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Thriving Communities: Developing a strategic framework

for mixed-tenure housing

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A Dissertation

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by

Lily Georgina Lamble

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Abstract of a Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Planning.

Thriving Communities: Developing a strategic framework for mixed-tenure housing developments

by

Lily Georgina Lamble

New Zealanders are facing housing insecurity with home ownership rates falling to the lowest levels in 60 years and it is not just those with lower socio-economic status facing housing security difficulties, but it appears that the middle-income earners in New Zealand are having to face these difficulties also. In addition, concentrated areas of mono-tenure public housing developments have been described as dysfunctional, compounding the effects of poverty, and creating cycles of disadvantage. Mixed-tenure housing developments are purported to achieve a range of benefits in society. The developments are designed to meet the diverse housing and financial needs by providing a range of tenure options. Mixed-tenure developments could play a significant part in addressing the housing issues in New Zealand. However, there has only been a small level of interest and investment from housing developers when it comes to mixed-tenure housing developments. There is also minimal guidance and information available for housing providers, with only a small body of New Zealand academic research and literature available. This dissertation seeks to contribute to this small body of research and provide some guidance for housing providers and policymakers regarding mixed-tenure housing developments. The dissertation begins with a contribution to the discussion of the definition of mixed-tenure housing. This is followed by a proposal of a strategic framework for mixed-tenure housing developments that housing providers and policymakers can utilise as a guidance tool. Feedback was sought on the strategic framework from people who currently work in the housing sector to evaluate the usability of the strategic framework. Based on the results, the proposed strategic framework can be a workable tool for housing providers and policymakers to use in practice.

Keywords: mixed-tenure housing, mixed-income housing, public housing, affordable housing, best practice, strategic framework, housing policy, tenure mix

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview

Mixed-tenure housing has been widely adopted as an effective measure that addresses area deprivation and urban poverty (Graham, et al., 2009). In policy and planning documents the term 'mixed-tenure housing' is simply described as communities that include a range of tenures (Chisholm et al., 2021). The range of tenures can vary from emergency housing tenure arrangements through to highly expensive private homeownership tenure arrangements. The rationale for mixed-tenure housing is based on deconcentration theory, a theory that areas of concentrated poverty compound social and economic problems "greater than the sum of the parts" (Social Life, n.d.). Lucio et al. (2014, p. 893) explain how public housing is often clumped together in deprived areas of the city - "The core problem or issue with public housing has been its initial relegation to impoverished, dilapidated parts of cities, leaving its inhabitants in isolated silos of despondence". Notably, the recently released National Policy Statement on Urban Development 2020 may further this issue as this directive enables greater levels of medium-high density developments in urban areas. Dispersing low-income residents (often residing in public housing) amongst the rest of the community, even wealthy areas of the community, is meant to alleviate the effects of concentrated poverty (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). Basically, mixed-tenure housing is about deconcentrating concentrated areas of public housing, through the integration of affordable housing and private housing in those areas. This is to create diverse and mixed communities, whereby people of diverse backgrounds co-inhabit the same area. Mixed-tenure housing also provides a range of tenure options to meet the diversity of housing needs in New Zealand.

New Zealand is yet to widely employ mixed-tenure housing in housing policy and in the housing market. However, in recent decades the housing market has been volatile with house prices rising, and falling, and first homebuyers struggling to enter the market. As such mixed-tenure housing is slowly emerging as a viable solution. Furthermore, government bodies are recognising that there is a diversity of housing needs amongst New Zealanders. In addition, there is a socio-political shift in discourse from the once dominant neoliberalist era of the late 1980s whereby private housing and homeownership is the normative and dominant tenure option in the market towards a welfare state. While very recently in New Zealand there has been a shift to welfare politics, the 'pendulum has swung several times' between neoliberalism and social welfare. This 'pendulum' phenomenon has

also been exhibited in the international context and is likely to continue to occur in the forthcoming decades.

Mixing low, middle and higher-income groups together through mixed-tenure housing, is expected to achieve a range of benefits in society. In fact, four positive socio-economic outcomes are expected to result from mixed-tenure housing. These are improved social networks, informal social control, behavioural change, and institutional improvements (Graves, 2011). However, not all these outcomes are actualised from mixed-tenure housing (Graves, 2011). This study identifies the 'success factors' that are critical to the actualisation of positive socio-economic outcomes in mixed-tenure housing from an analysis of planning literature. This leads onto the development of a strategic framework based on the factors that lead to mixed-tenure housing success. The strategic framework is intended to provide guidance for housing providers and policymakers with mixed-tenure housing developments.

1.2 Problem Definition

A stocktake of New Zealand housing was commissioned by the Minister of Housing and Urban Development the Hon Phil Twyford in November 2017 which provided a clear picture of the state of the housing market in New Zealand. Based on the report, it is not just those with lower socio-economic status facing housing security difficulties, but it appears that the middle-income earners in New Zealand are having to face these difficulties also. The report states that home ownership rates have fallen to the lowest levels in 60 years (Johnson et al., 2018). Johnson et al. (2018, p. 4) conclude that "current settings around housing assistance programmes, like the Accommodation Supplement, are doing little to relieve these affordability problems." In addition, the concentrated areas of mono-tenure social housing developments are believed to compound the effects of poverty. These types of concentrated public housing developments have been described as dysfunctional, "a proven failure" and are creating "cycles of disadvantage" (Morris et al., 2012, p. 3). As mentioned previously, mixed-tenure housing is expected to achieve a range of benefits in society. Mixed-tenure housing also provides a range of tenure options to meet the diversity of housing and financial needs of New Zealanders. However, there has only been a small level of interest and investment from housing developers when it comes to mixed-tenure housing developments. There is also minimal guidance and information available for housing providers regarding mixed-tenure housing in New Zealand. This leads onto the research problem which is that there is no coherent framework to guide housing providers on mixed-tenure housing in its early stages in New Zealand. This problem presents the risk that housing developers might embark on mixed-tenure housing developments with little guidance as to how to develop these mixed-tenure housing successfully. This research seeks to address this

issue by developing a strategic framework to assist housing providers and policymakers with mixed-tenure housing.

1.3   Research Aim and Questions

There has only been a small level of interest and investment from housing developers when it comes to mixed-tenure housing developments. There is also minimal guidance and information available for housing providers and there is only a small body of New Zealand academic research and literature available. This dissertation seeks to contribute to this small body of research and provide some guidance for housing providers and policymakers regarding mixed-tenure housing developments. As such, the aim of this research is to assist housing providers and policymakers with mixed-tenure housing by providing a strategic framework. The development of a strategic framework is only in the developmental stages, as such requires feedback to become a tool that is useful for housing providers and policymakers. As such, the research questions of this dissertation are as follows:

- Can a useful strategic framework be developed as a guidance tool, that is based on academic literature and research?

- Will this strategic framework receive positive feedback from housing providers and policymakers?

- Is the strategic framework useful and applicable?

This is the first study to develop a strategic framework for mixed-tenure housing in the context of New Zealand. The findings should make an important contribution to housing providers and policymakers looking to undertake mixed-tenure housing developments.

1.4   Dissertation Structure

This introduction chapter outlines the key focus areas and aim of this research project. This is followed by a literature review in Chapter 2. The literature review provides a definition of mixed-tenure housing, describes the planning theory behind mixed-tenure housing, as well as the proposed positive outcomes expected to result from mixed-tenure housing. This chapter concludes with a summation of the factors that lead to the success of mixed-tenure housing. Most importantly, this chapter formed the foundation of the strategic framework, as a large part of the strategic framework was developed based on the findings in this chapter. This is followed by the background of mixed-tenure housing in Chapter 3, which provides a background of mixed-tenure housing in a variety of contexts, from the New Zealand context to the international context. This chapter also addresses scepticism commonly associated with mixed-tenure housing. Chapter 3 finishes with an outline of

the current gaps in mixed-tenure housing literature and how this research fits into that those gaps. This leads onto the methodology chapter in Chapter 4 that provides a pilot version of the strategic framework and delineates the methods employed to conduct this research. Chapter 5 lays out the findings from the primary data collected to answer the research question. Chapter 6 is an in-depth analysis of the primary data through quantitative data analysis methods. Common themes were drawn from the primary data to infer research findings. The dissertation finishes with Chapter 7, the conclusion chapter that summates the key findings from the research as well as the practical implications of these findings. Chapter 8 also highlights how this research could be built on in the future.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Mixed-tenure housing needs to be defined. The term is commonly used in planning literature, yet it remains a vague concept (Chisolm et al., 2021; Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017).   Most academics conclude that there is no set definition, because mixed-tenure housing varies considerably (Chisolm et al., 2021; Levy, at al., 2010; Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). Nevertheless, this chapter surveys a number of definitions. Following on from the definition and characteristics of mixed-tenure housing, will be a discussion of planning theory. These planning theories undergird the rationale of mixed-tenure housing. Thereafter, the positive socio-economic outcomes of mixed-tenure housing will be identified. This leads on to a discussion of the success factors to achieve those positive socio-economic outcomes, concluding the literature review.

2.1   Defining Mixed-Tenure Housing

In the USA, 'mixed-income housing' is a common term in planning, similar to 'mixed-tenure housing'. Both imply the same concept - the assumption with the use of the word 'tenure' is that households with varying tenures have respective varying incomes (Saville-Smith, et al., 2015; Vale, & Shamsuddin, 2017). This has been elaborated on in a study which states that public housing, affordable housing, and market housing can be 'translated into a rough proxy for income' (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). Public housing can be translated as housing for those with incomes that are typically less than 30% of the Area Median Income[1], affordable housing is translated as those with 40% to 60% of Area Median Income, and market housing as those with at least 60% of AMI (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). Other academics state that it is a poor proxy because residents of market housing can still have a low income (Chisholm, 2021). Nonetheless, this study assumes that the terms are interchangeable and both terms 'tenure' and 'income' will be frequently used throughout this dissertation.

