby and Knox (2004) highlighted the important issue of territoriality. Respondents from Protestant groups referred to Republican attempts to take over their territory. Catholic respondents were aware of this contention, but believe that the issue was one of meeting housing need. As one respondent stated: “Protestants perceive this shift as territorial encroachment whereas Catholics are attempting to resolve problems of need”.

Choice

Whilst the costs of segregated living and the benefits of integrated living have been outlined above, it is necessary to reflect upon the issue of choice – are those living in segregated areas living there voluntary or involuntarily? Indeed, many choose to live in segregated areas. Furthermore, whilst segregated housing, and its ability to reinforce stereotypes, is clearly not a positive long-term vision for housing in Northern Ireland, Boal (1996) shows how it isn't entirely bad: concentration can provide defence against physical threat and can provide a basis for cultural preservation, amongst other things. However, assessing the difference between voluntary and involuntary segregation is difficult. Poole and Doherty (1995) give the following example: if a city's housing market consists almost entirely of religiously segregated areas, then, for example, a Catholic's decision to live in a Catholic district is in one sense voluntary because the options rejected are Protestant areas the mover is reluctant to enter. At the same time, if the decision-makers preference is for a mixed area, which the segregated system prevents from existing, the mover is in fact constrained against their will to live in a Catholic area by the limited options available.

The importance of the ability to exercise choice, i.e., that people have viable housing options to choose from, in this case mixed areas or segregated areas, has been highlighted by several academics. For example, Boal stresses the importance of choice over a forced integration policy. Poole and Doherty (1995) also argue that what is more important from a policy perspective is whether there is sufficient choice of a range of social environments to make a voluntary decision possible. Real choice means that there should be a wide alternative of different environments, both segregated and mixed areas, and is based on the belief that people have a right to meaningful choice.

A Sheffield Hallem University team has researched the contribution of housing management to community cohesion. Although segregation was an important concern for many of the study's respondents, opinions varied about whether it was actually a problem, whether it was an issue that should be tackled, what interventions might be appropriate, and how tackling segregation might promote or undermine community cohesion. (Robinson et al., 2004). One housing association director observed that '*my most sustainable schemes are mono-cultural*' (p15). Residential integration was not seen necessarily as essential for integration to take place, and reservations about promoting residential integration appeared to recognise that people

often live in segregated communities for good reason. A key theme was the importance of choice and there was a view that housing management had a key role to play: in provision of relevant and appropriate housing opportunities, in allocations and lettings, through community participation, involvement and development, via equality of opportunity, and through tenancy support and management. (Harrison et al 2005). Examples of practical efforts that were in hand or completed were provided. These included stock conversion as a means to responding to inadequacies in the local stock profile, bringing residents together in a regeneration planning process, changing or enhancing allocations and lettings practices, tenancy support improvements, and training local people to report hate crime. In Blackaby's Good Practice Guide for CIH (2004) a good practice example of how to develop community cohesion is taken from Oldham Housing Investment Partnership and Aska Housing Association. Here the aims are:

- To develop and maintain contact with hard to reach groups;
- To provide tenancy support complementing the work of other service providers;
- To co-ordinate and promote community development activity (and develop new projects and activities to encourage social and residential integration and cultural awareness);
- To support communities to move to non traditional areas;
- To forge multi-agency partnerships to tailor services to deliver more effectively to meet specific needs in deprived areas; and
- To provide 'racial equality' and cultural awareness within tenants' and residents' associations.

Blackaby pays particular attention to the creating of 'mixed neighbourhoods', although indicating that this should not be about compulsion but extending choices and creating new opportunities (p36).

Overall, ASF takes the view that the development of integrated social housing, whilst facilitating increased choice, should not be the main policy driver in new build social housing, but rather as an add-on via projects in selected areas. The notion that all new build social housing should be

integrated has been rejected, in line with Boal's and Poole & Doherty's thesis. The Housing Executive has pointed out that creating choice means that those who choose to live in single-identity neighbourhoods must be supported.

