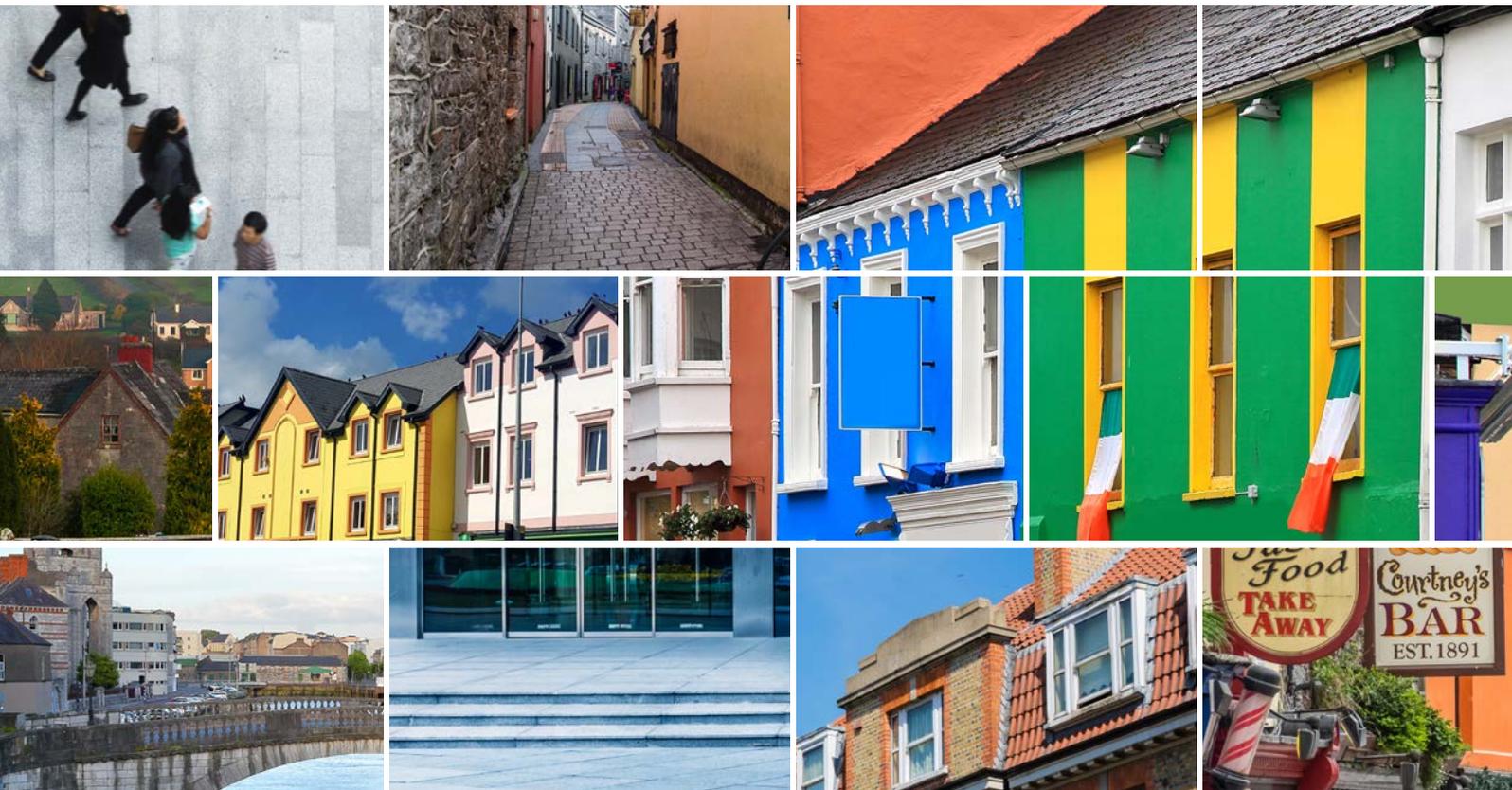


Comhairle Cathrach Chorcaí
Cork City Council

REBUILDING THE IRISH NEIGHBOURHOOD

How can we make mixed tenure communities work?

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The views expressed are our own and do not necessarily represent those of the Tomar Trust, Cork City Council or the Housing Agency.

Aideen Hayden and Bob Jordan
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1. INTRODUCTION

Purpose of Research

Rebuilding Ireland, the Government's national action on housing and homelessness, supports the development of mixed tenure communities in Ireland. This report looks at the implications of this policy for housing delivery, with a particular focus on the Cork region. Government policy is based on a view that mixed tenure communities are an essential part of a successful, inclusive society. This report looks at the evidence in Ireland and internationally, as well as the opportunities that exist to progress mixed tenure developments. Recognising that mixed tenure is about more than bricks and mortar, the wider factors that make mixed tenure communities work are examined. The research, which was conducted during the latter part of 2017 and early 2018, was funded by the Tomar Trust.

Timeliness of Research

Current Government policy as set out in Rebuilding Ireland (2016) favours the use of publicly owned lands to ensure the delivery of a mix of tenures, including private housing, social housing, affordable purchase and affordable rental housing. The Government has sought to deploy both planning and infrastructure strategies to bring lands into use which otherwise would be too costly or difficult to develop by the private sector alone. These strategies involve private developers working with local authorities through the planning process, using Part 8, to ensure faster delivery, and local authorities taking on the financial cost of infrastructural development in return for housing units. Most recently, the Government have announced the launch of the Land Development Agency (September 2018) with an immediate focus on managing State owned lands to develop new homes and regenerate under-utilised sites. This agency will have a role in the longer term of assembling strategic land banks from a mix of public and private lands, with the intention of making these available for housing in a controlled manner with the aim of bringing greater stability to the housing market. The Government have indicated that at least 40% of all housing built on public lands disposed of by the agency must contain 10% social and 30% affordable housing. As things stand, using publicly owned lands solely for social housing delivery would, in some cases, result in higher than desirable concentrations of social housing on one site, or in other instances, add to already high concentrations of social housing in adjacent areas. It has been established that high concentrations of social housing



result in higher concentrations of poverty and have negative neighbourhood effects for the communities concerned. These negative impacts have resulted in high costs, not only for the communities concerned but also for the State. Many troubled estates have been the focus of regeneration strategies over the years, with mixed results. Moreover, it has been recognised that tenure mix makes a positive contribution to sustainable communities, as evidenced by many Government policy statements over the years.

Why Government Intervention is Needed

The acceleration of supply to address the current housing shortage remains a critical challenge for Government. Extensive damage was caused to the construction sector during the economic downturn. There is evidence that private developers are finding it hard to access finance, land and labour to ensure the rapid delivery of necessary housing. The housing market has been slow to recover, as evidenced by the fact that 19,000 new ESB connections were established in 2017 in the face of an annual need for housing of at least 25,000 units. It is believed that working with the private sector will improve capacity within the sector, but it is also believed that developing publicly owned lands will encourage adjacent lands into the market and facilitate further development.

State intervention in the market is recognition that the private sector alone cannot deliver the homes necessary for the private market. In addition, there is a significant cohort of households who do not qualify for social housing but who cannot afford to purchase or rent a home at open market rates. The Government is seeking to promote access to affordable housing for this category of household. Part V of the Planning and Development Act provided for affordable purchase, but this aspect of Part V was stood down in 2011. It has been suggested that the cost to the purchaser under any new affordable scheme, to cover rental and purchase, would be based on an input from the State, with an appropriate reduction from the market value to reflect that support. This view has been supported by the announcement, in Budget 2019, of an allocation of €310 million on foot of Rebuilding Ireland for an affordable purchase scheme. The monies allocated will be used to service local authority owned lands to enable private housing to be built at a lower cost, with the saving passed on to an eligible purchaser. It has been stated that any discount would be capped at 40% of the market rate with a clawback if the property is sold within five years of acquisition. A scheme for affordable rental would provide rental properties at a discount from market rents, with this reduction being achieved, in part, by State input through land costs, income subvention, tax measures or other means. Details of an affordable rental scheme have yet to be announced.

How Mixed Tenure Occurs

Much can be learned from the history and experience of mixed tenure developments in Ireland. Housing in urban centres tends to be segregated, with social and private housing delivered in distinct developments. The mixed tenure developments that have emerged can almost exclusively be attributed to Government intervention. Accidental tenure mixing that may have arisen as a side-effect of Government policies - tenant purchase policy or measures to support affordability in private rented sector housing - are not the focus of this study, though their impacts will be discussed. The experience of mixed tenure in Ireland, as in other parts of Europe, has been varied and it is clear that local factors are pertinent to the success or otherwise of mixed tenure developments. Given the importance of the local and regional context, a particular emphasis has been placed in this study on the outcome of tenure mixing in Cork and on the experiences of interviewees delivering mixed tenure housing in the Cork region.

Research Methodology

The methodology employed for this study adopted a mixed methods approach. A review of the literature on mixed tenure, both in Ireland and internationally, informed the selection of areas for further study. This was complemented by discussions with policy makers nationally and with housing experts in a number of countries, to establish key current

trends in achieving mixed tenure. It was clear, however, that the input of key informants would be critical in establishing the requirements in an Irish context for successful mixed tenure communities. Research interviews were conducted with the following:

- senior Government officials (2),
- local authority officials engaged in delivering mixed tenure housing (5),
- developers engaged in mixed tenure development under Part V (4),
- people with significant experience of the issues around regenerating communities (1),
- bodies engaged with the delivery of mixed tenure housing, such as Approved Housing Bodies (AHBs), and those in the financial field currently examining mixed housing models (3).

In all, 15 in-depth interviews were conducted. The results of interviews were then analysed around key themes and recommendations derived accordingly.

Structure of the Report

CHAPTER 2

of this report looks at the meaning of mixed tenure and its evolution in an Irish context. It examines policies to promote mixed tenure in the past, and the success or failure of such policies, including the impact of policies on those mixed tenure developments that did not necessarily have the promotion of mixed tenure as their primary objective.

CHAPTER 3

sets out a review of the literature on mixed tenure housing, both in Ireland and internationally, and identifies the main conclusions that can be gathered from the research to date. It draws particularly on evidence from the UK, due to the common origins of the housing systems in the UK and Ireland, but also looks at countries such as the Netherlands, Sweden, France and Australia.

CHAPTER 4

sets out the research findings based on in-depth interviews with key stakeholders.

Interviews were conducted with key officials at local and national level to identify the likely trajectory of Government policy to develop mixed tenure housing and how this will be implemented on the ground. The concept of sustainable communities was explored with key informants. The research sets out to identify what guidance or direction is likely to be provided to individual local authorities, where mixed tenure strategies are intended to be pursued on publicly owned lands. A series of face-to-face interviews were conducted with both local authority and leading Government department officials to this end.

Cork City Council and Cork County Council have ambitious plans to develop mixed tenure housing and this was explored in some detail with both local authorities. From these discussions, both positive and negative features of Government policy were explored, from the practical perspective of delivery for the Cork region. Mixed tenure has been pursued for some time in the region, particularly through Part V developments. A series of interviews were carried out with local developers in Cork to establish their experience of that scheme and also more recent experience of mixed tenure through Part V housing developments, working with either local authorities or AHBs. The barriers to building and selling mixed tenure housing in Cork were explored and themes included access to funding, site location, saleability of properties, purchaser attitudes and planning and design issues, among others. It was clear that the funding challenges for developers to deliver affordable housing, either for purchase or rent, will be a barrier to the delivery of successful mixed tenure housing, and this was also explored with a company engaged in establishing a fund to buy and pre-fund mixed tenure developments.

The research also looked at community aspects and measures currently being undertaken to support mixed tenure communities as part of the Cork North West Quarter Regeneration in Knocknaheeny. Finally, interviews were conducted to examine barriers to mixed tenure communities, looking at the experience of Dublin City Council, where planning has been approved for over 1,600 units of mixed tenure housing on sites previously earmarked for Public Private Partnership (PPP) regeneration programmes.

CHAPTER 5

makes recommendations arising from this research in the Cork and Irish context. This chapter also sets out a checklist of best practice for successful mixed tenure developments based on the in-depth interviews conducted. The research conclusions, however, go beyond the practical measures that can be taken to ensure more successful mixed tenure estates, looking at other challenges, including Ireland's changing demographic profile.

CHAPTER 6

provides an overall conclusion to the report.