The Mixed-Income Research Design Group from California defines mixed-tenure housing as planning to generate socioeconomic diversity within a geographic area (Levy et al., 2011). In policy and planning documents the term is simply described as communities that include a range of tenures (Chisholm et al., 2021). Community Housing Aotearoa (Community Housing Regulatory Authority)

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[1] AMI is the household income for the median household in a given region in the USA.
The AMI of each region is calculated by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (McCabe, 2016).

similarly states that mixed-tenure housing is any community where different tenure arrangements of rental and home ownership co-exist (Community Housing Regulatory Authority, 2016). Notably, the types of tenures need to be clarified. Crown entity Kainga Ora - Homes and Communities deals with a total of seven major tenures which Kāinga Ora refers to as 'housing programmes.' The list is as follows; supported housing, public housing, affordable rental, assisted home ownership, market affordable home ownership, market rental and market home ownership (Kainga Ora, 2021). This is reflected in Figure 1 below. Broadly, these tenures can be reduced to either public, affordable or market housing with rental or home ownership arrangements. Notably, planning literature tends to reduce the terms even more to a simple dichotomy of public and market housing.

Housing Continuum						
Social Housing		**Affordable Housing**			**Market Housing**	
Emergency (Refuge, Homeless)	Supported/ Assisted Rental	Assisted Rental	Assisted Ownership	Market Affordable	Private Rental	Private Ownership
Assisted				Market		
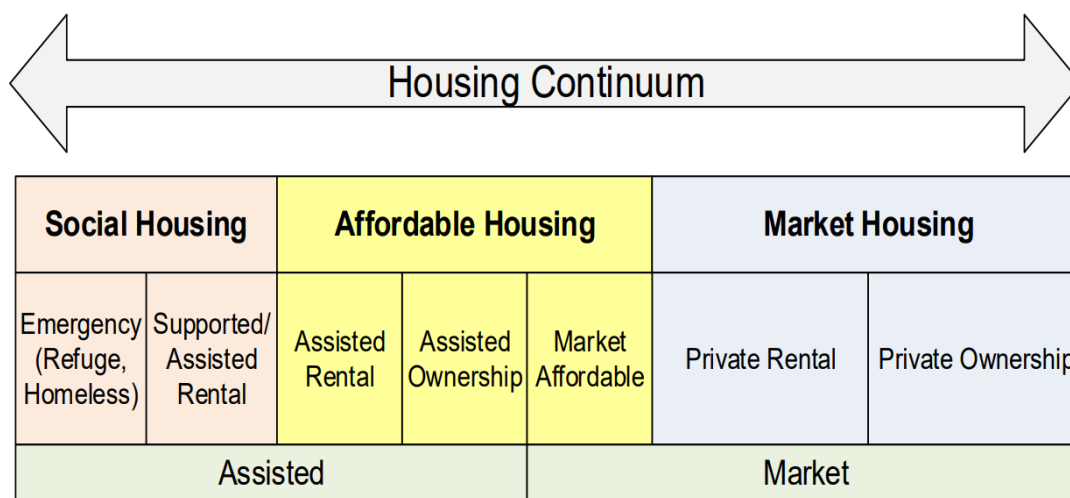
Figure 1. Continuum of housing tenures (Kāinga Ora, 2021)

Nonetheless, all of the above definitions lack specificity. It is important for researchers, housing providers and policymakers to specifically define mixed-tenure housing in discussion and practice. To help solve this issue, several characteristics of mixed-tenure housing have been identified in planning literature. These characteristics help narrow the definition of mixed-tenure housing so that researchers, housing providers and policymakers can have a better depiction of mixed-tenure housing. These characteristics are as follows; mode (deliberate or organic), spatial integration (integrated, segmented, or segregated), scale, allocation, and lastly, duration (Chisholm et al., 2021; Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). These characteristics should be mentioned in research and practice to help define 'mixed-tenure housing', so that it does not remain a vague and broad concept (Chisholm et al., 2021). This simply involves stating what characteristics of mixed-tenure housing are involved. These characteristics will be described in more detail in the next few paragraphs.

2.1.1 Mode

The mode of mixed-tenure housing refers to the way in which the mixed-tenure housing was established. Deliberate and organic are the two types that have been identified. Deliberate means

that the mixed-tenure housing was established intentionally through government intervention such as through the direct provision of policies and plans. The organic mode, otherwise referred to as 'de facto' means that the process occurred naturally as a community grew over time with a variety of tenures and attracted residents with different socio-economic backgrounds (Chisholm et al., 2021; Levy et al., 2010). Representatives and employees of local and central government point out that a portion of mixed-tenure housing in New Zealand has developed organically (Chisholm et al., 2021). However, there are also examples of deliberate mixed-tenure housing in New Zealand. The Tāmaki Regeneration Programme in Auckland is one such example that has been intentionally designed to be mixed tenure, in order to meet a range of people's housing needs.

2.1.2 Spatial Integration

Another important characteristic for housing providers to clarify is the degree of spatial integration between public and private housing within mixed-tenure housing. Different degrees of integration have been identified using the following terminology: integrated, segmented or segregated (Chisholm et al., 2021; Levy et al., 2011; Roberts, 2007). The term 'integrated' is commonly defined as housing units with different tenures located side by side (Roberts, 2007; Sautkina, 2012). Another term similar to 'integrated' that is frequently applied in relation to mixed-tenure housing is "pepper-potted" (Roberts, 2007; Sautkina, 2012). "Pepper-potting" is when individual public houses are dispersed throughout a housing development (Roberts, 2007). Researchers have pointed out that integration can occur at even higher degrees, such as different tenures within an apartment building. The tenures could be different from the adjacent units on the same floor, or from each floor (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). The next degree of spatial integration is referred to as 'segmented'. This term is defined as public and private housing being in small separate blocks such as a cul-de-sac or a laneway, but the public and private blocks are still relatively close by if not adjacent (Chisholm et al., 2021; Roberts, 2007; Sautkina, 2012). Segregated mixed-tenure housing is the least integrated of all, whereby, different concentrated tenure blocks are separated physically through a road or some other large physical construct that creates a larger degree of separation than segmented mixed-tenure housing (Chisholm et al., 2021; Roberts, 2007; Sautkina, 2012).

2.1.3 Scale

Researchers, housing providers and policymakers can refer to mixed-tenure housing at different scales. For example, mixed-tenure housing can be referred to at a street-scale, or within a block or development, or at a large-scale such as a neighbourhood which would include the services and shops (Chisholm et al., 2021). Most developers refer to mixed-tenure housing at the scale of their own development, such as a multi-unit housing development (Levy et al., 2010).

2.1.4 Duration

Duration is important to consider because communities can change. For example, if a mixed-tenure housing development was comprised of tenures such as a rent-to-buy tenure, shared homeownership, and private market housing (notable none are public housing), then all of the housing units will eventually become full market housing in the long-term and is therefore unsustainable as mixed-tenure housing. This is because 'rent-to-own' and 'shared homeownership' describe tenure arrangements whereby the tenant is gradually buying the house from the current owner. "Such communities will eventually become entirely private, and therefore there is no guarantee residential socio-economic mix will be retained in the long term" (Chisholm et al., 2021, p. 39). Also, financially, the housing entities or foundations that are providing subsidies for certain tenure types such as public housing or supportive housing, must consider how long the subsidy will be provided for. This will directly impact the long-term stability of mixed-tenure housing. Ultimately, mixed-tenure housing has to be financially viable in the long-term.

An example of a housing development that was not financially viable for the long-term, is the infamous Pruitt-Igoe public housing project located in Missouri, USA. Pruitt-Igoe was planned for by the St. Louis Housing Authority, to meet the high demand for low-income housing due to widespread residential dislocation (Bristol, 1991). All 2,700 units of Pruitt-Igoe were complete by 1954. Unfortunately, changes in the political climate meant that government expenditure on Pruitt-Igoe for such factors as the units and amenities were markedly limited. In addition, Pruitt-Igoe required critical operation and maintenance costs (Bristol, 1991). These costs were funded by rental payments from the tenants; however, the St. Louis Housing Authority was frequently dealing with rent arrears. Furthermore, the tenant occupancy rate began to significantly decline because the housing market began to change (Bristol, 1991). Overall, this led to "chronic neglect of maintenance" (Bristol, 1991, p. 166). Pruitt-Igoe was deemed financially unviable, and it was subsequently demolished. Overall, the duration of mixed-tenure housing projects particularly in relation to financial costs needs to be considered in mixed-tenure housing discussion.

2.1.5 Allocation

Allocation refers to the proportion of public housing, affordable housing and market housing included in a mixed-tenure housing project (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). Other types of tenures can be included. Allocation is subject to much debate:

> "[…] different researchers have considered communities as mixed tenure where the majority of housing is public, where the majority of housing is owner-occupied, or where no one tenure dominates" (Chisholm et al., 2021, p. 36).

Some proponents suggest that the proportion of public housing should be a small percentage to ensure that there is a larger portion of market housing. This type of allocation allows private homeowners to be more influential as 'good role models' for public tenants and purportedly leads to better social outcomes (Chisholm et al., 2021; Darcy 2010; Lucio et al., 2014). Other housing analysts specify an allocation of one-third public housing, one-third affordable housing, and one-third market housing (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). An article published in the Journal of the American Planning Association provides a helpful summary of four general types of allocation:

1. Public housing skew
2. Polarized public – market
3. Market housing skew
4. Broad continuum (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017).

The second type of allocation described above which is 'polarised public – market', describes an allocation arrangement whereby there is a portion of both public and market housing, but there is no middle option, that is, there is no affordable housing options. Affordable housing is shown as the middle option in the continuum of tenures reflected in Figure 1.

2.2   Planning Theory

Mixed-tenure housing has long been a point of discussion in planning literature (Social Life, n.d.). Even though it has a broad definition, the characteristics listed above which are mode, spatial integration, scale, allocation, and duration provide more structure and depth to the definition (Chisholm et al., 2021; Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). This next section will be a discussion of the planning theory that undergirds mixed-tenure housing. Planning theory topics will include deconcentration theory and architectural determinism. Both topics in planning theory undergird the rationale for mixed-tenure housing.