Creating integrated housing

The following section is organised along the two main aims of ASF in relation to mixed housing:

- How to establish integrated housing
- How to sustain mixed communities

Site identification

The first hurdle is to find a site which gives the optimal opportunity for mixed housing to succeed. The availability of land for new build social housing in areas of high demand is a significant problem in itself, and there are further factors which need to be taken into consideration in the development of a mixed religion scheme. Brendan Murtagh (2000) has identified several key issues, including:

- Site circumstances: this includes matters such as the location of key services and facilities, the size of the scheme, the location and route of public transport, and an integrated infrastructure
- Site history: the land should have no political history
- Site design: including tenant involvement.

Given the importance of Murtagh's work in this area, the full range of Murtagh's indicators for new build social housing are included as an appendix.

How to ensure that it is religiously balanced

However, once a site has been identified and built, the key issue is how to ensure that the scheme is religiously balanced. The use of quotas would ensure that a scheme is religiously balanced, and would be necessary to help maintain

the religious balance as tenants move in and out over time. However, allocation policies that control the religious balance of tenants within a social housing estate is at odds with the allocation policy in Northern Ireland. The Common Waiting List aims to provide housing for those most in need, and has been devised with the very aim of outlawing discrimination. In order for social housing providers to allocate housing on the grounds of religion, legislative changes are required. Without such legislative changes, promoting integrated housing requires different and more imaginative ways of encouraging households to move into mixed housing schemes are needed.

How to encourage people to live there

It is useful to examine how other countries are dealing with segregated societies. Although these divisions are along different lines, such as race and income levels, and have their own concomitant problems, they do provide a starting point for further debate.

In the United States there have been various housing mobility programmes, which facilitate the relocation of residents of segregated minority communities (ethnically or economically segregated) to nonminority areas. These programmes are usually small-scale and confined to a particular area. Carr (1999) identifies three main programmes:

(1) Gautreaux Programme

This is designed to move minority public housing residents into predominantly white or predominantly African-American communities. The programme also provides help in the form of social service provision to facilitate their transition to new communities.

(2) Moving to Opportunity Programme

This experiment took place in five US cities: Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles and New York, and moved from high poverty public housing areas into economically integrated neighbourhoods. Participants were assigned to three groups:

- Experimental group: Offered Section 8 rental subsidies that could only be used for private market housing in areas with low poverty rates. They also received counselling services and assistance in their housing search.
- Comparison group: offered section 8 rental subsidies, but were not required to move to an area with a low poverty rate and were not provided with any additional services.
- Control group: received no rental subsidies.

(3) Yonkers

This is a scattered-site public housing initiative and aims to overcome racially segregated housing. In this programme public housing units were constructed to house black and Hispanic residents, and these units were scattered across sites of varying densities of mostly white communities.

However, Carr (1999) notes that the longer-term success of mobility schemes are mixed. Although the minority households that participate in mobility programmes have a better quality of life, the newly integrated areas tend to eventually re-segregate, or at least form a majority-minority. A key point to note is that these mobility programmes usually deal with lower income households with lower levels of education attainment, and Carr points out that even when the majority group are in favour of pro-integration, they prefer that their minority neighbours have roughly the same income and education levels as them.

It is important to establish that there will be a need for this type of accommodation and that there is a demand for it. One way of establishing this is to measure latent demand as many applicants may not be on a waiting list simply because no integrated housing is available.

Mixed Tenure

In the UK, the government in recent months has become increasingly keen to promote the idea of ‘mixed communities’ as a mechanism for delivering sustainable regeneration and social inclusion and de-concentrating poverty.

As a result we will begin to see many new developments will be mixed with homes for market rent and sale integrated with social housing and shared ownership properties. The intention is that the introduction of better-off households will bring benefits to lower income residents: not just by physical renewal but a better area reputation, more shops and services, less crime, schools with more balanced intakes, aspirational peer groups for young people, and broader social networks for adults. Research has shown that segregation in Northern Ireland housing estates is mainly confined to social housing estates which in turn have many other problems besides ethnic segregation. The introduction of mixed tenure estates might assist in stabilising areas that are particularly vulnerable to crime and poverty thus creating more desirable conditions for inter-community living.