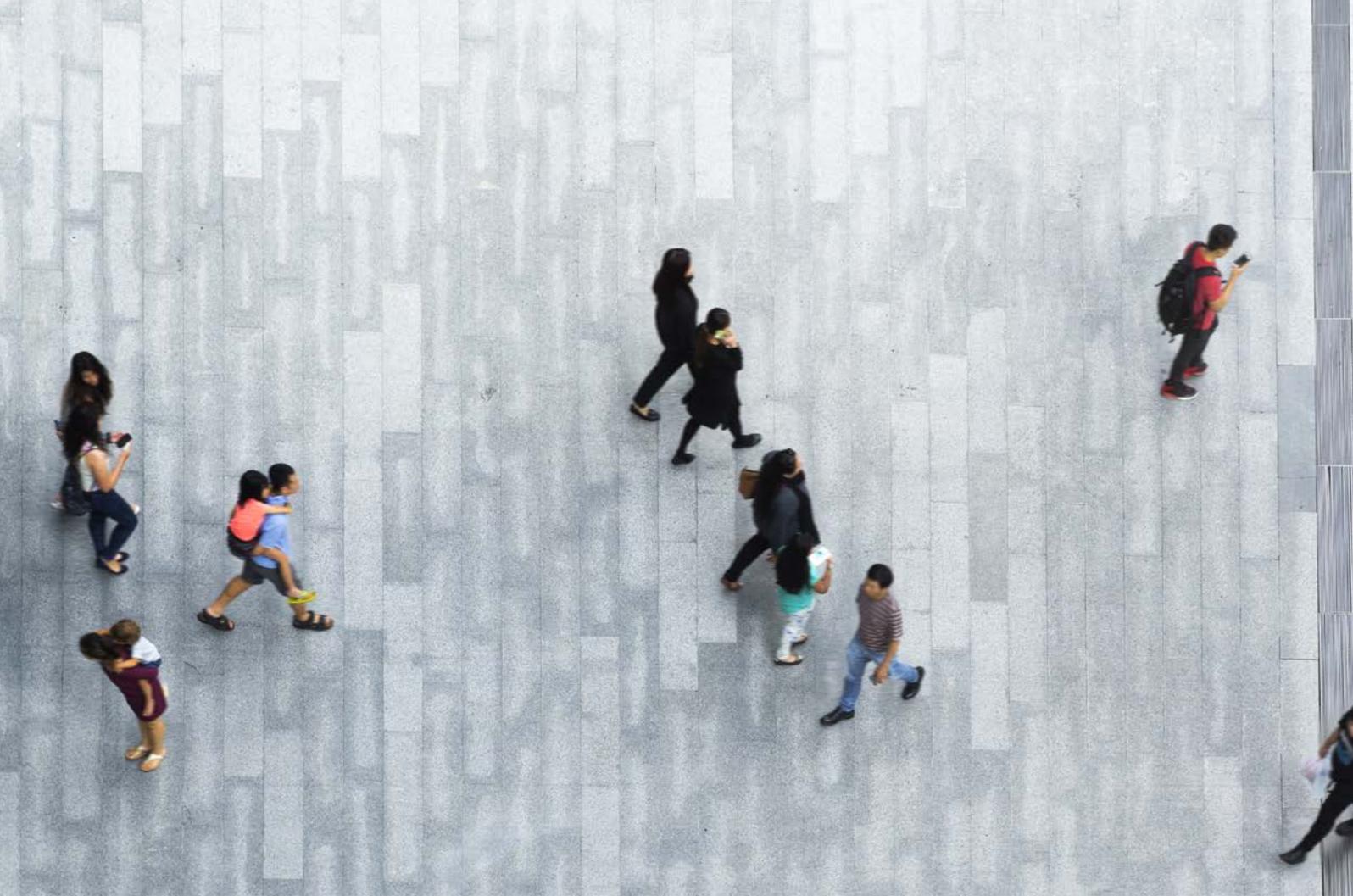
2. THE EVOLUTION OF MIXED TENURE HOUSING IN IRELAND

Introduction

Mixed tenure housing is widely understood to mean the delivery of social and private housing on the same site, although in an international context it is synonymous with mixed income communities. Current Government policy promotes mixed tenure developments and this is a continuation of previous policies to ensure sustainable communities. Various Government statements since the 1990s have recognised the negative effects associated with large mono-tenure social housing estates in concentrating households experiencing poverty in the one location (Department of the Environment, various years). The focus of policy interventions has been on overcoming the negative effects of high concentrations of social housing rather than promoting mixed tenure.

There is considerable evidence in Ireland and internationally that high concentrations of poorer households bring about neighbourhood effects such as place-based stigma, poorer quality environment, and reduced life chances for those living in the neighbourhoods affected. No similar disadvantages are associated with large concentrations of households in private ownership. It is therefore clear that it is not housing tenure that is the issue but rather the income of households living in different housing tenures. Mixing tenure is seen to dilute the negative impacts of neighbourhood effects for low income households in social housing because of the presence of higher income households in owner occupied housing.

The negative impacts of mono-tenure housing are also largely perceived to be an urban rather than a rural phenomenon. Historically, Irish villages and smaller towns have been regarded as successful examples of mixed tenure communities. While this



success may be associated with housing mix, which occurs more naturally in a smaller community, there can be no doubt that other factors have been influential. Within the smaller village community members of different social groupings mixed as a matter of course. For example, integrated education through the national school system, the influence of sporting organisations such as the GAA, and the importance of local churches as centres bringing people together are an important part of community life and facilitate successful mixed communities. Larger urban communities ensure a wider choice in a number of respects and therefore facilitate ‘separateness’, with schools, for example, giving preference to children within the immediate catchment area.

The Declining Reputation of Social Housing

Concern around the impacts of large concentrations of social housing surfaced first in the 1980s, after a period of prolonged recession during which many social housing communities experienced widespread unemployment and social deprivation. This was exacerbated by policy interventions, such as the IRE5,000 Surrender Grant which encouraged social housing tenants to purchase in a private housing estate and effectively led to even deeper concentrations of poverty among the households that remained in these communities.

The reputation of social housing was damaged as it moved from being seen as working-class housing to welfare-class housing. Social housing became closely associated with poverty and deprivation, with larger numbers of single parents and unemployed persons increasingly housed in the tenure.

By the end of the 1980s, issues associated with hard-to-let estates were occupying the national media, with stories of vacant houses, criminality, 'joy riding' and drugs making headline news. Blackwell (1988) identified the problems of social housing with the acute residualisation of the local authority council housing sector brought about by the reduction in size of the sector, poverty within the sector, low demand for the housing on offer, and poor management and maintenance standards by local authorities.

The residualisation of the council housing sector has been attributed, in large part, to tenant purchase policy, given that a large proportion of the higher income local authority tenants bought their own houses and left the sector. Nonetheless, until the inception of Part V of the Planning and Development Act 2000, it provided the most visible tenure mix strategy in the State at area level (as opposed to at sector level) and continues to do so through the current Incremental Purchase Scheme. The tenant purchase policy enabled the tenants of local authority houses to purchase them from the local authority at a discount of generally 30%. Its importance as a strategy to provide access for low income households to homeownership cannot be underestimated, with one quarter of all homeowners accessing homeownership through this route by 1990 (Fahey, 1999). Tenant purchase is also credited with having a role in 'settling' troubled estates, by providing stability through the retention of working families and therefore encouraging income mix (Hayden, 2013). The IR€5,000 Surrender Grant scheme, introduced in the mid-1980s, is widely recognised as having had a detrimental impact on the communities in local authority estates. The Surrender Grant scheme provided a cash incentive to households who surrendered their local authority dwellings to purchase newly built private houses outside of their area. The consequence of the scheme, however, was to denude the least successful local authority areas of income earning tenants and local leaders and influencers (Threshold, 1987).

While the scheme was removed after a short number of years, nearly 9,000 tenants – roughly one in twelve of all local authority tenants nationally, but particularly concentrated in certain areas of Cork and Dublin cities - left local authority housing as a result. One of the reasons behind the introduction of the scheme, other than as a

measure to boost the construction sector during a period of recession, was to secure vacancies for those on the housing waiting list. In this it was successful, and indeed there were categories of applicants who were able to secure housing who would not otherwise have been successful, especially lone parents and single persons. However, household incomes dropped and levels of deprivation rose within the tenure as a result of both tenant purchase and surrender grant policies. It is clear from the evidence that particular estates suffered significantly from the surrender grant policy. These tended to be those estates which were the least popular and had the lowest levels of tenant purchase. Areas where the surrender grant policy caused least damage were those estates with a high level of tenant purchase where housing was in high demand (Threshold, 1987). The surrender grant policy therefore exacerbated an existing problem.



The argument that tenant purchase has caused the residualisation of social housing applies to the tenure in general, in that, by removing the most desirable houses and those paying the highest rents under the differential rental structure, the sector as a whole became more impoverished. This provides an important lesson for tenure mixing generally, which is that unpopular estates will remain unpopular and poorly thought out interventions may have significant unintended consequences. It can be argued that, although tenant purchase removed better off tenants from the social housing sector, it also made a positive contribution in providing mixed incomes within what might otherwise become mono-tenure housing, and that this had a positive impact on the sustainability and resilience of those neighbourhoods.

The tenant purchase scheme was renewed in 1993 and became permanent after 1995, but its importance waned as the relative size of the social housing sector continued to decline throughout the 1990s. The current tenant purchase scheme (Incremental Purchase Scheme) may still be a relevant factor in ensuring tenure mix in local authority housing estates in the future. Tenant purchase does not apply to the properties of AHBs, nor does it apply to local authority Part V properties or local authority maisonettes, flats and properties designed for older persons or those with a disability. Cork City Council did succeed in selling some of its local authority flats before that feature of the scheme was abandoned in 1993.

The extension of tenant purchase policy should be considered further in the context of a greater number of mixed tenure estates as part of national policy. While there are arguments concerning the loss of council housing stock for rent, the opportunity to purchase (irrespective of discount) may be an important mechanism for ensuring the ability of households who wish to own their own home to remain in areas, by changing tenure in their existing dwelling. It is an important consideration, given the reliance on Part V to deliver social housing in the past and its stated role into the future.

Measures to address issues within the social housing sector during the 1980s and 1990s focused, not on mixed tenure, but on the physical regeneration of estates and community projects and schemes to address deprivation. In this, Ireland followed a long history of neighbourhood regeneration in European cities. From the 1970s onwards, many European countries had sought to address the problems in ailing social estates through regeneration and housing management reform. From the 1980s and into the 1990s, the emphasis moved to involving the private sector, through Public Private Partnerships. Specifically designed companies and special agencies were established to lead regeneration. This trend has continued to the present day, both in Ireland and in Western Europe generally.

In more recent years though, the focus has moved in line with Government policy to a broader approach, so that physical regeneration sat alongside community led development, through programmes such as the Social Inclusion and Community Activation Programme and measures to combat social-spatial segregation, even if the relationship between these dimensions remained loose. Examples of the trajectory of such developments in Ireland include the Remedial Works Scheme established in 1985, which provided funding for the regeneration of local authority estates and remains a very significant source of funding for the upgrading of estates to this day, and tax incentives under legislation, such as Section 23 of the 1986 Urban Renewal Act (generally referred to as Section 23 incentives), which were made available to regenerate derelict cityscapes from the mid-1980s onwards.

Measures to address issues within the social housing sector during the 1980s and 1990s focused, not on mixed tenure, but on the physical regeneration of estates and community projects and schemes to address deprivation. In this, Ireland followed a long history of neighbourhood regeneration in European cities.

In 1998 urban renewal tax incentives were applied to local authority estates. Specific large-scale regeneration of estates was undertaken by local authorities. The Knocknaheeny regeneration plan in Cork City is an example using the master plan approach. Specialised regeneration companies were also established, such as Ballymun Regeneration Limited, which was set up by Dublin City Council in 1997 to plan and implement the largest regeneration programme in Europe at the time.

Regeneration programmes have had a history of mixed success, in part, because the problems endemic in some of the areas where regeneration was attempted were not tackled and regeneration focused overwhelmingly on physical infrastructure - this was particularly so in the early days of regeneration schemes. Latterly, ambitious schemes to regenerate large social housing estates were negatively impacted by the economic downturn and surviving projects have, in the main, been scaled down. Many of the regeneration programmes envisaged under the Public Private Partnership Programmes, and other schemes such as Ballymun, have sought to introduce mixed tenure to otherwise largely mono-tenure areas. Efforts in Ballymun to ensure mixed income have included restrictions on the availability of rent supplement in the area.

The Private Rented Sector and the Role of Rent Supplement, HAP and RAS

Arguably, the extension of housing supports through the rent supplement scheme has been a form of mixed tenure while providing a solution to housing need, in that it enables people who would qualify for social housing to live in private rented housing in estates that can also include owner occupiers. Rent supplement, an income support to enable an unemployed person to access private rented housing, was introduced in the 1970s but was initially little availed of. However, social housing construction declined from the late 1980s onwards and although it recovered somewhat, it never recovered its position, either in percentage terms or as a proportion of the housing stock thereafter. Rent supplement uptake rose considerably through the 1990s into the 2000s, and at its height in 2011 the number of recipients reached 96,803, at an annual cost to the State of over €500 million.

The rent supplement scheme has changed over the years, but it remains available only to those who work less than 30 hours per week or who are in receipt of a welfare payment. Further changes to the scheme require a recipient to have been deemed eligible for social housing, to be exiting homelessness, or to have been renting privately for a period of six months prior to application. The recipient group, therefore, would generally be those who would be eligible for social housing because of their income profile.

By facilitating access to private rented housing, the rent supplement (RS) scheme improves housing choices for low income recipients, and arguably contributes to more mixing of incomes in private housing estates. However, the criterion which limits the level of rent that can be paid for a property, depending on family size and the property's location, also limits access to available properties. In addition, the Department of Employment Affairs and Social Protection seeks to regulate the scheme in a way that confines recipients to the lowest 35th percentile of the market. Moreover, there is evidence that recipients in urban areas are clustered in nearby areas of high social housing concentration, thereby limiting the effectiveness of the scheme as a tenure mixing solution to segregation.