2.2.1   Deconcentration Theory

Mixed-tenure housing is based upon deconcentration theory (Social life, n.d.). Other phrases similar are 'poverty concentration', 'desegregation' or 'neighbourhood effects' (Chisholm et al., 2020; Darcy, 2010). Deconcentration theory is the idea that areas of concentrated poverty compound social and economic problems. Problems include high crime rates, social isolation, poor neighbourhood amenities and poor housing quality (Lucio et al., 2014). These problems have been thoroughly researched and confirmed (Joseph, 2006). Policymakers believe that the solution is deconcentrating

impoverished areas (Social Life, n.d.). August (2016, p. 3407) explains how deconcentration theory works and how it is expected to achieve benefits in society - "deconcentrating poverty will reconnect the inner-city 'underclass' with middle class 'role models' and job opportunities and provide social and economic uplift as a result". Essentially wealthy households are desegregated from wealthy areas and situated amongst deprived areas, in order to achieve a range of socio-economic outcomes (August, 2016; Graves, 2011; Lucio et al., 2014). Mixed-tenure housing is meant to address the social isolation of the urban poor and reverse the impacts of concentrated poverty (Graves, 2011; Joseph, 2006).

2.2.2 Architectural Determinism

Mixed-tenure housing is meant to alleviate the effects of concentrated poverty by "pepper-potting" the urban poor throughout a neighbourhood or city. This is a physical or design solution. Mixed-tenure housing stems from the theory of architectural determinism, the idea that physical or design solutions can fix social problems, and change people's behaviour for the better (Golembiewski, 2014). Academic Xavier Briggs comments similarly that determinism "posits that design elements can influence social interactions among diverse people" (Levy et al., 2010, p. 5). For instance, the intentional inclusion of common spaces with outdoor seating invites people to socialise and shape relationships, where they may not have otherwise (Joseph, 2006; Levy et al., 2010; Social Life, n.d). Architectural Determinism is connected to pragmatism or pragmatic planning, which is a highly practical approach to planning (Allmendinger, 2009).

This next section will describe the benefits of deconcentrating poverty through mixed-tenure housing. The benefits have been classified into four positive social outcomes (positive socio-economic outcomes).

2.3 Positive Socio-Economic Outcomes

Four positive socio-economic outcomes from the deconcentration of poverty have been identified in planning literature. These four social outcomes are:

1. Improved social networks
2. Informal social control
3. Behavioural change
4. Institutional improvements (Chisholm et al., 2020; Graves, 2011; Joseph, 2006; Levy et al., 2010).

Early advocates of mixed-tenure housing formed these positive socio-economic outcomes based on deconcentration theory and used them as strong evidence for mixed-tenure housing (Levy et al., 2010). However, international literature provides differing views, oftentimes contesting the reality of positive socio-economic outcomes from mixed-tenure housing. In addition, a recent ministerial review by the Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit (Superu) states that evidence for mixed-tenure housing resulting in positive socio-economic outcomes is actually weak and mixed (Chisholm et al., 2020). The reality is that mixed-tenure housing does not always result in positive socio-economic outcomes. This next section involves a more in-depth discussion of the four positive socio-economic outcomes.

2.3.1 Improved Social Networks

Mixed-tenure housing is argued by some as a means of improving social networks, otherwise referred to as forming 'social ties' or 'social capital'. Through social networking more opportunities become available such as employment and acquisition opportunities (Levy et al., 2010). Joseph (2006, p. 213) states "lower-income residents may be able to build weak ties with affluent neighbours and thereby improve access to employment networks and other resources". Participants from the housing community sector within New Zealand affirmed that higher-income residents provided social capital to the lower-income residents in a study on mixed-tenure housing (Chisholm et al., 2020).

Conversely, some academics have stated that monolithic public housing developments in Australia and the UK, have higher social capital and stronger networks due to residents sharing common experiences of living in poverty with neighbours and showing mutual support (Chisholm et al., 2020). However, this type of social capital is unlike the social capital offered from mixed-tenure housing that leads to higher status and job opportunities. Higher-income neighbours can lead to lower-income residents accessing 'instrumental' social networks (Levy et al., 2010). In addition, the social capital is different, as it is more enriched because the social interactions are with people from diverse backgrounds. People learn empathy, social skills and social tolerance when interacting with people different to themselves. This type of social capital is enriching (Levy et al., 2010).

However, to achieve the positive socio-economic outcomes, the social interactions across people with different income levels would need to be quite strong. It is argued that the intensity of social interaction required to strengthen networks and access opportunities is unlikely to be achieved within mixed-tenure housing (Levy et al., 2010).

2.3.2 Informal Social Control

The second positive socio-economic outcome is informal social control (informal social control). Informal social control[2] is about safety and order within communities (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). There is strong evidence that lower socio-economic areas have higher crime rates and less social organization (Graves, 2011). Many academics believe this is a direct result of dysfunctional and unstable families in these areas. Mixed-tenure housing addresses this by dispersing low socio-economic areas and creating more socio-economic mix. The presence of higher-income people is associated with stable communities and families. These types of people are more likely to exert pressure for safer communities (Graves, 2011). Other research states that the presence of higher-income people "leads to higher levels of accountability to established norms and rules" (Levy et al., 2010, p. 8). This creates order, safety, and less crime (Joseph, 2006; Levy et al., 2010). Another study states there is evidence that at new mixed-tenure housing redevelopment sites there are lower crime rates (Lucio et al., 2014). As such, mixed-tenure housing is believed to result in safer communities and civil behaviour.

Informal social control is not only purported to result from the presence of stable families but also from the way a mixed-tenure housing development is designed, allowing for increased surveillance. For instance, some mixed-tenure housing involves residents using the same entrance to the units, forcing residents to cross paths with each other. High rise apartments encircling a common area allow for increased surveillance. These types of designs minimise privacy. An example is a mixed-tenure housing named Rivertowne (formerly known as Don Mount Court) in the USA. The townhouses were designed quite compactly inspired by New Urbanism and creating 'social mix' (August, 2016). They designed the townhouses so that every doorstep was shared between two and four units (August, 2016). Unfortunately, study participants from the housing community sector highlighted that surveillance is linked with discrimination and racism by private housing residents:

> "One participant recalled the stigmatisation of a public housing household in a block of private flats. The neighbours 'were white middle-class people that actually scrutinized everything this woman with her three children, and what she and her three children did. Any damage that was done in the gardens or anything was blamed on her children, and not the other children'" (Chisholm et al., 2020, p. 12).

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[2] The prefix term 'informal' means that the social control is not achieved through formal means such as police intervention.

On the contrary, Joseph (2006) points out that homeownership tenures leads to informal social control likely due to residential stability. Overall, despite this issue, there is moderate evidence that informal social control is a positive socio-economic outcomes from mixed-tenure housing.

2.3.3 Behavioural Change

The third positive socio-economic outcome is behavioural change whereby the social behaviour of low-income residents will improve because of the close proximity and presence of the 'benevolent' middle-class residents who act as role-models (August, 2016; Graves, 2011). Numerous studies affirm that positive behavioural change stems from mixed-tenure housing. Role-modelling is a key part of this process, whereby low-income people adopt, through observation, positive practices such as good standards of behaviour, consistent school attendance, housekeeping etiquette, and parenting skills (Chisholm et al., 2020; Levy et al., 2010). This assumes that higher-income households are more productive than those of lower-income (Levy et al., 2011). However, the positive socio-economic outcomes have been contested in recent literature (Chisholm et al., 2020). A study of Rivertowne, a mixed-tenure community in the USA, highlights that improved behavioural change does not always result. Furthermore, claims suggest that the middle-class sometimes acts contrary to the ascribed term 'benevolent' and are not always good role-models (August, 2016). In summary, a large portion of planning literature supports this positive socio-economic outcome, but it has been contested in recent planning literature.

2.3.4 Institutional Improvements

Finally, the last positive socio-economic outcome is institutional improvements, whereby higher-income residents draw wealth into the area and increased political efficacy (Graves, 2011; Levy et al., 2010). Joseph (2006) refers to political efficacy as the 'political economy of place'. This term is when high-income people have more spending power and stronger public advocacy skills enabling them to increase the political efficacy of the area (Chisholm et al., 2020). Institutional improvements also occur when wealth and private investment is bought into the area by private expenditure (Lucio et al., 2014). This positive socio-economic outcome, is connected to neoliberal-planning. Academics state that mixed-tenure housing neighbourhoods might be redesigned to appeal to the middle-higher income people, improving property values, and providing retail development such as more expensive shops and finer restaurants (August, 2016; Chisholm et al., 2020). However, mixed-tenure housing developments can 'force' low-income people in public housing to undertake middle class investment and consumption (August, 2016). It can also result in low-income people feeling like they do not belong (Chisholm et al., 2020). Nonetheless, institutional improvements can be a highly positive outcome for low-income residents. For instance, higher-income residents are more likely to

generate political pressure for improvement in amenities, recreational facilities and other government services. High-income residents have public advocacy skills and may get involved in local plan submissions and hearings, advocating for improvements in amenities like the local library or pool. This can place pressure on external political actors and private economic actors. Joseph (2006) summarises this positive socio-economic outcomes:

> "The influence of higher-income residents will generate new market demand and political pressure to which external political and economic actors are more likely to respond, thereby leading to higher-quality goods and services available to a cross-section of residents in the community" (Joseph, 2006, p. 215).

Residents with homeownership tenures are also more likely to make larger financial, social, and political investments in the area than that of renters (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). Overall, this positive socio-economic outcomes, mixed-tenure housing residents can benefit from improved services, amenities, facilities and property values (Levy at al., 2011).