Maintaining mixed areas

The key issue is how to ensure sharing once we have achieved integrated housing. The aim of mixed housing in Northern Ireland must be that people from the two religious backgrounds can come together and engage as a community with shared interests. However, it cannot be assumed that residential integration will naturally result in increased interaction between different groups. Robinson (2005) states that even if ethnic integration can be actively promoted, it cannot be assumed that ethnic interaction will inevitably follow.

Mixed areas need intensive management and investment. There need to be micro-management, relationships need to be developed, and conflicts need to be managed.

Community Development Activities

Local community development initiatives are crucial to the maintenance of mixed communities. Robinson (2005), in examining ethnic residential integration, highlights the importance of facilitating engagement, fostering dialogue and minimising tensions are required.

Enabling and encouraging contact between the different communities

In order for an area to be regarded as truly mixed, there must be social interaction between the two religious groups. A useful and necessary first step is the facilitation and encouragement of engagement between the different communities.

A shared sense of place

In examining ethnic residential segregation in England, the Independent Review Team (2001) argues that divided communities need to develop common goals and a shared vision to get away from the “them and us” attitude. They highlight that the most successful approach to managing tensions between different groups is to forge unity through a common sense of place and a shared sense of belonging. Robinson stresses the importance of local collaborative structures and communication channels need to be created.

The vital first step is the provision of space where the communities can interact. In Ballynafeigh, an established area of mixed communities, they have provided the physical space for local people to come together, and there are currently 94 user groups. Ballynafeigh Community Development Association (BCDA) highlighted the importance of evolving to provide relevant services for a changing population. For example, there are more young professionals and ethnic minorities moving into Ballynafeigh, and the challenge is how to get them involved in the community – how to get them to view the area more than somewhere they have simply purchased a property. As a response to this, BCDA have been focusing on celebratory methods such as a very successful street festival. In addition, several groups have been formed to deal with local problems, which bring people together who share a common concern about their neighbourhood. For example, there is a planning and environmental group, looking at the increase in Housing Multiple Occupancies (HMOs), and are carrying out a land use audit. There is also a community safety partnership, including PSNI, BELB, BCC and NIACRO. It is not simply about tackling practical issues, its about building civic infrastructure. Representatives from the BCDA feel that bridging social capital (ie increased understanding and the fostering of relations between groups) is beginning to happen in the area.

The wider community

It is important to include the wider community in these community development activities. There is concern that if a new scheme is parachuted into an area, it will be viewed with suspicion. The surrounding area may see resources being put into this mixed area at the expense of their own, and therefore, resources should be extended out to the broader community. It is important that a new scheme shouldn't be in a bubble, it needs to be part of a wider community, and it needs to be integrated into the broader community.

Management of mixed communities

It is crucial to support and nurture these mixed communities. Consequently, there needs to be a strong commitment to actively manage the diversity in integrated housing.

Managing conflict

If we are building mixed communities, we need to be prepared to micro-manage relationships. The potential for neighbourhood conflict is not confined to mixed areas. However, what could initially be a non-sectarian conflict between two neighbours could escalate if those involved are of different religious backgrounds, and can quickly polarise the area. Neighbour disputes have the potential to turn into a sectarian problem if the issue is not managed properly. If there is conflict, there clearly needs to be mediation. But who should the mediators be? Possibly the Housing Executive through their mediation project and Community Cohesion Unit. However, it is important that the voluntary and community sector are included in this process. A key issue therefore is investment – mediating in disputes and coming up with frameworks when conflict happens.

Assurance process

Pre-emptive and proactive measures of dealing with disputes are particularly important. Ensuring that the wider community understand that a dispute is not sectarian is critical. If, for example, there was a dispute in a new

integrated housing scheme, media involvement is more than likely. It has been suggested that there should be an assurance process:

- Identify the protractors and go to them first and ask them to commit to non-involvement in neighbourhood disputes. This would involve paramilitaries, politicians and the media. Explain to them what is going on with a dispute and ask them to commit to letting others deal with it. But who would do this?
- It's important to talk to them, engage them in discussion from the start to get them on board.