However, there are undeniable benefits to the scheme for particular cohorts who had not traditionally been able to avail of social housing. In particular, single people have historically had low priority on the list, and given the traditional pattern of social housing construction (mainly three-bed units) they would have continued to find it difficult to benefit from conventional social housing which matched their need.

The Rental Accommodation Scheme (RAS), established in 2004, was further recognition of the importance of the private rented sector in fulfilling housing need. The scheme differed from RS in that it was administered by local authorities that drew up agreements with landlords, rather than being based on a rent contribution paid by the Department of Employment Affairs and Social Protection to the tenant. RAS confirmed the status of a large part of the private rented sector as 'quasi-social' housing by bringing tenants within the differential rental structure where tenants pay rent according to their means, as is the case with mainstream social housing.

One of the justifications of RAS, set out in the circular promoting the scheme from the (at the time) Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government, was to facilitate social mix. This was to be achieved by providing a wider geographic spread of dwellings than traditional social housing to those eligible for such housing (Department of Social and Family Affairs, 2006). Initially slow to achieve its objectives, over 20,000 households were housed under the scheme by 2014. There is evidence that the RAS scheme has been successful in securing better quality, more secure tenancies for recipients, and while not directly confirmed by any independent review, there is anecdotal evidence that it has widened choice for those who receive the benefit. As such, it is likely that the scheme has broadened the geographic spread of low income households.

Since 2014, the Housing Assistance Payment (HAP) scheme, effectively a modified version of the rent supplement scheme, has seen many of the attributes of the private rented sector integrated with some of the elements of social housing. HAP is administered by the local authority, whereas RS is administered by the Department of Employment Affairs and Social Protection. Under HAP, the local authority pays rent directly to the landlord, but otherwise the local authority has no role in the landlord-tenant relationship. Importantly, rent is paid by the tenant based on the tenant's income (differential rent), and in effect, the tenant is deemed to have their housing needs met and are eligible for the local authority transfer list, however it is up to the tenant to source their own accommodation. Security of tenure is on the same basis as a rent supplement tenancy and subject to legislation in place to regulate the private rented sector. Under Rebuilding Ireland, approximately two thirds of all social housing under the programme is to be delivered through HAP, underlining the importance of the private rented sector to the Government's housing strategy. HAP has operated on a national basis since July 2017.

Part V of the Planning and Development Act 2000

Two new Government initiatives beginning in the late 1990s impacted on tenure mix. Part V of the Planning and Development Act 2000 promoted inclusion of social and affordable housing within private housing developments, and separately there was an initiative to broaden access to publicly owned lands for the provision of affordable housing for private purchase. An affordable housing scheme was introduced in 1999 to tackle the difficulties faced by middle income families in accessing ownership in a market of rapidly rising house prices. Under this model, the private sector engaged with local authorities to construct housing which was subsequently sold to qualifying purchasers at a discount to reflect the lower cost of the discounted land value. By 2011, over 7,600 affordable units had been delivered alongside existing social housing. Research for this study reveals that interviewees consider this to have been a successful scheme in achieving mixed tenure in the context of the use of publicly owned lands.



The Planning and Development Act 2000 introduced a requirement to deliver up to 20% social and affordable housing for purchase under Part V of the Act. The legislation had the specific intention of mitigating undue social segregation by ensuring tenure mix in new housing developments above a certain size. In addition, it was to be an important source of social housing and a further political response to an affordability crisis for middle income purchasers. Cost reductions were to be achieved by requiring developers to make land available to local authorities at existing use value, which in most instances was less than its development value. Local authorities could also purchase serviced sites or completed dwellings at a price to reflect the cost of construction plus the developer's reasonable profit. With almost 90,000 housing units constructed in 2006 at the height of the housing boom, Part V would have reasonably been expected to dramatically impact on the supply of social and affordable housing and on tenure mix.

Amendments to Part V in 2002 and again in 2006 altered, and arguably diluted, the effectiveness of the scheme. The most significant amendments were those which permitted local authorities to accept a financial contribution, land, sites or housing units in other locations in lieu of the developers' Part V obligations. Other amendments

removed the 'withering rule', whereby planning permissions not built/completed within two years of the commencement of the Act would lapse. This change meant that significant numbers of developments post-2000 were not subject to Part V requirements.

There has been much discussion on the reason for these changes. It has been argued, for example, that it was preferable for local authorities to have the option to take other forms of recompense from developers rather than being required to take units or sites in particular locations. It was considered that not all developments subject to Part V were suitable for social housing, by reason of location, cost or unit type. It has also been suggested that it was unfair for developers, who had acquired sites and planning with no knowledge of future changes which might affect the financial viability of the development, to be required to meet the withering time lines under the Act. On the other hand, it has been suggested that pressure from the construction sector on a sympathetic political system brought about the changes which the sector had advocated for.

Prior to the collapse of the economy in 2008 and the resultant collapse in the construction sector, Part V provisions did make a significant contribution to the stock of social and affordable housing, though nowhere near the volume of units anticipated when the policy was first introduced. According to DKM Brady Shipman Martin (2012), a total of 5,721 social housing units (comprising 3,757 local authority and 1,964 AHB units), and 15,114 affordable housing units were delivered under Part V from 2002 – 2011.

Some analysis has been conducted on the outcomes of the Part V scheme in promoting successful mixed tenure. The scheme at the time attracted considerable controversy and there was resistance from developers in relation to impact of the scheme on the saleability of other housing in the development. It was widespread practice at the time, for example, for intending purchasers to insist on knowing the location of the Part V units. It was further alleged that local authorities, AHBs and developers limited the effectiveness of the scheme by locating the Part V units in specific, often peripheral, locations within housing developments, with clearly identifiable exteriors and poorer internal finishes. Nevertheless, the scheme was considered successful in delivering both a higher volume of social and affordable units in mixed developments.

As part of their review of Part V for the Housing Agency, DKM Brady Shipman Martin examined developments in three areas: Bandon, County Cork, a town outside the metropolitan area of Cork city but one with some commuter pressures; Ashbourne, County Meath, where demand was largely driven by accessibility and proximity to Dublin City; and Pelletstown, Dublin 15, a new developing area on the western fringe of the metropolitan area of Dublin city where the standard form of development is high density apartments, linked to the city centre along a rail corridor. In reviewing the case study areas, they concluded that Part V had been successful in this regard:

Part V delivered social and affordable housing in mixed communities peppering units within schemes. This is a key success of Part V. the primary method of meeting Part V requirements has been through the delivery of units on-site. This has seen the physical mixing of housing types within new schemes. On the basis of the areas examined, the quality, accessibility and integration of the units have been successfully delivered. The units delivered in the schemes reviewed have been typically well-located with respect to facilities, generally not distinguishable from private owner-occupied houses and well-integrated in the communities examined.

Academic research in respect of the impact of neighbourhood effects concludes that impoverished mono-tenure communities suffer from economic, social and community disadvantages. International evidence supports the conclusion that the impact of tenure mixing is generally positive, particularly in reducing the stigma attached to large social housing communities. DKM Brady Shipman Martin (2012), in their research, found that Part V had impacted positively on communities:

It was generally agreed that the existing policy did achieve social integration, albeit the process may not have been the most efficient. Social integration has materialised under Part V, despite claims that local authorities' bargaining power was often underutilised or compromised and as a result they received blocks of social housing in the least favoured ends of various developments.

Current Part V provisions relate only to social housing, and local authorities can require that up to 10% of land zoned for housing development is used for social housing. The affordable housing requirement was removed in an amendment to the Planning and Development Act in 2015. The main reason was that a significant number of affordable units remained unsold after the property crash and this resulted in significant losses to local authorities. Many of these units are now in use as social housing. Minister Alan Kelly, at the time, said he would prefer to see the 10% social housing requirement fully delivered rather than the mixed outcomes of the previous version of the scheme. However, in a private market with limited though increasing housing output, the contribution that can be made by Part V is subject to market constraints.

Under Rebuilding Ireland, the Government has committed to the delivery of 50,000 new social housing units by 2021, revised upwards from 47,000 units by the provision of additional capital funding in the Budget 2018. The Government has identified the need for a more collaborative approach, involving central government, local authorities, AHBs, the National Asset Management Agency (NAMA), the National Treasury Management Agency (NTMA), the Housing Finance Agency and the Housing Agency to secure expanded and accelerated delivery of social housing and other State supported housing. In achieving this end, mixed tenure development on State and other lands has been identified as a key objective.

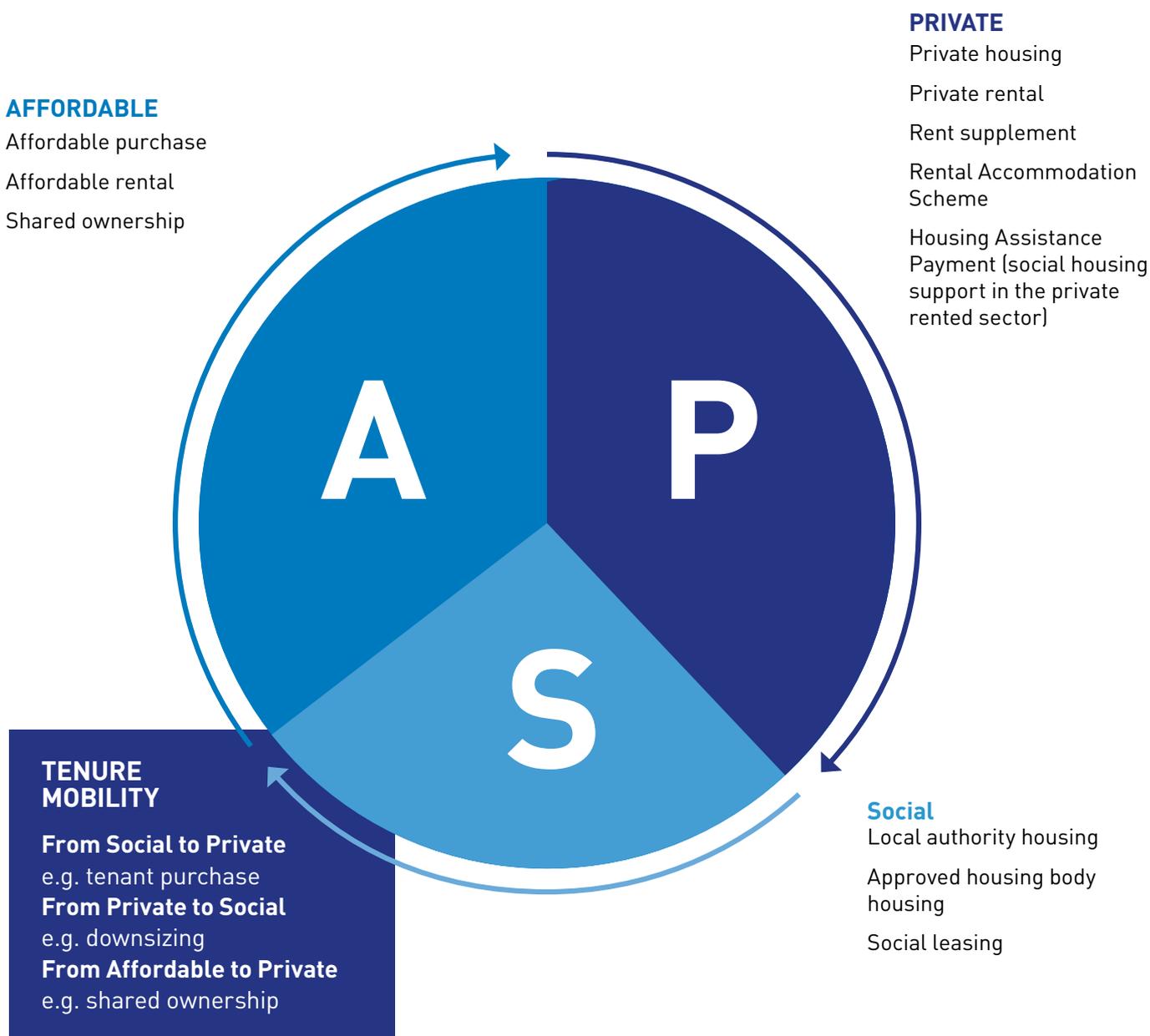
The active pursuit of housing development on publicly owned lands, including local authority lands, will form a major part of the new approach to housing provision. It is envisaged that this approach will encourage housing development in nearby private lands. This strategy had been under discussion for some time. For example, Dublin City Council has sought expressions of interest from private developers to develop a mix of social rented, affordable purchase/rental and private housing on several council-owned sites, with limited success to date. It is also suggested that some of the lessons from past Public Private Partnership approaches will be taken on board, including those relating to 'sustainable communities proofing' (Government of Ireland, 2016:50). The Land Aggregation Scheme is a scheme whereby local authority loans are redeemed by the Exchequer and ownership transferred to the Housing Agency. The sites will be fast tracked to development stage with a view to supporting sustainable communities by generating 'synergies' with other public or private bodies. It is clear, therefore, that ways are being sought to provide innovative solutions to the delivery of housing which involve the integration of both public and private housing providers. The establishment of the Land Development Agency, a commercial state sponsored body, with a remit to manage and develop State lands working with the private sector is a further development along this road. All lands disposed of by the agency must deliver at least 40% social and affordable housing.