2.4 Success Factors

As noted, many researchers have pointed out and contested that mixed-tenure housing does not always result in positive socio-economic outcomes (Chisholm et al., 2020; Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). Perhaps the idea of mixed-tenure housing is too optimistic or architectural-deterministic, in assuming that if the mix is right, then various positive outcomes will result without necessarily tackling some of the deep-seated social issues. "There are strong arguments that mixed housing in itself is not enough to tackle some of the deep-seated social issues connected to areas with high deprivation" (Social Life, n.d.). It is no surprise that the architectural determinist approach of mixed-tenure housing is being challenged. Architectural determinism is often challenged for its naïve simplicity of practical solutions to resolve problems. Ultimately, architectural determinism is blind to the deeper forces, systems and structures in society (Allmendinger, 2009). Overall, some critics have been quite harsh in response to deconcentration theory and mixed-tenure housing. For example, the work of August (2016, p. 3407) reads:

> "Deconcentration theory also overlooks the forces that have produced (and that sustain) concentrated urban poverty and residential segregation. […] deconcentration policy offers a misguided, punitive, and geographical solution, which simply moves poor people in space around while doing nothing to meaningfully address poverty and racial inequality."

Other academics take a slightly more positive note such as admitting that poverty and housing affordability may be irremediable but at least mixed-tenure housing can help alleviate poverty to

some extent (Smith, 2002). Therefore, implementing mixed-tenure housing is of value and as already discussed there is notable evidence for the positive socio-economic outcomes from mixed-tenure housing. Ultimately a successful mixed-tenure housing development is one that alleviates poverty and in doing so achieves the four positive socio-economic outcomes which are improved social networks, informal social control, behavioural change and institutional improvements. Therefore, success is defined as the four evident positive socio-economic outcomes (ideally to a full extent, not just partially evident), within mixed-tenure housing.

To help achieve success, discussion needs to be had around the different characteristics of mixed-tenure housing, in the way it can be designed and implemented. This section of the literature review lists and discusses this and provides eight success factors that are critical to achieving the positive socio-economic outcomes as shown in Table 1. The eight success factors discuss favourable design and implementation elements for mixed-tenure housing. These eight success factors were developed based on the common themes across found in the academic literature. Essentially, the factors were derived from an assessment of the literature, and notably will be used as a critical part of the strategic framework in the latter chapters of this dissertation. The literature also suggests that if the success factors are implemented within mixed-tenure housing, then, arguably, the four positive socio-economic outcomes are more likely to be achieved.

Table 1. Mixed-Tenure Housing Success Factors

List of Success Factors
• High Levels of Social Interaction
• Blind Tenure
• Financial Viability
• Effective Design
o Designing for Children
• High Degree of Spatial Integration
• Broad Continuum Allocation
• Housing Assistance and Organisation
• Educational Institutions

2.4.1 High Levels of Social Interaction

Kleinhans (2004, p. 384) states "Almost all the assumed benefits of housing diversification and social mix are expected to arise from social interactions". Ultimately, without social interactions in mixed-

tenure housing, the urban poor remain in isolation. This could mean at least some degree of social interaction across residents with different income-groups, whether that be as minor as non-verbal observation from a distance, or as major as a strong personal relationship. Without social interaction across income-groups, residents will only interact with people of the same income or tenure, just as if they were residing in a monolithic housing development and mixed-tenure housing will be nullified. Therefore, to achieve the positive socio-economic outcomes of mixed-tenure housing, social interaction needs to be encouraged (Kleinhans, 2004). Researchers state that social interaction is oftentimes more likely to occur between residents with similar housing tenures or incomes (Joseph, 2006; Levy et al., 2010). An example could be interaction between residents of low-income and moderate-income groups. He also states that to encourage interaction between extreme ends of the low-income and higher-income groups, a moderate-income tier can help facilitate this. Another research paper emphasises a similar idea that social interaction tends to occur between residents with similar backgrounds and circumstances (Levy et al., 2010).

> "Homeowners reported that they were more likely to know other homeowners than renters, while renters were most likely to have established relationships with other renters. Public housing residents knew more people on welfare and fewer employed people." (Levy et al., 2010, p. 16).

2.4.2 Blind Tenure

The term 'blind tenure' or 'seamless integration' means to camouflage the tenure of public housing so that the house looks indistinguishable from private housing (Chisholm et al., 2020; Levy et al., 2010). Previously, in New Zealand, state housing was distinguishable from normal market housing – it had a simplistic look. But this 'public housing look' meant that tenants experienced stigma (Chisholm et al., 2020). Therefore, to reduce the experience of stigma it is helpful to create 'blind tenure'. It helps low-income mixed-tenure housing residents feel equal with other residents (Levy et al., 2010). Notably, public housing can be quite distinct because oftentimes the units are all clustered together in one development. A solution to this, is to "pepper-pot" or disperse the public housing units throughout the neighbourhood (Chisholm et al., 2020).   'Blind tenure' is also about aesthetic and visual integration. This involves the redesigning the exterior of public housing so that an observer would be unaware that there were subsidised units in the development (Levy et al., 2010). Not only will 'blind tenure' reduce stigma, but it also helps achieve the positive socio-economic outcomes by fostering cross-tenure interaction and creating community (Social Life, n.d.).

2.4.3 Financial Viability

As mentioned previously, mixed-tenure housing has to be financially viable in the long-term. This is particularly in relation to the tenures involving subsidies. Otherwise, public housing will have neglect of maintenance, which will also diminish the former success factor - 'blind tenure'. Even more starkly, the subsidised units might have to be demolished altogether, as was the case with Pruitt-Igoe. This means that systems need to be in place to manage rent arrearages, and financial analysts need to be involved to help understand the political economy and ensure the financial viability of the mixed-tenure housing development.

2.4.4 Effective Design

The design of a mixed-tenure housing development can promote social interaction between residents (Levy et al., 2011). This is connected to architectural determinism as a planning theory. As mentioned previously, social interaction is a key part of achieving the four positive socio-economic outcomes in mixed-tenure housing. Therefore, the physical elements of mixed-tenure housing need to be spatially designed in such a way that encourages social interaction between residents (Levy et al., 2010). For instance, designing common areas with places to sit, a shared driveway, common parking spaces, or as mentioned previously sharing a doorstep between two units like in the Don Mount Court development. A social enterprise from the UK, terms these design elements as 'social infrastructure' (Social Life, n.d.).

Another recommendation for designing mixed-tenure housing, is that the design of public spaces, as opposed to the design and layout of the housing units, is more important when it comes to social interaction (Levy et al., 2011). "Interaction was more likely among residents when the layout of public spaces led to encounters, even casual ones" (Levy et al., 2010, p. 16). Overall, research has shown that physical design has a big role in the success of mixed-tenure housing (Social Life, n.d.).

Designing for Children

Another way that social interaction can be encouraged is designing spaces for children. A study on a mixed-tenure housing development in Seattle, USA found that "children played a role in bridging resident relationships and interactions" (Levy et al., 2010, p. 16). This could mean that families get to know each other better because of the relationship their children have with each other. Therefore, designing spaces where children can interact will help achieve the positive socio-economic outcomes of improving social networks. This looks like the provision of recreational facilities such as playgrounds and parks that are commonly shared within the mixed-tenure housing community.

2.4.5 High Degree of Spatial Integration

The term 'integrated' is the most blended type of spatial integration out of the three types; integrated, segmented or segregated. Research has shown that the integrated type is the most effective (Roberts, 2007). The higher degree of integration the more potential for social interaction to occur between residents of differing income levels (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). A study states that these opportunities can help achieve positive socio-economic outcomes such as employment opportunities and building social capital (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). Conversely, the segmented and segregated types are proven to less likely achieve the four positive socio-economic outcomes (Social Life, n.d.). A study on mixed-tenure housing in Seattle, mentioned that residents of segregated units were less likely to social interact with other residents (Levy et al., 2011). Having an integrated type of mixed-tenure housing will more likely achieve the four positive socio-economic outcomes and contribute to overall success of mixed-tenure housing.

In order to achieve a high degree of spatial integration, district or unitary plan changes may be required. This is particularly relevant for the organic mode of mixed-tenure housing (i.e., not deliberate by a developer).

> "Reflecting on Auckland's Unitary Plan, one participant noted that "relaxing the planning rules to allow for more diversity in housing types and sizes and affordability [and] … of itself is a powerful driver towards mixed tenure" (Chisholm et al., 2021, p. 38).

2.4.6 Broad Continuum Allocation

Allocation refers to the proportion of public housing, affordable housing and market housing included in a mixed-tenure housing project. The four types of allocation were previously mentioned in this paper, and each have differing advantages. The first two types; public housing skew and polarized public – market, are advantageous in relation to redevelopment. For instance, a development may displace current public housing tenants, if the new mixed-tenure housing development does not have the same units allocated as public housing for what is currently there, resulting in the displacement of public housing tenants. A public housing skew allocation (or even the polarised public - market type) should ensure that a sufficient portion of the new units will be allocated as public housing (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). The last two allocation types which are market housing skew and broad continuum have advantages, because they can better achieve the positive socio-economic outcomes of institutional improvements and encourage retail development (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). Joseph (2006, p. 224) elaborates:

"The higher the proportion of homeowners and market-rate renters, the more revenue there is to finance the development, the greater the residential and social stability, and the greater the expected subsequent investment in services."

As mentioned previously, in order to encourage social interaction having a moderate tier within mixed-tenure housing is helpful. For instance, this would mean ensuring a portion of the household units are allocated as affordable housing which is considered the 'moderate-tier'. This would foster interaction between those in public housing and those in market housing (Levy et al., 2010). This portion needs to be considerable so that interaction is maximised. Out of the four types of allocation discussed early in this paper, this type of allocation is reflected as the 'broad continuum allocation' where there is no public or market housing skew, nor is there polarisation with no moderate tier in between. Similarly, a research paper emphasises:

"[…] the importance of income strata and the value of having an even mix of low-income, moderate-income, and high-income households because people are more likely to mix socially with relative socioeconomic peers." (Levy et al., 2010, p. 5).

Therefore, based on these observations, the broad continuum allocation is likely to be the most beneficial at encouraging social interaction and achieving the positive socio-economic outcomes.