Diversity

Nyden et al (1998) examined 14 diverse neighbourhoods in the USA, with the aim of finding what mechanisms worked in order to keep the area stable. One key finding was that no two communities are fully alike.

However, some characteristics were common in the diverse communities:

- The presence of “social seams” – points in the community where interaction between different groups is sewn together. For example, the provision of shopping amenities, an integrated school with regular social events where parents can interact as well as community wide events such as festivals.
- Community based organisations and social institutions contributing to maintaining diversity. Communities went about this in different ways:
 - Managing diversity directly: An organisation specifically to promote integration and diversity
 - Maintaining diversity indirectly by addressing community wide service issues: In the course of addressing community need, such as community safety, they are bringing various parts of the community together.
 - Maintaining diversity indirectly by developing interest groups that engage in dialogue to resolve differences: Organisations representing specific groups, for example a particular ethnic group, advance their interests in community wide debates.

- Religious organisations also play an important role: they often come together to bridge division.

In addition to common characteristics, common challenges to the future stability of communities were also found. The authors note, however, that although these can be seen as threats to stable diversity, they are usually seen as issues that need to be addressed and that unify the community to sustain diversity.

- Transition from older residents to younger residents
- The need to address blight within the community or on its boundaries. This involves the need for more community reinvestment, for example to improve unsightly properties.
- Community safety
- Schools. The challenge of attracting a new diverse population relates to the challenge of attracting young families to specific areas. Without good quality schools marketing the area to target populations can be difficult.

Current initiatives

The Housing Executive is in the process of developing two pilot integrated housing schemes. The Housing Executive's Community Cohesion Unit acknowledges the importance of measures aimed at sustaining these new communities, and plan to work in partnership with a range of agencies, as well as with those living in these schemes, with the overall aim of building relationships and brokering good relations between those involved.

It is important to remember that if a scheme fails, this does not necessarily mean that the idea is flawed and that other schemes will fail. It may be an issue particular to that individual scheme, for example with the location. If a scheme fails, it is important to learn from it what has gone wrong. The key point is just because one fails, it doesn't mean that the idea is fundamentally flawed.

Recommendations

Efforts to create and maintain mixed community living should be flexible and it is important not to take a “one size fits all” approach. The recommendations below outline a 4 pronged approach, in recognition of the geographical variability of the depth of division within our society. This would be based on a mapping of neighbourhoods throughout Northern Ireland and fitting them into the first three categories as this will determine the action that will be taken. Sensitivity should always be central to any actions taken. It is also important to regularly monitor actions, particularly in new developments or where integration is taking place.

Four approaches

1. Those neighbourhoods/areas already integrated. ... good channels of communications with tenants/residents to ensure that they do not become segregated. Close monitoring required.
2. Those neighbourhoods/areas where a strategic approach to integration could be implemented, for example where there is a positive response to integration. The setting up an neighbourhood strategy team that could work towards encouraging further integration.
3. Those where integration would prove extremely difficult. Monitor closely and establish close links through community groups. Reduce chill factors. Implement training schemes. Introducing “softening” approaches through building new smaller developments at interface areas. Try to utilise open spaces as much as possible and encourage environmentally friendly schemes. Encourage community representatives to work alongside those from the opposite community working close-by.
4. Identify non contentious areas for new developments. The construction of a database on the levels and locations of integration/segregation using GIS on a Northern Ireland wide basis to show patterns/clusters of activity would aid this. The use of Murtagh’s indicators (See Appendix 1) should further aid the identification of the most likely areas to sustain a new area of mixed housing.

It is important to include measures to support any new development. It is imperative to select the right location (such as sites in ‘intermediate’ areas

outside but within reasonable reach of traditional areas of settlement). Strategies to open up new opportunities are unlikely to succeed if they simply provide housing and ignore wider issues, such as housing management, support and local amenities. Otherwise what begins as an integrated scheme may well revert to a pattern of segregation as people move out due to issues of anti social behaviour, chill factors etc.