Rebuilding Ireland also affirms the importance of the Part V delivery mechanism, which it states is consistent with a policy of delivering sustainable communities and with the promotion of tenure diversification. Adequate resources are to be made available to both local authorities and to AHBs to allow them to purchase or lease newly built housing under the Part V legislation (10%) and over and above this to lease, and to a lesser extent to purchase, additional private housing to support the development of the private housing market. The purchase of turnkey units from private developers by AHBs, and to a lesser extent by local authorities, has also contributed to tenure mixing and to supporting the private housing market.

In summary, the pursuit of mixed tenure in housing has been an official objective which has become an increasingly central part of policy since the 1980s. A wide range of policies have had an impact on mixed tenure, including tenant purchase, urban regeneration schemes,

rent supplement, the Rental Accommodation Scheme, Housing Assistance Payment, Part V of the Planning and Development Act, and the Affordable Homes Scheme. Some of these policies, such as tenant purchase and rent supplement, have not had mixed tenure as their prime objective, while others, such as Part V of the Planning and Development Act, have had some success but far less in scale than that originally hoped for. In general, the picture so far has been distinctly mixed, experimental in part, and the most effective way forward in promoting greater community mix in terms of both tenure and socio-economic background remains to be identified in practice.

Figure 1: Housing tenure mix in Ireland



3. LITERATURE REVIEW

This review of Irish and international literature looks at what has been learned from policy approaches to delivering mixed tenure housing in a number of countries, the benefits and impact of mixed tenure housing, the experiences of those living on mixed tenure housing estates, and ways to combat social housing stigma.

Mixed Tenure Policies Internationally

Tenure mixing policies are a feature of housing policy in many countries, although the nature and extent of the desired mix is not always explicit from the policies in place.

- In the UK, the Right to Buy (i.e. tenant purchase) scheme; regeneration schemes beginning with council estate improvement schemes in the late 1980s; and planning legislation (Section 106) that seeks secure social housing from private developments are the main policies behind mixed tenure. In recent years, housing associations have started to develop affordable rental schemes, often in areas with concentrations of social housing.
- In the Netherlands, a policy of restructuring the housing market in urban neighbourhoods has been implemented to avert high concentrations of low income households. This has sought to change the composition of neighbourhoods by demolishing low quality social housing and adding high quality privately owned and rented homes.



- In France, mixed tenure has been driven nationally by extensive urban renewal programmes to reduce the concentration of deprived households in low income neighbourhoods. In addition, since 2000, quotas of 20% social housing exist in most municipalities, and 25% in municipalities with constrained housing markets, with large fines imposed on municipalities where the quota is not achieved.
- In Sweden, a million homes were built in new housing estates in the 1960s and early 1970s, and many of these areas have experienced social problems. This is being addressed by neighbourhood regeneration, adding new-build housing, extensive refurbishment, and changing the tenure structure.
- In Australia, individual states have targets to either reduce social housing or bring it to a certain designated level.
- In the United States, rental vouchers for private housing are used to disperse lower income households across urban areas, and tenure mixing is also achieved by accommodating lower and higher income households in the same developments.

Benefits of Mixed Tenure Housing

The main benefits attributed to mixed tenure communities include better neighbourhood educational outcomes, reduced incidences of crime and anti-social behaviour, better access to quality services and amenities, and more sustainable communities. Kearns and Mason (2007) have developed the table below that sets out to summarise these benefits.

Table 1: Expected Benefits of Mixed Communities (Kearns and Mason, 2007)

Economic and Service Impacts	Community Effects	Social and Behavioural Effects	Overcoming Social Exclusion
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Better quality public services • Improved quality and quantity of private services • Increased local economic activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased social interaction • Enhanced sense of community and place attachment • Reduction in mobility and greater residential stability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduction in anti-social behaviour • Better upkeep of properties and gardens • Raised employment aspirations • Enhanced educational outcomes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduction in area stigma • Increased connectivity with other places • Diverse social networks

Neighbourhood Reputation

The stigmatisation of people living in social housing is a common experience internationally, particularly associated with large mono-tenure estates. Social housing is often viewed as undesirable and it is closely associated with social problems including deprivation, unemployment, crime, addiction and anti-social behaviour. The stigmatisation of social housing can negatively impact on the life chances of residents and on investment in the community (for example, local amenities).

One of the main questions in the international literature is whether implementing mixed housing tenure policies can improve the reputation of neighbourhoods. Some studies report that mixed tenure has a positive impact on neighbourhood satisfaction (Rowlands,

Murie and Tice, 2006; Silverman, Lupton and Fenton, 2005), while others attribute positive changes to other factors, including the quality of the physical environment and the availability of services (Allen *et al.*, 2005).

Allen *et al.* (2005), in a study of three neighbourhoods in the UK, found that mixed tenure housing appeared to play a role in making the areas less stigmatised and more desirable than local authority estates. A study of three neighbourhoods across the city of Adelaide, Australia, that underwent significant changes in tenure mix due to neighbourhood renewal found that residents' own perceptions of the neighbourhoods improved (Arthurson, 2013). It also demonstrated that introducing homeowners into social housing estates can lead to an improved external reputation of neighbourhoods.

Overcoming place-based stigma takes time, and stigma may remain even after the community has been completely regenerated and transformed (Bond, Sautkina and Kearns, 2011; Hastings and Dean, 2003). The process of change is therefore one that happens over the longer-term (Tunstall and Coulter, 2006).

Social Cohesion

Neighbourhoods and 'where people come from' play an important role in shaping people's sense of identity. Social cohesion can be described as "a kind of glue holding society together" (Maloutas and Malouta, 2004; Dekker, 2006), which includes social networks, shared norms and values, and attachment to place (Kearns and Forrest, 2000; Dekker and Bolt, 2005).

“Existing research suggests that well managed, mixed tenure communities have the potential to facilitate social interaction between residents without imposing on residents' privacy. They may help counteract social exclusion and adverse neighbourhood effects associated with mono-tenure estates”

(Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2008)

It is the presence of social housing that often defines a community, even where housing is mixed. Kearns and Mason (2007) found that the level of social renting is a more important influence upon neighbourhood conditions than the extent of tenure mixing.

According to Pawson, Kirk and McIntosh (2000) however, the increased availability of private housing within a neighbourhood may result in residents and their adult children being able to remain within their own communities, rather than being forced to seek housing in another area, and this can have a positive impact on community stability and cohesion. Mobility across tenures within the same neighbourhood is therefore an important support for social cohesion.

Employment Opportunities

One of the key benefits put forward for mixed tenure housing is that the interaction between social housing tenants and higher income home owners can lead to better employment opportunities for low income households. This is because of the greater opportunities for direct employment by higher income households (e.g. childminding, gardening) and the benefits that can come about through the professional networks of employed residents (e.g. role models, knowledge of job opportunities).

The positive effects on employment prospects is supported by several studies. Some studies have found higher levels of workforce participation among lower income residents in mixed-income communities (Tach, 2009). Van Ham and Manley (2009), using individual level data from the Scottish Longitudinal Study¹, found that living in mixed tenure areas made it easier for low income households to progress from unemployment to employment.

Tenure mix on its own may not be enough to increase employment rates for social housing and lower income tenants (Tunstall and Fenton, 2006), and improved skills and better job opportunities are more important factors (Kleinman, 2000). While mixed tenure may lower the concentration of unemployed people in a neighbourhood (Kleinhans, 2004), mixed tenure housing policies need to be accompanied by policies that target poverty and promote employment in order to overcome social exclusion.

¹ The Scottish Longitudinal Study (SLS) is a large-scale, anonymised linkage study created using data from Scottish administrative and statistical sources.



Educational Outcomes

Mixed tenure can impact positively on educational outcomes, as the presence of higher income families can lead to demands for better schools and more community resources for young people. According to Allen *et al.* (2005), the scale of the impact may depend on the income difference between higher and lower income households.

The educational choices that higher income residents make for their children may also play a part. A study of a mixed tenure neighbourhood in England showed that home owners were the most likely to enrol their children in better performing schools that may in fact be geographically distant from the community (Camina and Iannone, 2014).

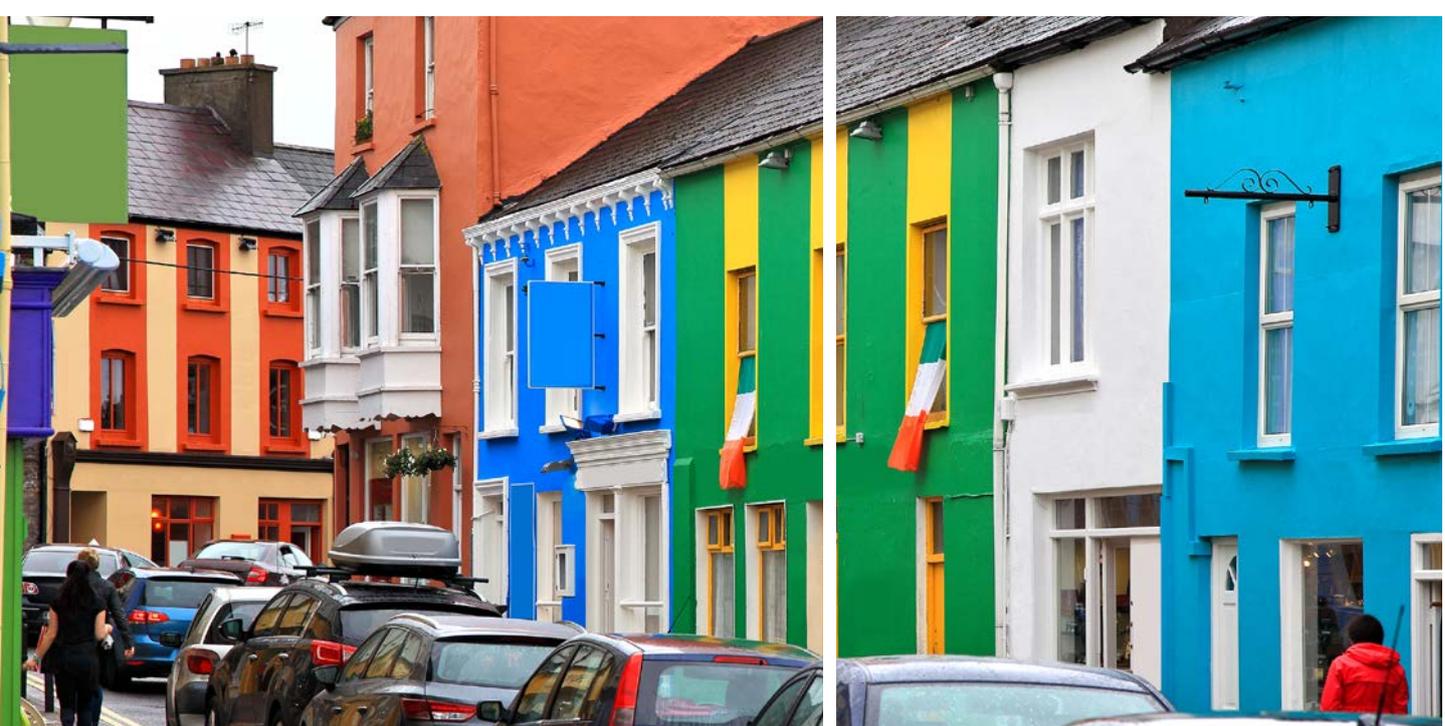
Crime and Anti-Social Behaviour

Crime and anti-social behaviour are more closely linked with social housing than with other tenures. Some social housing estates are often seen as 'no go' areas due to the prevalence or perceived incidence of crime and criminal activity, which may receive considerable media attention.

Mixed tenure is considered to bring benefits, both in terms of the levels of actual crime and the fear of crime within communities. Several studies have shown that crime and the fear of crime may be reduced in mixed tenure communities (Beekman, Lyons and Scott, 2001; Fraser and Nelson, 2008), but this can depend on the type of crime (Harding, 1997; Pawson, Kirk and McIntosh, 2000) and the

neighbourhood location (Martin and Watkinson, 2003). While tenure structure plays a part in influencing crime rates, other factors, including poverty levels and the number of alcohol outlets, have more of an effect on the level of criminal activity.

Living in mixed tenure communities can make people feel safer. Joseph and Chaskin (2010) found that most lower and higher income residents who relocated to mixed income communities reported that they felt safer, and Lisbon (2007) also found that public housing residents returning to a New Orleans HOPE VI development said they felt safer than in the original development.



Access to Services and Amenities

Social housing communities often suffer from a lack of amenities and services (e.g. shops, GP surgeries, play facilities) that make it harder for the community to function successfully, and are more likely to lead to social problems, including anti-social behaviour.

Several studies point out that local services are critical to the sustainability of mixed tenure areas (Silverman *et al.*, 2005). The provision of schools and shops, and the landscaping and layout of the streetscape, have a major impact on resident satisfaction in mixed tenure communities (Allen *et al.*, 2005).