2.4.7 Housing Assistance and Organisation

This section relates to the characteristic of 'duration' previously discussed. It is about ensuring residents remain within the mixed-tenure housing development through community and stability. One way to ensure tenants will remain residing in mixed-tenure housing, is providing assistance on matters such as finding and engaging with landlords (Levy et al., 2010). "The lack of an effective development-wide organization for residents can impede resident interactions and community building efforts" (Levy et al., 2010, p. 19). Overall, housing providers should aim to provide assistance to tenants or residents as reasonable. This is likely to be an ongoing task.

2.4.8 Educational Institutions

The last success factor is quality educational institutions. Typically, higher-income families have preference for higher quality education, such as that offered by private schools. In order to maintain 'mixed-tenure' the higher income families need to remain residing in mixed-tenure housing. Local quality educational institutions can retain higher income families within mixed-tenure housing (Levy et al., 2011).

2.5 Conclusion

Overall, planning literature tends to paint a negative picture of mixed-tenure housing. The purported positive socio-economic outcomes have been contested, which raises the question of whether the positive socio-economic outcomes can be actualised within mixed-tenure housing. However, like Smith (2002, p. 37) states "there is no silver bullet for solving housing affordability or poverty" but "mixed-income housing can have a role in alleviating poverty" (Smith, 2022, p. 37). By implementing the eight success factors identified in this literature review, the alleviation of poverty and the four positive socio-economic outcomes are more likely to be achieved and evident within mixed-tenure housing. These eight success factors will provide the foundation for developing a strategic framework for mixed-tenure housing providers and developers.

Chapter 3

Background

3.1 Introduction

A large part of the literature review in Chapter 2 provided a background and explanation of mixed-tenure housing. This next section is a summative version of the literature review expressed through a suite of tables and figures as preparation for the development of a strategic framework. As presented from the literature, a range of developments can be considered mixed tenure because the definition of mixed-tenure housing is broad, defined as "communities that include a range of tenures" (Chisholm et al., 2021, p. 34). As such, describing the five characteristics of mixed-tenure housing provides more detail to the concept of mixed-tenure housing. These characteristics are shown in Table 1:

Table 2. Characteristics of mixed tenure housing

Characteristic	Types	Source
Mode	Deliberate or organic	Chisholm et al. (2021); Levy et al. (2011).
Spatial integration	Integrated, segmented, or segregated	Chisholm et al. (2021); Levy et al. (2011); Roberts (2007); Sautkina (2012).
Scale	Several houses, street-scale, large-scale multi-unit development, residential block, or a neighbourhood	Chisholm et al. (2021); Levy et al. (2011).
Duration	Short-term or long-term	Chisholm et al. (2021).
Allocation	Public housing skew Polarized public - market Market housing skew Broad continuum	Chisholm et al. (2021); Darcy (2010); Lucio et al. (2014) Vale & Shamsuddin (2017).

Mixed-tenure housing developments are expected to result in four positive socio-economic outcomes (Graves, 2011). As stated in the literature review, the way to achieve those positive socio-economic outcomes is by implementing the eight success factors of mixed-tenure housing. This concept is reflected in Figure 2. Figure 2 provides a foundation for developing the strategic framework.

This next section provides some further background to mixed-tenure housing in a variety of contexts. Firstly, it discusses the popularity of mixed-tenure housing in policy. This leads onto an analysis of

mixed-tenure housing in international contexts. This chapter concludes with an in-depth discussion of mixed-tenure housing in the context of the housing sector in New Zealand.

Success Factors
1. High Levels of Social Interaction
2. Blind Tenure
3. Financial Viability
4. Effective Design and Designing for Children
5. High Degree of Spatial Integration
6. Broad Continuum Allocation
7. Housing Assistance and Organisation
8. Educational Institutions

Positive Socio-economic Outcomes
1. Improved Social Networks
2. Informal Social Control
3. Behavioural Change
4. Institutional Improvements

Figure 2. Success factors to achieve the four positive socio-economic outcomes from mixed-tenure housing

3.2 Policy

There are numerous reasons why mixed-tenure housing is becoming increasingly being supported in the policy sphere. These reasons will be stated and discussed in the following section. Firstly, a number of studies regarding tenure mix provide evidence for the realisation of neighbourhood effects. "Existing research suggests that well managed, mixed tenure communities […] may help counteract social exclusion and adverse neighbourhood effects associated with mono-tenure estates." (Bailey & Manzi, 2008, n.p.). Kearns et al. (2013) list a number of studies that prove positive results occurring in areas of demography such as school-leaving age, teenage childbearing, educational attainment, and intellectual and behavioural development scores. A study by Atkinson and Kintrea (2001, p. 2277) raised the question of "whether it is worse to be poor in a poor area or in an area which is socially mixed". The research provides evidence that supports the 'neighbourhood effects' thesis and thus mixed-tenure housing.

Another reason why mixed-tenure housing is becoming increasingly being supported in policy, is that concentrated areas of public housing have higher than average levels of unemployment and crime rates (Morris et al., 2012). Policymakers attribute this to 'social exclusion' and view mixed-tenure housing as the antidote. (Morris et al., 2012; Bailey & Manzi, 2008). As such, policymakers are wanting to shift away from mono-tenure public housing developments:

> "Mixing tenures goes some way to redress the 'business as usual' development processes in large metros, which have tended to lead to a higher degree of socioeconomic segregation.

And, as such, mixing tenures is seen as an important planning policy, contributing to a range of desired outcomes." (Nouwelant & Randolph, 2016, p. 4).

In fact, the Finance Minister for New South Wales made stark comments regarding large-scale mono-tenure public housing developments stating that such developments are dysfunctional, "a proven failure" and create "cycles of disadvantage" (Morris et al., 2012, p. 3).

A third reason is that numerous academics have been echoing deconcentration theory; the theory that concentrated areas of deprivation compound the negative effects of poverty. "The fundamental argument underlying the policy of social mix is that by reducing concentrations of disadvantaged residents through tenure mix the dysfunctional behaviours associated with a concentration of poverty are dissipated" (Morris et al., 2012, p. 6). It is about creating diversity and mix, essentially 'altering the social composition of neighbourhoods'. This relies on the proposition that those with higher socio-economic status in a community will bring about positive socio-economic outcomes such as improved social networks and behavioural change for those with lower. As such, mixed-tenure housing developments are becoming increasingly attractive as the primary alternative to mono-tenure public housing developments based on academic theory.

The last reason is that the rhetoric commonly surrounding mixed-tenure housing such as 'improving desirability of neighbourhoods', 'integrated communities', 'diversity', 'greater opportunities' and 'liveability' to name a few, increases the appeal of mixed-tenure housing to policymakers (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017).

Overall, based on the above reasons, multiple academics argue that mixed-tenure housing is and should be established as planning orthodoxy (Bailey & Manzi, n.d.; Kearns et al., 2013). "Mixed tenure communities should be an essential component of both new housing development and in the redevelopment of existing mono-tenure estates." (Bailey & Manzi, 2008, n.p.). Notably, a lot of the literature regarding mixed-tenure housing in policy is international, namely from the United States. The next section explores the wide body of literature on mixed-tenure housing from overseas, discusses international mixed-tenure housing policy and describes some example of internal mixed-tenure housing developments.

3.3 International Mixed-Tenure Housing Developments

Mixed-tenure housing has been highly popular internationally in policymaking and governance (Arbaci & Rae, 2013). This is particularly evident in Australia whereby Australia's Federal Minister for Housing stated "I want to see state and territory governments redevelop the remaining broad acre public housing estates. They should be renewed to create mixed communities." (Groenhart, 2013, p. 95). This is just one of the numerous examples of mixed-tenure policy gaining favour by politicians

and policymakers internationally. Currently, a popular policy and legislative mechanism for mixed-tenure housing is inclusionary zoning. Inclusionary zoning policies encourages, or otherwise legally requires developers to allocate a certain number of units to social or affordable housing (Castro, 2013; Sense Partners, 2020). Inclusionary zoning has been implemented in USA, the UK and is slowly starting to be implemented in New Zealand (Groenhart, 2013).

3.3.1 History

Public and social housing programmes have been the preface to mixed-tenure housing programmes. A surge of public housing programmes occurred in the 1930s in the USA, UK, Australia and New Zealand (Groenhart, 2013). Around that time, 1.5 million public housing units were built in the USA under the National Housing Act (Groenhart, 2013). In the UK, public housing provision surged due to major housing shortages after the First World War. Significant subsidies were provided to produce over one million public houses (Groenhart, 2013). Australian Government followed suit one or two decades later building thousands of large public housing developments on the fringes of cities. Thereafter, public housing substantially declined internationally due to a number of factors, such as neglect of maintenance, withdrawal of funding, and neoliberal politics. Nonetheless, a couple of decades later, public housing programmes were re-envisioned, and terms such as new urbanism, renewal and regeneration became popular. This resurgence held a stronger emphasis on tenure mix policies. For instance, in the USA, this led to the largest single-source mixed-tenure development programme known as HOPE VI (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). "Policy debate around HOPE IV was focused around whether problems in areas with concentrations of socio-economic disadvantage could be alleviated through tenure mix" (Groenhart, 2013, p. 98). HOPE IV involved demolishing deteriorated public housing units and replacing the units with a broader range of tenure options (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). However, the process employed by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development came under scrutiny for gentrification (Popkin et al., 2004; Klomp, 2016). Nonetheless, other academics remain in favour of HOPE IV claiming that it resulted in positive outcomes such as decreases in crime and increases housing market prices (Klomp, 2016).

In Canada, the resurgence in social welfare policies and politics led to the redevelopment of Don Mount Court, a notable programme that involved the demolition and replacement of 232 public housing units with an additional 187 market condominium townhouses (August, 2016). However, this programme also came under scrutiny for gentrification (August, 2016).