The *Community Cohesion Unit* is well-placed to take the lead in the development of integrated housing. It would seem logical to have this Unit lead delivery, integrate policy, develop and share best practice and learn from the pilot initiatives. The *CRC*, with its focus on community relations, would work closely with the Community Cohesion Unit.

There are several specific recommendations which can be applied in attempting to encourage and foster relationship building in mixed communities.

(1) The facilitation and encouragement of community development initiatives is of central importance:

- The provision of physical space for mixed communities to interact
- Encouragement of local community development initiatives: from the provision of funding to set up groups, to other practical support and advice, such as practical issues of how to set up and run a community group, and on community leadership training.
- The inclusion or establishment of groups to deal with issues shared by the whole community, such as community safety, are important to aid in the development in a shared sense of space.
- Build-up a civic infrastructure through community interaction and partnerships with statutory and other agencies. This includes the PSNI, the education and library boards, and the local churches.
- Community relations training for all those involved in mixed areas.
- Generate opportunities for engagement through the development of community activities. Whilst increased interaction is important, promoting a shared sense of community, with common concerns is paramount.

(2) Mediation

- The availability of mediators to deal with disputes. The make up of this should be explored, although including community representatives is vital to achieve viability with the local community.
- Specific negotiations between local community representatives to try and deal with chill factors such as flags and emblems and celebratory practices should take place as a matter of priority.

(3) Wider community

- The development of mixed housing areas, and efforts to sustain them should not occur in isolation, and efforts should be made to include the surrounding, wider community. Resources should be extended to include the surrounding area, and alongside this, regional organisations or networks of community organisations should be established to share experiences.
- Encourage the media to tell positive stories of these communities successes.

(4) Diversity Agenda

- Organisations need to be more culturally competent than in the past. This is particularly important with the increased inflow of migrant workers.
- It is important to bear in mind other dimensions of ‘difference’ when considering ethnicity. This means trying to take account, wherever appropriate of issues raised by age, disability, gender, and sexual orientation, as well as socio-economic differentiation along lines of class or status.

(5) Housing Associations

- Housing associations and the Housing Executive can play a greater role in bringing about strong positive relationships between people of different

ethnic groups (including tackling and reducing racial harassment, becoming positive role models as organisations, building bridges with new minority ethnic groups).

- The setting up of a new Housing Association or other similar organisation to deal specifically with the provision of integrated housing might help to move forward this agenda. The Association could operate province wide with the remit of identifying new sites for this to work and also working with existing residents. This organisation could work in partnership with other agencies and stakeholders. The advantage of having a housing association working at this level would be the opportunity to attract a combination of public/private finance to assist with developing areas conducive to integration.

(6) Affordable Housing

- The literature identified the fact that segregated housing was mainly located in public sector housing estates. The provision of affordable schemes that would attract lower income groups into the owner occupied sector would increase the scope for integrated housing, given the higher levels of mixing in private housing schemes. This could also work in mixed tenure schemes and could include the NI Co-ownership Housing Association in providing a tenure mix. The right to buy in the past has created stability on many estates and a further extension of privatisation through affordable schemes would increase an attachment for residents to a specific area.

(7) Establishing sustainable mechanisms for co-operation, capacity building and conflict resolution

- Develop ways of bringing people together for practical and meaningful purposes through neighbourhood management.
- Working towards more effective combinations of localised neighbourhood management or participation on the one hand, and cross area interests and organisations on the other.

- Countering perceptions that voluntary and community organisations feel they are marginal to local policy debates.
- Applying rules to ensure that participating bodies and community groups conform to good practice on inclusion, or if not then they are trained, excluded or pressured.