The presence of new households with higher incomes can lead to more and better amenities (Arthurson, 2002), and social mix can lead to more collective action to ensure that services are available (Jupp, 1999). The sustainability of services and amenities may be dependent upon the level of uptake by higher income residents, who are more likely to spend a higher proportion of their time and money outside their own neighbourhood (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2002). A potential downside of mixed tenure is that it may make it harder to target interventions and services at those most in need (Tunstall and Fenton, 2006) and some studies indicate that it is easier to target communities, for example ethnic minorities, that are organised spatially (Robinson *et al.*, 2004).

Sustainability

A lot of debate has centred upon whether “pepper potting” (systematically scattering a mix of tenures within the same roads or streets), or tenure blind approaches, make mixed tenure communities more sustainable (Roberts, 2007). Bailey *et al.* (2006) favour a tenure blind approach, where the design of private and social housing is the same, whereas others favour the pepper potting of social and private housing units to avoid the stigma effects associated with the clustering of social housing (Andrews and Reardon Smith, 2005). A Chartered Institute of Housing Scotland briefing paper (2012), based on a survey of mainly local authorities and housing associations, found that respondents saw a tenure blind approach as crucial to the success of any mixed tenure development.

Review of Relevant Literature in Ireland

According to Norris (2005), there are several negative characteristics associated with the high concentration of low income households in mono-tenure local authority estates in Ireland. Firstly, low income households are unlikely to be able to support and sustain local shops, sports facilities and amenities, which means that the range of services on offer is limited. Secondly, people living in communities with high concentrations of poverty and unemployment are less connected with the wider opportunities that arise through employment and social networks. Thirdly, local authority housing estates are often stigmatised, and the discrimination experienced by residents can negatively impact on education, employment and other opportunities that may become available.

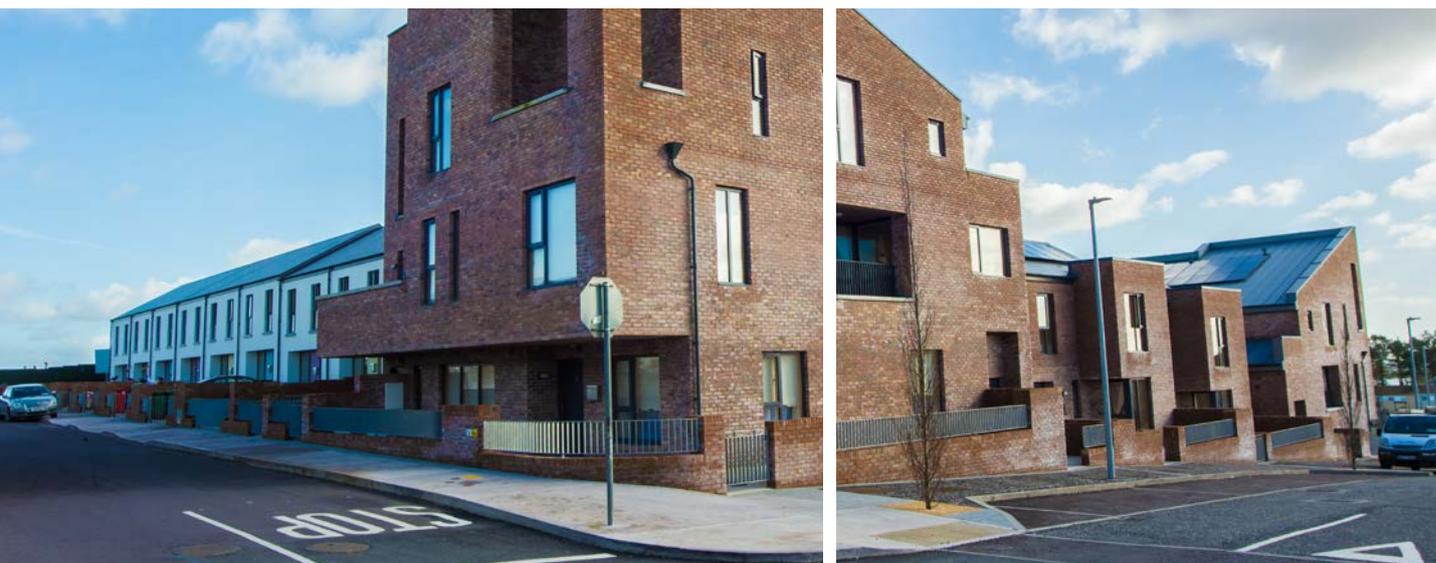
Tenure mixing can counteract some of these effects because home owners tend to have higher employment rates and incomes compared to social rented households. This means more resources available to support shops

and amenities, less motivation for crime and anti-social behaviour, reduced stigmatisation and an enhanced reputation for the area, and more opportunities for local people to benefit from peer connections and their wider networks.

A recent research report, commissioned by Clúid Housing Association, shows that it is possible to reduce stigma in existing social housing developments by promoting a better tenure mix, and that regeneration programmes have positively impacted on families and communities in Ireland (Carnegie, Byrne and Norris, 2017). More physical connections between neighbourhoods and better linkages with previously isolated social housing developments are important factors for success.

A significant challenge for regeneration is attracting enough private housing to provide a better tenure mix and to dilute stigma in the neighbourhood. Even in mixed tenure developments, the clustering of different tenure types in distinct parts of those developments is not seen as advisable, and the distribution of social housing units across the development is seen as preferable. Social housing should not be confined to the least desirable part of the development, and provision needs to go beyond three-bed family homes to more accurately reflect the mixed demographic profile of households in more balanced communities.

Every resident should have equal access to all amenities in a development (e.g. car parking). The provision and design of common areas and play areas are crucial in mixed tenure developments. The traditional community centres favoured in social housing developments are unlikely to attract home owners or private renters, who are more likely to mix with other residents in specialised facilities, including crèches and gyms. There is also need for investment in arts and cultural facilities that attract the wider community.



Conclusion

Mixed tenure has become dominant in housing literature in the context of development and regeneration strategies. A wide range of benefits are attributed to mixed tenure housing, and it is seen as a strategy to address social deprivation. Most European countries now require that attention be given to the requirement to create sustainable communities. Ireland's current emphasis on social mix and tenure diversity is not new and is broadly similar to those pursued in other countries. The renewed attention being given to mixed tenure in Ireland is also in line with trends elsewhere.

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter presents the research findings, which are based on the comments and suggestions of the stakeholders interviewed.

Section 1 describes the current experience of mixed tenure in Cork and future plans. Section 2 focuses on what interviewees generally understood mixed tenure to mean. Section 3 explores the views of private providers towards mixed tenure developments and Section 4 explores the views of local authorities towards their role in developing mixed tenure estates. Section 5 explores the issues around the financing and delivery of mixed tenure developments.

Section 6 looks at the experience of interviewees with Part V and explores the issues arising from a number of perspectives. Section 7 looks at the importance of design and measures to improve the acceptability of mixed tenure developments. Section 8 explores issues around the management and maintenance of mixed tenure developments, why this is critical and how improvements can be successfully achieved. Section 9 looks at how mixed tenure estates can be made more sustainable and their role in the context of the wider communities in which they are placed.



Current and Planned Mixed Tenure in Cork

Both Cork City Council and Cork County Council have plans in progress for mixed tenure developments over and above the 10% required under Part V of the Planning and Development Act. Most involve the use of publicly owned lands, but local authorities are also working with developers to acquire turnkey units on privately owned lands. Cork City Council is proceeding with a mixed tenure scheme of 147 units at a thirteen acre site off Boherboy Road on the city's northside. Mixed tenure is also envisaged for a proposed development of over 600 mainly affordable homes on Old Whitechurch Road.

Cork County Council is in the process of acquiring 40 social units in three phases at Bramble Hill, an existing private estate of around 80 units at Castletreasure, Douglas. The units will be situated within the Green Valley site, in a section which remains unfinished. Phase Two of the development was completed in March 2017 and the final phase is underway. The aim is to provide a good quality, socially integrated mixed tenure development. The site is well located, within walking distance of both Grange and Douglas village and within a short commute of Cork city. The development consists

of 40 social units within a large private housing development fostering, the Council says, a good sense of community, inclusion and integration.

Another significant development underway is in Carrigaline, where 47 social housing units are planned in the Kilnagleary development. At Carrigtwohill, in a development of over 100 houses, 20 social housing units are planned.

Local authority officials interviewed were enthusiastic about the role of mixed tenure in meeting future housing need. There was a view, however, that existing publicly owned lands would only allow for a certain amount of development. This could be overcome by allowing local authorities to play a more active role, both in the acquisition of land and in procurement, by bundling projects together which would then be capable of securing funding directly from the European Investment Bank.

From the interviews conducted with developers, local authorities and others, it was evident that the experience of working with Part V has played a significant role in gaining greater acceptance for mixed tenure development. However, there was a distinct view that Part V “won’t help Cork City Council reach its housing targets” due to the small scale of developments, and this was echoed throughout the sector. Part V however, it was agreed, would nonetheless have an important role to play in the future as it scales up, particularly as the construction sector recovers from the impact of the economic downturn.

Understanding of Mixed Tenure

There was a broad understanding among those interviewed that mixed tenure housing, as envisaged by the Government under Rebuilding Ireland, extends beyond a mix of social and private housing, whether rented or in owner occupation. Most interviewees were well aware of Government policy and the move towards tenure mix. In the words of one interviewee, “Mixed tenure is private, public and the bit in the middle.”

There was also significant understanding and support for tenure mix and its potential benefits. There were differing views on what elements of tenure would be included in the context of the individual developments currently being undertaken, both in Cork and around the country, in the short to medium-term. Some believed that tenure mix would be confined to using publicly owned lands for social housing and affordable purchase only. Others saw developments including private rental, affordable rental and private purchase as possibilities, using local authority owned lands, with local authorities working with private developers and with local authorities potentially engaging in the purchase of lands.

However, there was a generally held view that the definition of mixed tenure housing should be as wide as possible given current housing need. Interviewees noted the success of the Housing Assistance Payment (HAP) scheme as a way of ensuring tenure mix, with one interviewee seeing it as a way of reducing tenure visibility in neighbourhoods. There was concern that, while affordable purchase seemed to be well progressed, there is a need for a model of affordable rental housing as part of a successful tenure mix. One local authority interviewee said, for example: “x local authority was going ahead with its own version of affordable purchase on its own lands anyway”. On the other hand, interviewees felt there was a significant cohort of middle income households who did not currently have their needs met by the housing system, and an affordable rental model was needed for those whose incomes would not qualify them for social housing and for whom rents in the private market were unaffordable.

That’s a big cohort, although nobody’s ever measured it and it’s very difficult to measure because it obviously depends on localities. Someone on an average income in Longford is going to be able to pay their rent by and large, but if they’re living in Dún Laoghaire they can’t, so what you need is a special scheme for that group.

The importance of less formal mixed tenure arrangements was also emphasised. A number of those interviewed said that private rental was an important component of mixed tenure housing. With more than 25% of urban families living in private rented housing, the sector is an important part of tenure mix. Moreover, considerable State monies are spent on supporting families living in the private rented sector. State supports are restricted, with the extent of the financial support being dependent on household size and the location of the dwelling. This, in effect, confines those in receipt of rent supplement and HAP to poorer neighbourhoods, particularly in urban areas.

Tenant purchase policy was viewed by most interviewees as making a positive contribution to increasing tenure mix and a way of 'raising the bar' in social housing areas. It was seen as a vehicle for progression for households with aspirations to homeownership. It was also suggested that tenant purchase had a demonstration effect in areas of low income households. In the words of one interviewee, "The older tenant purchase scheme did contribute to mixed tenure. It contributed to people settling in communities and (creating new) mixed neighbourhoods." The current Incremental Purchase Scheme came in for criticism, with one interviewee saying that there was a lot of interest in the scheme but it was structured in a way that did not encourage tenants to purchase. Overall, the continuation of tenant purchase, but in a revised format from the current Incremental Purchase Scheme, was seen as desirable.

In general, interviewees did not favour a narrow view of tenure mix or a prescriptive formula in relation to its application. Rather, they took a view that tenure mix in any individual development should consider wider issues such as housing need, the dominant tenure(s) in the surrounding neighbourhoods and what could be sustained on any individual site.

Mixed tenure and Private Providers

Interviewees were clear that the use of publicly owned land only will not suffice to meet the need for mixed tenure. A financial model is needed to ensure that varying types of mixed tenure can emerge on local authority, state and private lands in a viable and sustainable way. Moreover, the commonly used term 'State lands' was seen as somewhat misleading. Local authorities were of the view that lands within the ownership of State bodies were not in fact available to them and that policy had to be driven at national level to ensure that available lands were transferred to them in the short-term to facilitate housing development. In the context of private developers in the short-term, there is a need to ensure that new forms of tenure prove attractive for development. In the case of affordable purchase for example, this could be achieved by

measures to ensure the viability of development by permitting higher densities, reduced development contributions, infrastructural improvement (currently underway in some schemes) and possible government subvention of the tenure through ongoing financial support, and interviewees wanted these measures to be examined in more detail. It was suggested, however, that income supports would be necessary to ensure the success of affordable rental in the longer run and interviewees saw a role for the HAP scheme in this regard. Interviewees recommended that the HAP scheme be evaluated to see if the gap between the finance necessary to ensure rents remained below market rates at an affordable level could be met by an ongoing subvention through the scheme.