Mixed-tenure objectives were also prevalent in the UK, and Housing Action Trusts were established under the Housing Act 1988. Noticeably in the UK, Greater London is considered one the most diverse populations and has been touted "as a mosaic of mixed-tenure neighbourhoods, of socially and ethnically mixed areas, alongside pockets of wealth and poverty" (Arbaci & Rae, 2013, p. 456).

However, a majority of the social mix in London is likely to have occurred organically and the neighbourhood complexities and large scale of London deem it too difficult to undertake a case study to determine whether this is the case. A prominent mixed-tenure housing advancement was the Sustainable Communities Agenda released by the UK government of which Arbaci & Rae (2013, p. 452) made the following comments: "[social mixing] remains at the forefront of spatial planning through mixed-tenure policy". In fact, Kearns et al. (2013) argue that mixed-tenure housing constitutes planning orthodoxy in the UK. "Tenure mix is likely to remain on the policy agenda for some time and is fully embedded in the Government's 'Sustainable Communities' strategy" (Bailey & Manzi, 2008, n.p.). Mixed-tenure policy gained particular prominence in the UK, partly due to the political climate of the early 2000s. This era was characterised by the adversities of the Bradford Riots and the London bombings which instilled underlying fears that Britain was 'sleepwalking to segregation' (Arbaci & Rae, 2013).

Australia took a slightly different turn, adopting an emphasis on privatisation under the Commonwealth State Housing Agreement. The state of Victoria sold 43 per cent of its public housing (Groenhart, 2013, p. 99). However, sale policies emphasised sale agreements to low-income buyers contributing to social mix. Around the same time, the State Housing Associations of Australia renewed and redeveloped existing housing stock. This redevelopment phase had a focus on tenure mix, by "diversifying tenure on social housing estates" (Groenhart, 2013, p. 99). Australian Federal Minister for Housing said mixed-tenure housing is "the way of the future" (Groenhart, 2013, p. 99). Housing New South Wales undertook significant renewal activity, with clear intention to 'dilute' social housing clusters in amongst private housing (Groenhart, 2013). However, Morris (2012, p. 9) commented on a significant redevelopment project that introduced a new mixed-tenure development in Sydney that "the social networks of residents were seriously disrupted by the redevelopment."

Overall, in the last two decades, in Australia, the UK, USA and Canada, social mix or tenure mix has been popular and is "presented as the solution for the problems that beset many public housing estates" (Morris et al., 2012, p. 2; Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). However, some critics state this popularity has overshadowed the empirical evidence for the significant problems with mixed-tenure policy (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017). This debate is on-going and will be elaborated on, in a subsequent section (Chapter 3.5). However, just before that section is a brief discussion on the current state of housing in New Zealand.

3.4 Housing in New Zealand

New Zealand's housing market in recent years has experienced a disproportion in demand and supply – "today there is a crisis, not just in access to and affordability of housing in New Zealand but

in the quality of our housing." (Howden-Chapman, 2015, p. 1). In her book 'Home Truths:
Confronting New Zealand's Housing Crisis', Howden-Chapman discusses how the increasing house
prices are one of the main driving forces behind the housing crisis:

> "[…] those people who already own houses or apartments are becoming increasingly
> prosperous. They see their asset appreciating at an exhilarating rate […]. People who do not
> own a house but are looking to are the losers in this environment, anyone renting and
> without sufficient assets to buy a house misses out entirely" (Howden-Chapman, 2015, p.
> 24).

Howden-Chapman (2015, p. 24) explains that this situation is heightened in Auckland, whereby
house prices have increased the most over recent years and there is a shortage: "Those looking to
buy a first home in Auckland will have particular difficulty unless their families also own appreciating
property and are prepared to offer a family subsidy." Bierre at al. (2013) state there is a need for
10,000 extra houses each year in Auckland. In addition, the Citizens Advice Bureau released a report
that in one year the bureau received more than 3,000 enquiries for emergency accommodation
(Howden-Chapman, 2015). Nonetheless, the New Zealand Government is striving to provide
solutions to the current crisis. The welfare system plays a role in the housing crisis. The following
section discusses the work of Kāinga Ora in the welfare system as the Crown entity that provides and
manages New Zealand's public housing estate.   The section also discusses Kāinga Ora stepping
beyond the welfare system with the entity's endeavours into mixed-tenure housing to address the
current housing crisis.

3.4.1 Kāinga Ora – Homes and Communities

There is a diversity of housing needs in New Zealand and large organisations are involved in meeting
those needs. Kāinga Ora is the most significant housing provider with regard to public housing.
Kāinga Ora "provides tenancy services to about 187,000 public housing tenants and maintains and
develops around 65,000 public houses" (Kāinga Ora, n.d.b, n.p.). Kāinga Ora has adopted an identity
with a strong focus on meeting the diversity of housing needs in New Zealand, including private
market needs:

> "[…] building a mix of housing including public housing, affordable housing, homes for first
> home buyers and market housing of different types, sizes and tenures. We are delivering
> 1,100 net additional homes each year for the next four years." (Kāinga Ora, n.d.b, n.p.).

As such, Kāinga Ora has a focus on mixed-tenure housing developments. In fact, currently Kāinga Ora
is devoted to a host of large-scale mixed-tenure housing developments - six of which are under the
'Auckland Housing Programme' (AHP). These projects are new, only emerging in recent years. The

first project from the programme has been the Northcote development which involves a mix of tenure arrangements as shown in Figure 3 below. The different tenure arrangements are indicated by the legend; blue for market housing blocks and orange and red for state housing blocks. Kāinga Ora state that the development will provide 470 new state houses and 1,000 affordable and market houses (Kāinga Ora, n.d.). The large-scale development means that market and public housing units are built relatively close together within the same development.

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Figure 3. Masterplan of Northcote Development (Source: Northcote Development, n.d.).

The Northcote Development is just one of six large developments under the AHP. The Roskill Development is even larger, with an extraordinary total of 10,000 homes to be built in the span of 10-15 years. In terms of allocation as discussed in Chapter 2, Kāinga Ora has opted for the broad continuum allocation type, with approximately a 1/3 ratio. The allocation of tenures is as follows; 3,000 state homes, 3,500 affordable homes and 3,500 homes for the open market (Kāinga Ora, n.d.). The Mangere Development is also very similar in terms of scale and design. Notably, these sorts of developments may involve displacement of current public housing tenants for a term, although there is evidence that Kāinga Ora will provide support for their tenants during that term.

The last notable project under the AHP is the Tamaki Regeneration Programme which began in 2013 and is still ongoing. This project is the largest in terms of area and involves the redevelopment of the North Glen Innes area. Previously when Kāinga Ora was known as Housing New Zealand Corporation, Housing New Zealand Corporation was undertaking what was termed as the Northern Glen Innes Redevelopment Project. The project involved the redevelopment of 156 properties, providing 78 renewed state houses, approximately 40 affordable houses, and approximately 140

market houses (Klomp, 2016). Unfortunately, the project drew media attention due to gentrification claims. Klomp (2016, p. 44). comments on that situation:

> "The argument is that "urban renewal" programmes such as Glen Innes will result in the eventual displacement of poorer populations to be replaced by urban rich in an increasingly competitive housing market […]. This is reminiscent of the concept of 'gentrification by stealth'".

Indeed, at the time, the redevelopment project resulted in the displacement of state housing tenants. An academic in strong disfavour of mixed-tenure housing makes a stark comment:

> "Even if they are not evicted right away, the changing composition of the community, the changing demographic, access to schools and job changes causes this displacement" (Carnegie, 2015, n.p.).

Cole also explained in her research of the development that the positive social outcomes expected to have resulted from the development have not been manifested (Klomp, 2016). However, on the whole, the regeneration programmes in Auckland led by Kāinga Ora have received praise, particularly on the basis of design. They also adhere to the concept of blind tenure, previously discussed in Chapter 2:

> "New Zealand's new mixed housing developments in Auckland are very impressively designed on the basis of universal design principles. I was shown around half a dozen of these in-fill developments early in 2015. They were a showcase of some of the best of architectural and urban design. Until I was told which was which, I could not have distinguished from the outside of the 10 to 30 townhouses I saw, between those that housing New Zealand rented out and those that had been built for sale to private owners." (Howden-Chapman, 2015, p. 36).

Kāinga Ora is not only involved in projects in Auckland, but all-over New Zealand, such as in Eastern Porirua; a lower socio-economic area, located north of Wellington. The long-awaited development programme will cost the government $1.5 billion to upgrade infrastructure, improve parks and streets and to provide 4,000 homes comprised of a mixture of state and market housing.

5-10 years ago, Housing New Zealand Corporation (now Kāinga Ora) alongside Manchester Street Trustees Limited, built a mixed-tenure development at 399 Manchester Street, Christchurch. The build was highly integrated with different tenure types within the same apartment block – the apartment block is shown in Figure 5 below. The Asset Manager claimed that the development was the "benchmark" for housing projects in Auckland (Klomp, 2016). This is just one of the examples of

mixed-tenure housing developments in New Zealand, either built alongside Kāinga Ora or through a community housing providers. Notably, despite a lot of policy and research overseas regarding mixed-tenure housing, New Zealand has been slower in uptake of such developments. There are not many mixed-tenure housing developments in New Zealand, however the work of Kāinga Ora in recent years has been an exception. This next section discusses the role of community housing providers with regard to mixed-tenure housing in New Zealand.

Figure 3. 399 Manchester Street (Source: Google Maps).