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APPENDIX 1 Policy and Practice for locally integrated housing

Murtagh's Indicators

AREA	CONTENT	PROJECT MANAGEMENT IMPLICATIONS
Structural factors	Political stability	Macro political stability over a sustained period provides an essential context for the implementation of the scheme
	Peace	The absence of political violence is essential
	Low crime rate	The area should have a tradition of low crime, especially the death rate through the Troubles
Market factors	Existing religion balance	The balance should have an even proportion of Protestants and Catholics in the wider market and a large component of mixed living factors
	Trajectory of change	The change in the balance of the respective religious categories should be stable and not threatening to the viability of any one group
	Presence of minimum threshold	There should be a sizeable core of more than 30% of any one religion in the local market
	Wider market conditions	The wider spatial market should demonstrate that it could supply Protestant and Catholic tenants in sufficient numbers to allow the project to be sustainable in the long term

AREA	CONTENT	PROJECT MANAGEMENT IMPLICATIONS
Site circumstances	Location of key services and facilities	The site could be a neutral area but the services and facilities could be trapped in out-group territory
	Size	The project should be large enough to be viable and non-vulnerable but small enough to be easily managed and maintained
	Pedestrian and vehicular movements	The site should ensure safe and protected access by people and vehicles engaged in the routine of daily life
	Integrating infrastructure	The provision of safe and mixed places of employment, shopping and service provision should be widely available
	Location and route plan of public transport services	Public transport should be accessible and sensitive to local ethnic geographies. It should be useable in a safe and non-threatening way
	Integrated education	The provision of integration options would help to support the maturation of the scheme
	Site imagery	The presence of sectional symbols in the area
Site history		The land should have no definable ethnic or political history

AREA	CONTENT	PROJECT MANAGEMENT IMPLICATIONS
Community	Community infrastructure on site	A strong sense and level of development of community organisation and development
	Community relations in the wider housing market	The wider housing market should have a history of good community relations
	Community relations should encourage positive and non threatening celebration of identity	Community identity should not be ignored, denied nor undervalued. Positive expressions of identity should be facilitated in community development programmes within the project
	Arbitration and mediation services available	Problems should be anticipated with the appropriate mechanisms put in place to resolve disputes particularly around issues of identity
	Community facilities provided and integrated into the overall scheme	The design of the project should include provision for the physical space for community development facilities
	Management	Mix of tenures
Mix of house types and styles		This would help ensure a balanced demographic community

AREA	CONTENT	PROJECT MANAGEMENT IMPLICATIONS
<i>Management Continued</i>	Local management through methods such as EMBs and Tenant Co-operatives	The continuous, intensive and local management of the project would help ensure that collective ownership and investment may be supported
	Waiting list supply and quota filters to control turnover	Turnovers would need to be carefully monitored to ensure that the religious balance of the social rented component is maintained. This may necessitate legislative changes to the operation of the waiting list
	Sales would be encouraged to diversify tenure mix	The housing scheme should grow organically and evolve to full home ownership if necessary. This would have implications for the management of the remaining social rented component but could ultimately mean that the scheme grows out of the public sector stock
	Tenant contract on living in a designated mixed space	Tenants should sign a contract specifying the conditions of living in a mixed housing context
Design	Entry and exit points achievable	These should be sensitively located to offer maximum protection and safety
	Tenant involvement in site location, layout and design	The sustainability of the scheme would be encouraged by the full participation of tenants in all aspects of site and dwelling design

AREA	CONTENT	PROJECT MANAGEMENT IMPLICATIONS
<i>Design continued</i>	Crime safe environment	The design and layout of the estate should minimise the possible of on-site crime, vandalism and conflict
	Sensitive community policing and community neighbourhood watch support	Every attempt should be made to ensure that tenants take ownership over safety monitoring
	Display latest in energy efficient house and estate design	The model nature of the scheme could be broadened to display best management and design principles
Monitoring	The project should be subject to close and continuous monitoring	Tenant feedback, stock indicators and local housing management perspectives should be routinely collected particularly to signal problems with the scheme. The transfer potential of the initiative should be an ongoing part of the learning process
	Contingency plans should be prepared in the case of catastrophic failure	A clear set of actions and options should be explored to respond to scheme failure