There was a reluctance expressed by those interviewed within the construction sector to engage in 'risky' development. New tenures were seen as untried and untested. Interviewees' experience of Part V indicated that they had a reservation in developing private housing in areas of already high social housing density. There was a distinct view that a backstop, through which units that remained unsold in a mixed tenure development should be purchased or leased by a local authority, would give developers more confidence. Such a backstop would enable successful schemes to be developed which would provide a demonstration effect to the sector.



Mixed Tenure and Local Authorities

There was confidence among those interviewed that an affordable purchase scheme would be viable, particularly on publicly owned lands. However, there was concern that local authorities had, in some instances, significant debt on their lands which would be required to be discharged – therefore, such a scheme was not ‘cost free’. Local authorities were clear that the Government needed to provide a way to clear outstanding debt on local authority and other publicly owned lands in a way that it could be made available for housing purposes. In the case of mono-tenure social housing developments, most of the outstanding debts on the land are taken on by central Government; however, for mixed tenure developments the land contribution is valued at current prices, often giving rise to significant extra costs for the local authority due to the price at which it was originally purchased. The recently announced resources allocated to the Land Development Agency may provide the means for Local Authorities to resolve this issue.

There was also concern raised to ensure that units sold under any new affordable purchase scheme would remain available on resale to suitable affordable purchasers. The view was held that this is a more effective way of protecting the State’s investment in this housing for those who need such support. Previous experience within the local authority system has shown that the ‘clawback’ of profits made by those moving from affordable purchased housing does not work. The affordable purchase scheme announced in Budget 2019 does envisage such a clawback if the property is sold within the first five years. However, the scheme may be amended before it becomes operational.

Securing affordable housing for future generations who require support retains the tenure mix of the development and also allows those living in the area to move tenures while staying within the community.

Local authority officials interviewed were very enthusiastic about the role of mixed tenure in meeting future housing need and their role in enabling it. Large local authorities could play a regional role in supporting smaller authorities in delivering housing requirements in all tenures, through shared services such as financial, architectural and scheme supervision. The view was strongly held that the role of local authorities should be reviewed to enable them to plan effectively for housing delivery into the future, in particular, by allowing them to borrow independently.

It was the view of several interviewees that the capacity of local authorities to deliver housing has been reduced for a number of decades, to the detriment of the Irish housing

system. Developers currently have reduced access to affordable finance which limits their capacity to deliver housing. A model which places local authorities more firmly in the centre of mixed housing delivery, and which enables them to have access to independent funding, could play a central role in achieving greater housing delivery and even more importantly, creating a more stable housing environment in the future.

Financing Mixed Tenure Developments

In the context of mixed tenure development, there was general agreement that there is no 'one size fits all' solution to the cost of development. Different models carried different costs. "Land costs are a very site-specific way to look at affordable rental. It doesn't work everywhere" one interviewee noted. The funding model available to AHBs, where a payment related to market rent underpins their borrowings, does not apply to local authorities. Several interviewees noted that the Department of Public Expenditure and Reform was unlikely to support a current payment model for social or affordable rental housing being extended to local authorities.

The AHB sector, on the other hand, considers that it is well placed to deliver a model of affordable rental housing. One interviewee from a housing association noted that this was something that was being progressed by a number of AHBs, including one of the larger AHBs with prior experience of delivering mixed tenure developments. In the context of a funding structure for affordable rental housing, it was suggested that very little in the way of subvention would be necessary for AHBs to provide such schemes. As the terms of any affordable scheme are as yet unknown - though to date discussion has focused on a 20% reduction from market rates - it was considered that, where the household could pay in the region of 80% of market rent, the current scheme supporting AHBs would enable them to deliver affordable rental housing with a small revenue subsidy.

Affordable rental is necessary because these people are in genuine housing need, they may not be in as acute housing need as people living in poor quality rental accommodation but nevertheless they're in housing need, in housing way outside their means, and they could be living in a sustainable environment if affordable rental was available.



In the context of funding social housing, one interviewee noted that long-term leasing (20 to 25 years) using a market based rental structure would facilitate public housing delivery. In his opinion, the private sector would be interested in a payment model linked to CPI with a yield of 4-6%, particularly at a time when bond yields were significantly lower. Another interviewee suggested that large Real Estate Investment Trusts (REITs) who could achieve a long-term sustainable payment from the State would be willing to manage social and affordable properties. The optimum bundle, it was suggested, would be a mixed portfolio of 500 properties comprising arrangements with local authorities, AHBs, and private developers to include private purchase, private rented housing and student/key worker housing, affordable purchase housing and other affordable rental. In order to maximise value, projects should be aggregated to generate lower cost financing on the bond markets via the National Development Finance Agency.

“The land cost is a route to affordable purchase, but the Central Government needs to address the outstanding land debt of local authorities” said one local authority official. Developers were concerned that, even at this early stage in recovery from the recession, land values had risen significantly, and individuals interviewed noted that they had

been outbid on specific sites in the recent past by buyers with no apparent intention of developing the site in question. The role of local authorities in securing land was therefore critical to the delivery of housing in general and mixed tenure in particular. They were, however, clear that their skill and expertise in the area of construction and development, together with their individual reputations, would assist in securing more saleable developments than if the schemes were marketed by the local authority alone. Ways in which schemes could be financed included: land with zero cost for the social element of the development, a lower land cost for the affordable component and the use of innovative models, such as cooperative housing where units were leased rather than owned by individual households or provided by registered for-profit providers. Non-land options included tax foregone by the State in some way, such as lower VAT or infrastructural input. The financial security attached to developing social housing is important to developers. The potential risk to developers in engaging in mixed tenure development was emphasised and it was proposed that consideration would be given to risk sharing (for example, local authority commitment to lease or buy unsold properties). Bond costs were also increasing and this needed to be taken into account as part of the overall risk sharing.

Experiences and Learning from Part V

There was general satisfaction with the operation of Part V. One local authority official stated: “We have very few issues in relation to Part V”. Local authorities were of the view that private developers had gone to a lot of trouble to see how they could minimise the impact of Part V on the rest of their developments, but as time has elapsed there has been more acceptance of the scheme. More recently, developers have worked extensively with AHBs, which interviewees felt had improved trust and confidence in the social housing sector. There was still some reluctance to introduce social housing into largely private developments but there was a much greater understanding of how that could best be achieved, and what might work best compared to when the scheme was first introduced. Many of those interviewed talked about learning from the mistakes of the past, including the physical separation of social housing units from other properties within a development, and the use of different exterior finishes and interior fittings for social and private housing.

Within the context of Part V, it is recommended that current practice, as set out in guidance by the Department of Housing, be continued. While there was some difference of opinion, there was an overwhelming view that ‘pepper potting’ (i.e. physically scattering) different tenures seamlessly throughout a development was critical to ensuring the success of tenure mixing. Design should not be such as to enable a distinction to be made between those living in one tenure or another. There was also a view that it was important that purchasers

should not be told where the social units were situated, as it was felt that this engendered prejudice from the beginning. Moreover, the view was held that social tenants should move in at the same time as other occupiers, so that everyone was 'in it together from the beginning'.

Overcoming Resistance to Mixed Tenure

Speaking with both private developers and officials in the local authorities, the most significant barrier to development of mixed tenure is market resistance from private buyers to the presence of social housing units in the same development. Local authority attitudes were in large part dependent on what would or would not prove feasible in the private market.

Local authorities, for example, believe that they cannot place more than a certain number of social housing units in sites where there are already large concentrations of social housing in the neighbouring area. A senior manager explained that a particular large-scale development with 40-50 social housing units could have yielded more units under Part V, but this higher volume of social housing was "not an appropriate mix for that site". In this, a local authority official interviewed took the view that the maximum number of social units in any one scheme should be limited to 45 or 50 units. Moreover, as he put it, mixing social and private housing "leads to better estate management", with residents who take care of their properties providing a demonstration effect to other residents.

There was serious concern that if the proportion of social housing is not correctly judged, there is a real danger that the private housing will not sell. While official sources have indicated a balance of 30% social housing and 70% private housing, this proportion is seen as problematic. To take one example of an interview quote:

There's a real danger that the private won't sell. That's a real danger - what people will do is just travel out that bit extra for affordability so they might go down to Glanmire rather than living in the city. They might go out another ten miles to get a site potentially where there's little or no social housing... but I suppose that's what we are kind of picking up from the market place, that there isn't the level of interest if there's going to be a lot of social housing.

According to developers interviewed, private purchasers ask where social housing is located: “Is my neighbour getting it for free and I’m paying a fortune?” Developers reported that they had lost sales due to the proximity of social housing. In one instance, it was described how a Rebuilding Ireland hoarding was situated next to two higher priced properties and the sales had fallen through, due to the perception that the adjoining site was for social housing. Interviewees said that property owners who bought during the boom were worried that their properties would be devalued. As a senior housing manager explained:

I suppose from meeting the residents myself out there, who had bought at the height of the boom, a lot of these owners were worried about their property being devalued and again just worried about who’ll be coming in next. We are putting all sorts in there and all that type of stuff. But definitely, I think there’s a higher level of confidence out there if it is managed by a housing body.

It is clear from the above that the management of mixed tenure developments by AHBs rather than local authorities can help to allay the fears of developers and overcome the potential resistance of private purchasers and owners.

The quality of construction and design was seen as a very important component, both in the context of Part V and mixed tenure developments for the future. “A lot of the properties built in the 1980s were poor quality and easily identifiable as social housing”.

The objective of design should be that there is “no difference” between units, in part because private purchasers “are worried about the value of their property” and it was seen as protecting house values if the existence of social units was not evident. The importance of universal frontage, and covenants around how they could be changed in the future to protect the integrity of the development, were emphasised. Those interviewed said that disagreements over the maintenance of gardens could be limited by ensuring landscaping is designed in a way that is easier to manage.



There was a clear view from a number of those interviewed that social housing carries a stigma and needs a “new marketing plan and rebranding” that could mean “calling it something different than social”. When asked how this could be done, there was a strong view that there needed to be a number of demonstration projects that illustrated good practice in mixed tenure developments. Showcasing high quality social/mixed tenure developments was seen as a way of generating interest and promoting innovation and creativity.

Local authorities underlined the importance of community engagement and demonstration of the way mixed tenure projects can work. One example was given of a mixed development that gave rise to some serious resistance.

However, by bringing in an AHB, and having them show the new residents how such schemes can work successfully elsewhere, they were able to turn the situation around.



However not just the design, layout, dwelling type, surfacing and other amenities were seen as important, but also the reputation of the individual developer. Those interviewed were clear that they were proud of their work and the estates that they had built and that, in any estate, their reputation also was on the line. Greater engagement with them, they felt, was necessary to move projects forward successfully.

It was also seen as a distinct advantage to mix unit sizes within mixed tenure developments, and a strong view was held that developers needed to be involved at the design stage.

Management of Mixed Tenure Estates

In relation to the success of Part V or other mixed tenure developments, the overwhelming view of all of those interviewed was that the management of the development was a vital ingredient in its success or failure. One view expressed by a Cork City official was that “mixed tenure in itself leads to better estate management.” It is suggested that in mixed tenure estates there is more self-management: “positive behaviours by residents encourage other residents to maintain their properties”. The importance of management was emphasised repeatedly, “Management needs to be run so well that you can’t tell the difference”.

Interviewees acknowledged that local authority staff were very stretched and did not have the resources to put into estate management. In the words of one interviewee, “X Council has no permanent presence in some areas. Estate management is ‘forgotten’”. It was clear, however, that local authorities wanted to do more but were emerging from a long period of underfunding which would need to be addressed.

Management of the development is also seen as critical to the acceptance of mixed tenure estates. Stakeholders agreed that AHBs were generally regarded as being more effective at managing estates with social housing tenants. Local authorities in Cork were of the view that this was because AHBs are better resourced to do so. A local authority official said they had “little or no presence in some estates” and that “unfortunately, sometimes we give the key to the tenant and that’s the end of the process because we are so stretched”. Local authorities were categorical that they would like to play a more hands-on management role.

The point was made during the interview process that over the period of the recession, a greater degree of mixed tenure has ‘evolved’ by accident. In some instances, developers had moved dwellings designed for sale into the rental market following the rapid fall in house prices which occurred post 2008. In other instances, blocks of units have been sold to AHBs as part of the sale of loan books by certain banks or by NAMA. Beacon South Quarter in Dublin is an example of a development where Clúid, one of the largest AHBs in the country, acquired an entire block of a development which is rented both to social tenants and on the private market. In addition, private equity companies are looking at areas of affordable purchase and rental, with one development successfully completed in Dublin. Progress has been slow, however. Residents’ associations also, it was viewed, have a large role to play. Cork County Council officials said that they meet the tenants where possible, pre-tenancy, and encourage them to set up residents’ associations.



Social engagement in the community was seen by all those interviewed as essential to the success of mixed tenure communities. Residents' associations, it was felt, had a role in ensuring proper management and maintenance of mixed tenure developments by more active management. Vetting of tenants to allocated dwellings, greater use of choice-based letting, pre-tenancy training before allocation and enforced tenancy rules were all seen as important. It was also suggested that pre-tenancy/occupancy training was something that should be extended to all occupants, with an emphasis on community building.