3.4.2 Community Housing Providers

The First Labour Government which took office in 1935, offered an alternative to private housing schemes, by initiating state housing – over 32,000 public houses were built (Groenhart, 2013). Over some decades, renewal programmes followed on to upgrade the public housing stock (Groenhart, 2013). This also led to the Social Housing Reform (Housing Restructuring and Tenancy Matters Amendment) Act 2013 which enables community housing providers (community housing providers) to deliver subsidised rental housing or community housing[3] (Klomp, 2016). community housing providers are eligible for the income-related rent subsidy so as to provide public housing and associated tenancy services under the Act. The community housing providers must be registered with the Community Housing Regulatory Authority and be in a contract with the Ministry of Social Development (Klomp, 2016). Basically, Community Housing Regulatory Authority plays a significant role in meeting the diversity of housing needs in New Zealand. There are approximately 50 registered community housing providers throughout New Zealand (Klomp, 2016). Many of the

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[3] The term 'community housing' means housing that is provided by one of the registered community housing providers (Klomp, 2016).

housing provider members of Community Housing Regulatory Authority such as Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust and Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust are and will be at the forefront of providing mixed-tenure housing developments in New Zealand. Howden-Chapman (2015) stated that community housing providers have a significant potential to effectively address the housing crisis. As such members of community housing providers will be involved in the latter part of this study. The next section elaborates on the current issues in the housing market.

3.4.3 New Zealand's Housing Crisis

The report on New Zealand's housing stocktake by the Minister of Housing and Urban Development has provided a clear picture of the current state of housing market in New Zealand. Firstly, the report begins with a discussion on homelessness in New Zealand. In 2016, the government employed an emergency housing programme to address the issue, and although it has resulted in a stabilisation of the issue, the response is only partially adequate. Furthermore, it is not just those with lower socio-economic status facing housing security difficulties, but it appears that the middle-income earners in New Zealand are having to face these difficulties also. The report states that home ownership rates have fallen to the lowest levels in 60 years (Johnson et al., 2018). The current situation makes it difficult for first-home buyers. Rent prices have also risen. Johnson et al. (2018) concludes "current settings around housing assistance programmes, like the Accommodation Supplement, are doing little to relieve these affordability problems."

The report suggests that the slowing of urban development and infrastructure funding constraints has contributed to the housing issue. The current Resource Management Act 1991 is believed to be one of the main barriers to urban intensification. As such, the Act will be overturned, and meanwhile a National Policy Statement on Urban Development 2020 has been implemented to try and hasten urban development and increase housing supply. A large contributor to the housing shortage is immigration. Johnson et al. (2018, p. 4) describe the situation "the current shortfall of housing in Auckland is estimated to be at around 28,000 dwellings over the past decade, although other estimates put this deficit at 45,000 units.". The report also discusses how the housing crisis is impacting Māori and Pacific peoples. The report states that in 2013 Māori and Pacific homeownership rates declined to approximately 28% for Māori and 19% for Pacific peoples. Johnson et al. (2018) state that the accommodation supplement has limitations and that other housing affordability policy instruments may need to be place, which is where mixed-tenure housing policies could be the answer.

3.5   Skepticism

Although mixed-tenure housing has gained a lot of favour in the political sphere, there is a large body of literature contra to mixed-tenure housing. A central theme from this literature is that mixed-tenure policies only geographically shift people around, whilst failing to meaningfully addressing the deeper societal root causes of deprivation and poverty. This next section of the chapter seeks to examine some of these claims that are contra to mixed-tenure housing, as well as addressing the issues in the latter half. The claims against mixed-tenure housing, have been divided into central themes from the literature which are as follows:

- Claims of state led gentrification.
- Mixed tenure policy is spatial reordering.
- Mixed-tenure housing relies heavily on social interaction (the cornerstone, without which all other stones fall) and the positive social outcomes are claimed in theory but are not evident in practice.
- Stigmatisation may still be experienced by tenants in mixed-tenure housing developments.

3.5.1   Gentrification

One of the most significant claims is that mixed-tenure housing, is nothing but state led gentrification. Klomp (2016, p. 19) summarises this problem as follows "They [mixed-tenure policies] are pitched as a heterogeneous remedy with a clear bias towards deprived neighbourhoods, when they are nothing more than a transitory phenomenon towards complete gentrification." Academics emphasise gentrification issues in cases of redevelopment of existing public housing estates, where existing tenants are displaced either temporarily or permanently to make way for the new development (Klomp, 2016; Groenhart, 2013). This raises issues of social injustice (Groenhart, 2013). A New Zealand study argues that it is not just the construction phase that causes displacement of tenants, but also the revitalised development alienates the reintroduced low socio-economic tenants from what is familiar to them (Carnegie, 2015). Groenhart (2013) also mentions that in some cases, the number of social housing units decrease in the new development, causing displacement effects.

Groenhart (2013) makes further comments that mixed-tenure policy can be a disguise for replacing run down high-density social housing units with more attractive lower-density mixed income communities. Although such programmes sound harmless, critiques believe that undergirding such policies is a legitimised contempt towards public housing tenants. As such, academics portray that 'mixed-tenure policy' has been criticised as gentrification (Groenhart, 2013).

3.5.2 Spatial Reordering

Mixed-tenure housing is meant to alleviate the effects of concentrated poverty by "pepper-potting" the urban poor throughout a neighbourhood or city. This is a physical or design solution and has been commonly described as 'spatial reordering' amongst critics. Spatial reordering of communities is considered a pragmatic solution that fails to deal with the deeper societal roots of urban poverty: "There is little evidence to suggest that such a spatial reordering actually tackles deprivation" (Arbaci & Rae, 2013, p. 453). Arbaci & Rae (2013, p. 475) further elaborate: "Dilution of poverty through housing-tenure diversification diverts attention from the causes of inequality that are rooted within the wider welfare system.". This criticism is a criticism of the theory of architectural determinism - the idea that physical or design solutions can fix social problems, and change people's behaviour for the better (Golembiewski, 2014). Other academics take a less cynical approach, suggesting that mixed-tenure housing should not be considered the single remedy to address socio-economic issues, but is certainly a step forward (Bailey & Manzi, 2008).

3.5.3 Social Interaction and Unrealised Outcomes

Kleinhans (2004, p. 377) states "Almost all the assumed benefits of housing diversification and social mix are expected to arise from social interactions". Without social interaction across income-groups, residents will only interact with people of the same income or tenure, just as if they were residing in a monolithic housing development and the positive socio-economic outcomes expected from mixed-tenure housing will be nullified. From the literature, achieving positive socio-economic outcomes may be possible but this relies heavily on residents within the mixed-tenure housing to actually socialise with different groups, and academics claim that adequate social mixing cannot be guaranteed (Kearns et al., 2013; Nouwelant & Randolph, 2016). This is particularly emphasised when the income or social-class gap between people is too great, reducing positive interactions, meaning that the positive socio-economic outcomes are less likely to result (Kearns et al., 2013).

Further, the four positive social outcomes are expected to be produced from social interaction, meaning that without sufficient social interaction occurring, none of the social outcomes can be realised. As such, the whole point of mixed-tenure housing relies on a substantial level of social interaction occurring, so that those in low-income groups can socialise and access key job opportunities for instance or learn behaviours from the 'benevolent middle class'. However, due to matters such as stigmatisation, limited interaction may occur between co-residents who differ from one another, in income, status, employment, ethnicity or other classification. These classifications can be considered as 'barriers' to social mixing. A study based in Australia, found that homeowners appeared too busy to socialise with public housing tenants. However, notably it has been stated that "the one realm where social contact did occur was in the local schools. The children came from all

tenures, and this facilitated some contact between parents from different tenures." (Morris et al., 2012, p. 7)

It is unknown the level of interaction required to produce benefits, but literature suggests minor non-verbal observation from a distance, is not sufficient. Rather personal communicative relationships may be is required to produce the desired social outcomes from a mixed-tenure housing community.

Another critique of mixed-tenure housing is that the outcomes are claimed in theory, but in practice they are not evident. In fact, Cole asserts that all of the proposed positive socio-economic outcomes from mixed-tenure housing are not actualised at all in practice (Klomp, 2016). Cole is not alone, with a large body of academics sharing similar views.

> "Although observers believe mixed-income housing can address social and economic problems, much prior work finds that low-income residents experience few benefits." (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017, p. 56).

As such, Kearns et al. (2013) states that the evidence for the benefits from mixed-tenure housing is very weak, and the high costs associated with mixed-tenure housing does not justify such developments.

3.5.4 Stigmatisation

Mixed-tenure housing is meant to reduce the stigmatisation that public housing tenants may experience in mono tenure public housing developments, whereby residents are 'in silos' feel segregated from normal society. "Estate people are viewed as layabouts, drug addicts and trouble-makers" (Morris et al., 2012). However, establishing social mix through mixed-tenure housing, may not actually reduce the stigmatisation. Morris et al. (2012) states that results from studies have been inconclusive and some studies found that the stigmatisation was lessened but only to a small extent. Unfortunately, public housing tenants exhibit higher than average levels of unemployment and crime rates which contributes to the stigmatisation that the tenants experience (Morris et al., 2012). Private homeowners may dislike living close by to public housing tenants. As such stigmatisation can be an issue in mixed-tenure housing developments.

3.6 Addressing Skepticism

Although numerous academics express scepticism towards mixed-tenure housing developments there is also some literature that highlights the positive elements that mixed-tenure housing can

bring. In short, mixed-tenure housing developments may not result in all the positive socio-economic outcomes to a full extent, but the developments are a better alternative than mono-tenure public housing developments (Arbaci & Rae, 2013; Kearns et al. 2013; Morris et al., 2012). Firstly, a study found that resident satisfaction for mixed tenure areas was higher than what was found in social housing developments (Arbaci & Rae, 2013). Not only that, but changing the tenures in a mono tenure public housing development can actually improve the reputation of the development area (Arbaci & Rae, 2013)

Another significant reason why mixed-tenure housing developments are favourable is that the developments can meaningfully address the current housing crisis in New Zealand. At the moment, there are a wide range of needs under the current housing crisis and offering a range of different tenure options may help address the diversity of needs. Furthermore, as individuals and households go through changing life stages, different tenure arrangements as well as the housing size and type may be required (Arbaci & Rae, 2013). Mixed tenure developments provide a range of options.