Attitudes towards community centres, however, differed. One official referred to a community centre in North County Cork which was virtually unused and a focal point for anti-social behaviour. Others suggested that community facilities do work if they are properly managed. It is also important to look at the facilities available in the wider neighbourhood before making plans to develop new facilities. In general, however, it was agreed by almost all of those interviewed that soft infrastructure was needed to support hard infrastructure.

The promise of community facilities was seen as crucial to the Part 8 process, offering added value to existing residents in adjoining neighbourhoods. However, there was a strong view that it might be more appropriate to enhance existing facilities, such as nearby parks, playing facilities and community centres, rather than introducing new ones. In order to establish community needs, there should be engagement with the community. There was a view also that community centres have been an add-on in the past. They are virtually unused and in one instance, an interviewee noted a focus for drug dealing and anti-social behaviour. Nonetheless, such a facility can play an important role in bringing a community together, but design and management of the facility were critical. A well-run facility can provide a venue for small-scale activities such as mother and toddler groups, drama groups, and men's sheds. Feedback from one interviewee with experience of the regeneration of Knocknaheeny said that smaller community centres work better than larger ones, with the suggested ideal being one large room,

smaller room and kitchen. The need for crèche facilities for every 60-70 houses was seen as an important component of the community infrastructure.

Area-based Partnerships were also seen as having a role in introducing people to each other and the community. Local community bodies suggested that issues which seem small, such as the maintenance of exteriors, are really important. They felt they could play a role by, for example, organising painting schemes where all houses were painted at the same time with some external funding.

AHBs were seen as having an excellent record in managing estates and had the confidence of developers in that regard. This is, in part, down to the more recent experience which the construction sector has with AHBs who are currently in receipt of significant resources to engage in construction. Other proposals were to encourage private management companies to be engaged to manage an entire mixed tenure scheme, with the possibility of those companies being AHBs or entities with a social remit. There was also concern that the recession had left a cost of the past, with local authorities not taking estates in charge, leaving the consequent costs of finishing off those estates to those living in them. However, this was also feeding into a view that some of the features (e.g. walkways, common play areas, water features) that are put in place to promote better communities may be factors in the local authority not wanting to take developments in charge. The benefit of apartment developments with a central management structure responsible for exteriors and common areas was also seen as a way of limiting the possibility of disputes over maintenance: "...where it falls to the tenant, there are difficulties". There was strong support for having an onsite caretaker, in particular for larger developments, who could take responsibility for facilities such as a community centre but who could also act as liaison over maintenance matters and assist older tenants or those with a disability.

Interviewees for this study identified active management as the key issue in the success or otherwise of mixed tenure developments. It was suggested that the Department of Housing produce a guide for the management of mixed tenure developments that takes into account the needs of a diverse range of households and that promotes community engagement. Local authorities should be resourced to engage in active management of social housing in their areas but also to provide such services to mixed tenure developments, with consideration given to the setting aside of a unit on site for a caretaker in developments of over a certain number of units.

Sustainability and Mixed Tenure Developments

There was a widely held view that successful mixed tenure developments need to go beyond achieving a tenure mix within a single development and contribute to surrounding neighbourhoods and communities. Interviewees were clear that sustainable mixed tenure developments should not just consider the tenures present in surrounding communities, but also the demographic profile of the wider area. Introducing mixed tenure developments was seen as a very positive way of providing choice in a housing system which is acknowledged as being heavily mono-tenure and demographically segmented. In particular, mixed tenure can provide opportunities for older tenants to downsize from existing to newer social housing properties in their own community.

[The] mixed tenure profile needs to take account of the wider profile. There are particular opportunities to offer downsizing from existing social housing in the local area. One of the benefits is that existing social housing tenants from the wider area can anchor the scheme in the community, while opening up opportunities for family housing in other areas.

The need to ensure that new mixed tenure developments were not demographically homogeneous was also emphasised.

The profile of the mixed tenure development needs to reflect the housing in the wider area. Moving people around in the wider community by downsizing, and not introducing a lot of people with young children into a settled area. Clusters of up to 50 social housing units can work well, but 20-30% need to be more mature people rather than young families with children.

While there were no strong views on the exact mix of tenures in any one development, there was a belief that a mix of 50% social rented and 50% private housing would not lead to a sustainable development, whereas 30% social rented, 20% affordable rental and 50% private housing would provide a better balance. There was positive support also for the inclusion of private renting through the HAP scheme. Through HAP, it was viewed that those who might have been in lower income neighbourhoods had the benefit of living within private housing and that their children “would be mixing with people they will move up with”.

Design was also seen as important for sustainable mixed tenure. Some interviewees felt that a really sustainable mixed tenure community would allow families to move through their entire housing life-cycle in the one neighbourhood, not just moving from renting to ownership but also being able to downsize in older age. With that in mind, it was suggested that increasing the provision of lifetime adaptable homes would enable older households to age within their own community.



5. RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This section makes recommendations based on interviews conducted for the study, and from an examination of housing policy in Ireland and internationally. The purpose of these recommendations is to propose measures to ensure the success of mixed tenure housing. Some of these measures, based on interview data, are supported by the findings of previous research. These findings include the importance of practical measures, such as ensuring that there is a genuine effort made to disperse tenures across developments rather than having social housing concentrated in one clearly identifiable area of an estate. Ensuring that the tenure of a resident is not visible, either from the external appearance or the internal quality of the fixtures and fittings, is also important in preventing any stigma from attaching to the resident as a result of his or her tenure. The recommendations also emphasise the importance of active management of mixed tenure estates, particularly where maintenance of properties is not the responsibility of a managing agent. Many respondents endorsed the introduction of 'caretaker' schemes within estates, where a part-time or whole-time post could be created for both the active management of the estate and also the facilitation of community activity. It was considered that local authorities could play a greater role in promoting the integration of residents from all tenures by providing opportunities for community engagement, even before properties are occupied.

Proposals are also made in respect of the financing and funding of mixed tenure housing. To date, no funding stream has been identified to support the provision of affordable rental housing. The proposed model for affordable purchase is largely dependent on the use of publicly owned lands to secure a reduction from full market price. Funding for social housing is dependent on central Government finances at any one time, which relies on the overall health of the economy. Funding for the AHB sector is uncertain in the context of a Eurostat ruling on whether it constitutes part of the overall Government debt. Therefore, in the longer run, a more robust system is necessary to ensure the viability of mixed tenure housing and this research describes the proposals of interviewees in this respect.

The recommendations go beyond the practical measures that can be taken to ensure more successful mixed tenure estates. Mixed tenure/mixed income housing as a concept must be extended to ensure that the wider needs of the community, which reflect the needs of young and old, are met. Mixed tenure developments should not exist in isolation from surrounding communities. Instead, we should be seeking to integrate them to ensure the needs of the neighbourhoods are addressed, not just in terms of concentration of poverty and social exclusion but in a way that provides opportunities for movement from existing mono-tenure, mono-age communities. Mixed tenure communities can play an important role in allowing people to move within and between tenures, but should also provide the variety of housing that enables community members to move from one household type to another seamlessly.



RECOMMENDATION 1:

Government Policy as a Driver of Mixed Tenure

More mixed tenure developments are needed to meet overall housing need, particularly in intermediate tenures aimed at middle income households.

Government policy should ensure that the widest possible mix of tenures is encouraged in future developments, whether on publicly owned lands or in private development schemes. In particular, it should ensure that all tenures are considered, including social rented, private rented, affordable rental, affordable purchase and private housing.

It is recommended that Government policy, in respect of mixed tenure housing, be examined to ensure that guidance given to local authorities and to private developers includes the requirement for a

review of the wider housing requirements in the local area where the mixed tenure development is situated, to ensure that the wider needs of the community are met.

Government policy should also encourage and facilitate the AHB sector to develop and manage affordable rental housing to diversify the income mix in new housing developments. Several AHBs are already engaged in affordable delivery on specific sites, but this should be expanded to include a greater number of AHBs.

Government policy should also examine the role that can be played by long-term leasing in the more flexible provision of social housing within mixed housing developments. Such units may revert to ownership upon the expiry of the lease.

RECOMMENDATION 2:

Use of Publicly Owned Lands and Treatment of Existing Land Debt

The use of publicly owned lands only will not suffice to meet the need for mixed tenure. A financial model is needed to ensure that varying types of mixed tenure can emerge on local authority, state and private lands in a viable and sustainable way.

Local authorities are limited in the way they can approach mixed tenure developments by the extent of their debt on existing lands.

Repayments on high cost land acquired during the height of the property boom make it difficult for local authorities to deliver low cost housing on certain sites. It is recommended that the Government examine how outstanding debt on local authority and other publicly owned lands can be amortised in a way that it can be taken off local authority books.

Addressing this issue now will facilitate the extension of home ownership to a wider group of households, which can have longer

social and economic benefits by reducing the cost of housing in older age and, therefore, limiting the need for a State subvention.

RECOMMENDATION 3:

Local Authority Role in Acquiring and Developing Lands

There was a clear view from local authorities, but also from others interviewed for this study, that a greater role should be played by local authorities in the acquisition and development of lands. Local authorities could play a greater role in procurement by bundling projects together which would be capable of securing funding directly from the European Investment Bank. Moreover, large local authorities could play a regional role in supporting smaller authorities in delivering

housing requirements in all tenures, through shared services such as financial, architectural, and scheme supervision.

It is recommended that the Government gives greater consideration to the role of local authorities as housing authorities and to strategies that could be deployed to enable them to plan effectively for housing delivery into the future, in particular, by allowing them to borrow independently.

RECOMMENDATION 4:

Potential for HAP in Delivering Affordable Rental Housing

There was a view that a cohort of intermediate households exists who have a significant need for affordable rental housing. However, there was a particular lack of clarity on how such a model could be delivered or funded. Interviewees were clear that the funding for affordable purchase could be achieved through

contributions of land, infrastructure, higher densities and other means, but also that an affordable rental model would require income subvention from the Government in some form or another. However, interviewees found it difficult to see how this could be sustained in the medium-term without some ongoing support for

affordable rents. While it is understood that the Government has a preference for once off support through an infrastructural donation or through a land subvention, those interviewed were of the view that such a level of subvention would not suffice to ensure a viable affordable rental scheme.

It is recommended, therefore, that the HAP scheme be evaluated to see if the finance necessary to ensure rents are below market rates at an affordable level, and remain so, could be met by ongoing subvention through the scheme.

RECOMMENDATION 5: Maintaining Access to Affordable Housing

The clawback provisions that applied to gains made through the resale of properties under previous affordable housing schemes were not regarded as robust enough.

It is recommended that any new scheme would seek to retain the property within the affordable housing scheme upon resale. This would be a more effective way of protecting the State's investment in this housing for those who need such support.

RECOMMENDATION 6: Risk Sharing between Local Authorities and Developers

Developers interviewed for this research were concerned that what they regarded as untried and untested 'new' types of housing might leave them exposed, with unsold units.

It is recommended that, where affordable units for purchase are being developed in areas of high social housing density by private developers, the local authority

would examine the potential for risk-sharing in order to overcome developer concerns around the saleability of private housing in mixed developments. This might, for example, involve the local authority agreeing to purchase or lease unsold private housing and to look at the overall cost of developer bonds. In this context, the use of development licence agreements may prove useful.

RECOMMENDATION 7: Avoiding Concentrations of Low Income Private Rented Households

While studies of the disadvantages of mono-tenure in the context of stigma have focused on social housing estates, a higher volume of housing is delivered to low income households through the private rented sector by local authorities using HAP, rather than traditional forms of social housing. This will be more the case going forward, with two thirds of social housing supports to be delivered in this way under the Rebuilding Ireland strategy. There is precedent through Part V and the practices of local authorities themselves of buying back former social housing units on the market, for avoiding concentrations of poverty in any one area. Therefore, it is prudent to avoid similar concentrations in areas of the

rented sector by ensuring certain areas do not become over concentrated with poorer households due to rent limits.

It is recommended that Government departments and local authorities with responsibility for these payments remain cognisant of the need for tenure mix to counter existing large-scale areas of mono-tenure housing, and that policy should be adjusted to ensure that income limits remain sufficiently flexible to avoid clustering of households on low incomes in the private rented sector. This may, in effect, require greater rental support in some areas.

RECOMMENDATION 8: Tenant Purchase as a Route to Home Ownership

The tenant purchase scheme was generally viewed as a positive way of introducing mixed tenure into existing social housing neighbourhoods. There are many differing views on the value for money of the scheme and the loss of social housing

stock. However, it must be noted that the tenant purchase scheme has considerable support and it is recommended that it remain under consideration as a way of providing progression and community stability in the housing system.

RECOMMENDATION 9: Combatting Social Housing Stigma

The stigma attached to 'social housing' as a tenure needs to be addressed as part of the overall marketing of mixed tenure developments. While this would require some debate, the re-naming of social housing and other publicly supported forms of housing as a newly named tenure, such as 'public housing', has merit. This would also more accurately reflect the range of

supports being provided by the State. Mixed housing developments need to be carefully named and marketed from the outset in order to overcome any pre-existing or potential stigma that may attach as a result of the location or the perception of the type of development being introduced.

RECOMMENDATION 10: Part V and the Delivery of Mixed Tenure Housing

Part V, as a policy instrument to deliver social housing and promote mixed tenure developments, has become more accepted by developers and the construction sector with the passage of time. As they have become familiar with the requirements of the scheme, the requirements themselves have become clearer, and they have forged

partnerships with AHBs that have made the process easier. As housing output improves, Part V will, once more, play a prominent role in delivering more social units in more parts of the country. It should, therefore, continue to be regarded as a key plank of mixed tenure policy.

RECOMMENDATION 11: Importance of Design in Mixed Tenure Developments

Tenure blind design should be emphasised as the most desirable approach to delivering successful mixed tenure

communities. This means that social and affordable units should be indistinguishable from market units on the streetscape.

The importance of universal frontage and covenants around how they can be altered by occupiers in the future is vital to protect the integrity of mixed tenure developments.

Open space should be designed in a family-friendly manner which promotes integration. Landscaping should be easy to manage, for example, measures to shape or contour the landscape rather than relying on large grass spaces that are difficult to maintain.

Services should also be delivered in a way that meets the needs of all tenures, for example, avoiding long, wide corridors that are costly to maintain and that

may attract anti-social behaviour. Social housing tenants should move into the properties at the same time as other occupiers. Any induction events should involve all members of the community and should not just apply to the social housing tenants. Such measures are important to foster a sense of community from the outset.

The Department of Housing's current guidance in relation to Part V, particularly relating to the location, uniformity of design and quality of properties across all tenures, should continue to be highlighted to local authorities.

RECOMMENDATION 12: Property Management

The management of properties and the surrounding environment is critical to the success of mixed tenure communities. The management must be visible, hands-on, consistent and easy to access when things go wrong. In larger developments, this should ideally be provided by an onsite caretaker who is available to all households living in the development.

Local authority estate management works well when a presence is maintained, and it is vital that local authorities are resourced to play a strong role in the management and maintenance of mixed tenure developments, and that everyone living in the community has a clear point of contact with the local authority in relation to estate management.

RECOMMENDATION 13: Role of Community Sector

There is a role for community development groups in giving people a voice in how their mixed community develops. This can provide opportunities for residents to meet socially and to collaborate on improvements and activities, to make representations on certain issues, and to support the integration of new residents by introducing them to existing residents and signposting local services and amenities.

Residents' associations are critical to the success of new developments and provide a way for people living in an estate to meet, discuss and act on matters affecting them. The establishment of residents' associations should be promoted from the outset, and the community development sector and local authorities can act as a catalyst with local residents to get groups up and running.

RECOMMENDATION 14: Mixed Housing Demonstration Schemes

In terms of breaking down the resistance to mixed tenure developments, the Government should put in place demonstration housing schemes that showcase the benefits of mixed tenure to

the wider public. This could be rolled out on a regional basis and a national award scheme put in place for the most innovative scheme.

RECOMMENDATION 15: Creating Opportunities for Surrounding Neighbourhoods

The development of mixed tenure estates must consider the nature and composition of surrounding neighbourhoods, with a view to providing enhanced choice of tenure to residents in adjoining communities. In

particular, mixed tenure estates need to be developed in a manner that provides downsizing opportunities for residents in surrounding mature neighbourhoods, given the ageing profile of the Irish population.

RECOMMENDATION 16: Tenure Mobility within Mixed Tenure Communities

Mixed tenure communities should be designed in a way that provides a continuum of choice for households throughout their lifecycle. This has the benefit of ensuring households can remain within their community, while satisfying their desire to

change tenure or household type. The need for lifetime adaptable homes is, therefore, critical to optimise flexibility across mixed tenure developments.



CHECKLIST FOR PROPOSED ACTIONS

There are several practical ways in which action could be taken to promote the development of mixed tenure in the Cork region and by extension nationwide. Suggested initiatives are set out below.

1. Mixed Tenure Demonstration Project

It is suggested that a mixed tenure demonstration project be rolled out in Cork, as an exemplar of the best practice policies outlined in this report. Such an initiative would showcase how mixed tenure development can work most successfully. While the research has gathered consensus from stakeholders on a range of demonstrated features that are more likely to lead to success, to date there has been no single development that has been designed to combine them all. The proposition here is that a best practice initiative could be successful, both in Cork and nationally, in substantially increasing broad acceptance of the benefits of mixed tenure housing. These best features identified through the research are:

STRUCTURE OF SCHEME

- The scheme accommodates the widest possible mix of tenures.
- The scheme takes account of the housing tenure mix in the surrounding neighbourhoods.
- A high concentration of low income private rented households is avoided.

- A mix of household sizes – 1, 2 and 3-bedroom properties - is provided.
- Residents have choices that enable them to move between tenures in the same neighbourhood (e.g. downsizing options).

POSITIONING THE SCHEME

- Good, early communication and marketing of the scheme.
- Use of 'pepper potting' to disperse different tenures across the housing scheme.
- No difference in the design standards between the different tenures.

MANAGING THE SCHEME

- New residents get to meet each other at early social events before moving into the scheme.
- New residents across the different tenures move into the scheme at the same time.
- There is an active estate management to ensure that the scheme is well managed.
- Open spaces are designed in a family-friendly way and landscaping is easy to maintain.
- Playgrounds and community facilities are available to residents.
- Service charges are kept at a reasonable level.
- Residents' associations are fostered and encouraged, and community sectors involved.

Ideally, Cork City Council would be a leader or partner in the project and it could be delivered on publicly owned land. The Department of Housing may also be interested in supporting such an initiative, not only in terms of financing the housing but also in providing ancillary supports (e.g. estate management) that conform with best practice guidance. The identification of a private developer with an interest in mixed tenure as a key partner should be a goal of the process.

The project should be in an area where the need for new housing development is a priority need, and where a mixed tenure development would lead to greater housing choice. In this respect, the project should seek to address actual problems in the community, e.g. lack of downsizing opportunities for older people, starter homes for younger people from the community, or new affordable rental opportunities for people priced out of the local rental market.

The purpose of the demonstration project would be to:

1. Pilot the best practice guidelines set out in the body of this report;
2. Involve local communities in the consultation process around the design of the demonstration project;
3. Showcase a new model of collaboration between key public, private and community sector stakeholders with an interest in driving mixed tenure developments, that can be repeated elsewhere in the county and the country;
4. Help to overcome concerns about how to make mixed low and middle-income households in the same developments work in Cork.

In the initial phase, the role of the local authority would be to encourage the different parties to come together to take on such a project as a way of scoping out their approach to mixed tenure. The local authority could also consider sponsoring a design competition that would seek to incorporate best practice in relation to the architectural design of mixed tenure developments, including community participation in the process. It could also provide some support around documenting the process and ensuring that there is an ongoing evaluation of the project, which can then be used to inform other such developments elsewhere.

2. Conference on Mixed Tenure Housing

A conference on the future role of mixed tenure communities in Cork, hosted by the relevant local authority, would provide an opportunity to introduce and disseminate the findings of the mixed tenure report and to scrutinise in detail some of the key aspects that are vital to the rollout of successful mixed tenure developments.

The audience for the conference would be local authorities, private developers, AHBs, architects, planners, estate agents, housing academics, and the community and voluntary sector. Several key topics could be addressed:

- Government policy and the role of local authorities
- Features of successful mixed tenure communities in Ireland and internationally
- Delivering mixed tenure on State land and on private lands
- Financing mixed tenure developments
- Risk sharing with private developers
- Design strategies for successful mixing
- Approaches to estate management
- Social cohesion and living together successfully
- Housing for older people and people with disabilities

The conference could be used as a platform to launch the concept of a demonstration project to put learning into practice and, by organising networking between stakeholders around this issue, to increase the likelihood of new initiatives.

3. Employing a Community Architect

Community involvement has been recognised as critical to the sustainability of mixed tenure communities. Influencing the design and delivery of mixed tenure developments in Cork through public participation would act as a catalyst for public discussion on what communities need, how this can be incorporated into proposals and, by extension, acceptance of the concept of mixed tenure.

In order to empower local communities and ensure their voice is heard, local authorities could consider making available the services of a community architect to work in consultation with local communities in helping to contribute to the design of mixed tenure housing and amenities in their community. The knowledge and skills of a community architect can assist a community to identify the best solution for the conditions that it faces.

The purpose of providing this resource would be to support communities to understand the goals, objectives and limitations of mixed tenure developments proposed for their area, and to engage with any consultation process around how the scheme is rolled out.

A community architect would help to facilitate community conversations and to convert the views and concerns of the community into workable technical concepts / designs that may be proposed to the local authority or developer.

This service may be especially useful where there are problems to be overcome or where there is an opportunity for a community gain, in the form of new facilities / amenities.

Finally, the community architect may help to ensure that the developer delivers in practice what the community has agreed, by remaining engaged throughout the development cycle.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Studies of mixed tenure housing have tended to concentrate on the benefits for poorer neighbourhoods or groups, in economic, social and environmental cultural terms. These conclusions tend to be drawn from a limited group of studies (Bond *et al.*, 2010). This study demonstrates a significant degree of agreement with those findings, and as such, is valuable in itself. Among those interviewed, there was a commitment to mixed tenure in Ireland and a belief that mixed tenure estates enhance the life chances of poorer households. This view is based on the experience, in the main, of Part V developments and older forms of tenure mixing discussed in this study. There was a further belief among those interviewed that mixed tenure housing developments can provide opportunities to the residents of adjoining neighbourhoods to avail of new and different housing options.

However, it can also be said that, aside from the positive opportunities presented by mixed tenure neighbourhoods, they are also a necessity in the current environment. The National Economic and Social Council (NESC) (2014) has concluded that one third of Irish households will need support from the State in order to fulfil their housing needs. This view is shared by the Government and acknowledged in Rebuilding Ireland. This need cannot be met using the housing strategies of the past, which depended largely on private provision through the market. This model is no longer feasible, as has been demonstrated by the lack of capacity of private providers to deliver housing in the quantities needed in recent years. This is not an issue of blame but the outcome of a very serious financial shock in the sector and the economy at large, which is well documented. While the construction sector will recover in time, currently it has an important and perhaps greater role to play by partnering with the State in housing provision. Some of Ireland's housing need will, of course, be met through social housing supports delivered by the State, directly or through Part V, but there is undeniably a large proportion of intermediate households who will require assistance in a form not currently available. Rebuilding Ireland acknowledges that the needs of intermediate households, using schemes such as affordable purchase, will be met by using publicly owned lands. The creation of the Land Development Agency, together with the announcement of resources for the affordable purchase scheme in Budget 2019, represent an important step in this direction. Discussions on the best way of ensuring the viability of mixed tenure housing, and the sustainability of mixed tenure communities, are therefore not notional - they are timely.

The number of estates with diverse tenures will increase in the future. These tenures will include private housing, social renting ‘and everything in between’. It is therefore essential that they are designed, managed and maintained in a way that ensures their success. These estates will, by necessity, provide more housing options to households than ever before. If mixed tenure estates can prove successful, there is no reason to believe that they will not become the desired option of private and public developers and the chosen way forward by Irish society in the future, leading to a more cohesive, more diverse and more sustainable Ireland.



Successful Mixed Tenure Development Checklist

The following is a practical checklist of features that the research points to as promoting the highest chances of success for any mixed tenure development.

STRUCTURE OF SCHEME

- ✓ The scheme accommodates the widest possible mix of tenures.
- ✓ The scheme takes account of the housing tenure mix in the surrounding neighbourhoods.
- ✓ A high concentration of low income private rented households is avoided.
- ✓ A mix of household sizes – 1, 2 and 3-bedroom properties – is provided.
- ✓ Residents have choices that enable them to move between tenures while remaining in the same neighbourhood (e.g. downsizing options).

POSITIONING THE SCHEME

- ✓ Good, early communication and marketing of the scheme seeks to generate a positive image from the beginning.
- ✓ As far as practicable, ‘pepper potting’ is used to disperse the different tenures across the housing scheme.
- ✓ There is no difference in the design standards between the different tenures, and agreed rules / covenants are in place around making alterations to the exterior of properties.

MANAGING THE SCHEME

- ✓ New residents get to meet each other at an induction / social event hosted by the developer or local authority before they move into the scheme.
- ✓ As far as possible, new residents across the different tenures move into the scheme at the same time to support community cohesion.
- ✓ There is an active estate management presence (e.g. onsite caretaker or visiting estate officer) to ensure that the housing scheme and its environment is well managed and maintained and that residents’ concerns are promptly addressed.
- ✓ Open spaces are designed in a family-friendly way and landscaping is easy to manage and maintain.

- ✓ Playgrounds and community facilities are available to residents, either within the scheme or nearby. In some cases, a smaller community house (e.g. 2 rooms and kitchen) may be more appropriate than a large community centre.
- ✓ The upkeep and maintenance of shared parts of the scheme are designed to keep service charges at a reasonable level (e.g. fittings that are expensive to maintain are avoided).
- ✓ Residents are involved and consulted on decisions that affect them, residents' associations are fostered and encouraged, and the community and voluntary sector is involved in supporting community integration and cohesion.



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