One of the criticisms that was raised in the former section was that mixed-tenure housing is a means of 'spatial reordering' and does not truly address the causes of poverty. Arbaci and Rae (2013) state that many neighbourhoods are organically mixed to some degree and the residents of these areas can have an adequate level of residential satisfaction. Essentially, it is not apparent why 'spatial reordering' should have negative connotations. In fact, some academics would argue that 'spatial reordering' is what is required so the public housing tenants can have access to new opportunities:

> "Part of the argument that external influences are responsible for neighbourhood effects is that disadvantaged neighbourhoods are not well located for job market access. The argument is that property values are low because of the relatively lower level of access to the jobs market. By co-locating different housing tenures, and so different income groups, this negates the 'spatial mismatch' whereby lower income households are confined to areas of low property value." (Nouwelant & Randolph 2016, p. 5)

Nouwelant & Randolph (2016) also raise a rhetorical question on what benefits there are to homogeneity in relation to tenure. They suggest that remaining under the current system of mono-tenure public housing developments, is not promoted as the way of the future. This view is strongly supported by the Finance Minister of New South Wales (Morris et al., 2012).

Another significant criticism of mixed-tenure housing developments is that public housing tenants may still be subject to stigmatisation. This criticism has been addressed in literature by the work of Bailey and Manzi (2008) who have found in some studies that mixed-tenure housing developments might actually reduce prejudice towards public housing tenants. Not only that, but the large body of

literature listed in Chapter 2 in support of the four positive socio-economic outcomes cannot be ignored. Groenhart (2013) provides a brief summary of this:

> "Benefits for tenants and other residents at a neighbourhood level include economic and service impacts, for example an enhanced local economy; social and behavioural impacts, such as reductions in anti-social behaviour; community level impacts, for example increased social interaction; and reduced social exclusion, including less stigma. The benefits of reduced concentrations of social housing are purported to be wide ranging, potentially delivering improvements in economic, social welfare and health fronts." (Groenhart, 2013, p. 97)

Klomp (2016, p. 27) shares very similar views to Groenhart; "There is evidence that social mix and deconcentration of poverty (mixed communities) provide significant economic and welfare benefits for residents."

Lastly, mixed-tenure housing is often criticised that it is a form of gentrification. However, revitalising mono-tenure public housing estates by incorporating mixed-tenure can be beneficial. Tenants can experience higher quality urban design, better amenities and public spaces, lower crime rates and so forth (Nouwelant & Randolph, 2016). Furthermore, if the mixed-tenure housing development is designed appropiately, such as with blind tenure, and the development being situated in an attractive area, then this can foster a level of sameness and thus positive social interaction between co-residents (Morris et al., 2012).

3.7   Current Gaps

Although, mixed-tenure housing has been covered exhaustively in academic literature and research, this is largely in the international context with only a small body of literature regarding mixed-tenure housing available in the New Zealand context. Mixed-tenure housing can be a more complex endeavour than regular mono-tenure developments. As such, the delivery of mixed community developments requires "careful thought, design and management" (Klomp, 2016, p. 21). Notably, guidance regarding the design and management stage of mixed-tenure housing developments in New Zealand is lacking.   There is substantial guidance offered by government agencies, namely the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development regarding general developments, but not mixed-tenure housing specifically. More importantly, Kāinga Ora is undertaking some large scale mixed-tenure developments over the next few decades which could benefit from guidance provided by academics and researchers. As such, this study seeks to contribute by providing some guidance regarding mixed-tenure housing developments in New Zealand through the development of a robust strategic framework.

The reason for a strategic framework, instead of developing 'assessment criteria' or a 'guidance tool' or the like, it that a strategic framework usually includes a set of objectives or goals with which to achieve. In this case, the four positive socio-economic outcomes are the goals desired to be achieved. Furthermore, a strategic framework is meant to provide a structured method to achieve those goals. A 'guidance tool' does not necessarily have structure. In addition, a strategic framework often includes a set of principles. The principles drawn from the academic literature review will provide guidance for housing providers and policymakers with regard to mixed-tenure housing.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1 Overview

This research involved the development of a strategic framework for mixed-tenure housing. Feedback was sought on the strategic framework by a group of people working in the housing sector. This group is termed as the 'reference group'. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect primary data from the reference group regarding the strategic framework. This feedback has been analysed using a qualitative data analysis method termed as qualitative content analysis.

4.2 Development of the Strategic Framework

The literature review in Chapter 2 established a theoretical basis for the strategic framework. The information drawn from the literature review was embedded into the framework to develop the proposed strategic framework with a set of outcomes, the eight success factors and a set of principles. The proposed strategic framework is shown in Figure 4.

The aim of the framework is to help achieve successful mixed-tenure housing developments. The framework can be utilised in both pre-development and post-development contexts. The strategic framework is intended to be generalised and have applicability across a range of different types of mixed-tenure housing developments within New Zealand. The strategic framework is only in the developmental stages, as such requires some feedback from the reference group.

Figure 4. Strategic framework

Strategic Framework							
Outcomes The positive social outcomes that result from mixed-tenure housing							
Improved social networks		Informal social control		Behavioural change		Institutional improvements	
Factors for Success							
High Levels of Social Interaction	Blind Tenure	Financial Viability	Effective Design	High Degree of Integration	Broad Continuum Allocation	A Quality Housing Organisation	Quality Educational Institutions
Principles							

Principles

The principles of each success factor were also drawn from the literature review. The principles are statements that summate the central ideas and recommendations pertaining to each success factor as purported from the academic literature. Some of the success factors have up to three principles, whilst others only have one. The principles from the eight success factors are shown in Figure 5.

Success Factor	Principles
High Levels of Social Interaction	1. Houses with alike tenure types are arranged adjacently: – Public and affordable housing adjacent – Affordable housing adjacent to both public and market housing – Affordable and market housing adjacent
	2. Community groups are available
	3. Public and community facilities that are accessible, such as: – Town centres/hall – Library – Swimming pool
Blind Tenure	1. Public housing is visually similar to that of private housing 2. Public housing units are not clustered together in one block or development.
Financial Viability	1. Adequate funding for public housing tenancy management 2. Long-term financial strategy and plan for mixed-tenure housing
Effective Design and Designing for Children	1. Social infrastructure: – Common outdoor areas with seating – Public green spaces such as parks, sport fields and walkways – Community garden 2. Minimal exclusionary structures such as high fences and gates in residential areas: – Regulation of exclusionary structures through statutory plans 3. Urban and suburban design for children and families: – Streets with low traffic and low speed limits within the community – Transport planning with road hierarchy classification in statutory plans – Safe pedestrian network and cycleway network – Accessible playgrounds – Public green spaces such as parks and sport fields
High Degree of Spatial Integration	1. Integrated housing – Housing units with different tenures adjacent or in proximity – "Pepper-potting" – public housing units are dispersed throughout a housing development
Broad Continuum Allocation	1. Housing units within a development are relatively equally allocated as public housing, affordable and market housing – There is no public or market housing skew – There is no public and market housing polarisation with minimal affordable housing
Housing Assistance and Organisation	1. Providing a housing organisation that assists on matters such as rent arrearages, property management and engagement with landlords
Educational Institutions	1. Local, quality, and public educational institutions

Figure 5. Principles

The four positive social outcomes can be changed, as each housing organisation may have different outcomes that are sought to achieve through mixed-tenure housing. As such, the eight success factors and the principles form the foundation of the strategic framework and will be the main point of discussion in the semi-structured interviews, to receive feedback.

4.3   Semi-structured Interviews

Collection of primary data was achieved through semi-structured interviews. The semi-structured interview was adopted because this method provides flexibility for the respondents to provide in-depth answers for analysis, whilst at the same time enabling the interviewer to provide structure and direction to the course of the conversation (McEnhill, 2020). Longhurst (2009, p. 280) explains this further - "Although the interviewer prepares a list of predetermined questions, in-depth, semi-structured interviews tend to unfold in a conversational manner." Longhurst (2009, p. 280) also states that "the interviewer does not keep a tight rein on the interview but instead allows the interviewee, through the use of open-ended questions, to explore the subject".   Another benefit of semi-structured interviews is that it allows the interviewer to inquire "[it] offers interviewers and interviewees time and space to explore issues thoroughly. The method is also useful for collecting a range of opinions on a topic." (Longhurst, 2009). This is certainly necessary as the topic of mixed-tenure housing is far-reaching and socio-political, which means the research may not always result in 'straight forward' answers. Semi-structured interviewing accommodates for a diversity of answers. In relation to data collection and analysis, the partial structure "achieves a degree of continuity so that common or developing themes could be more easily identified" (McEnhill, 2020, p. 22). Lastly, the main purpose of this study is to develop a strategic framework and feedback needs to be acquired, thus semi-structured interviews "offers a route to partial insights into what people do and think." (Longhurst, 2009, p. 583). As such, this method is suitable for acquiring feedback and is used in this study as a stand-alone method. Notably, a disadvantage of the method is that it tends to be time consuming for both the interviewer; in the formulation for and preparation of the interview, as well as for the interviewee (Longhurst, 2009).

The interviews were undertaken with five people involved in housing, either in a government organisation (such as a local council or Kāinga Ora) or in a community housing agency. Essentially, each of the five participants have been selected based on proficiency, each holding a considerable level of expertise in housing development and housing policy. This is based on commented from Longhusrt (2009, p. 583) - "[…] knowledge is 'situated' and partial rather than neutral and universal. Knowledge is not neutral but created by people who occupy particular subject positions." (Longhurst

4.3.1 Reference Group

The five participants are collectively termed as the reference group as shown in Table 5 below. The reference group was comprised of members working for different organisations and each member held a different area of expertise. Members for the reference group were intentionally selected this way, in order to receive diverse and well-rounded feedback on the proposed strategic framework from those working in the housing and policy sector.

Table 3. Reference Group

Name	Role	Organisation
Lisa Washington	Community Housing Lead	Christchurch City Council
Paul Cottam	Principal Advisor – Social Policy	Christchurch City Council
Ed Leeson	General Manager Property and Development	Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust
Anon	Anon	Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust
Anon	Senior Urban Designer	Kainga Ora – Northcote Development

The interview process did not require approval from the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee, as the information gathered was restricted to:

- The observation of, or request for statements from public officials or other prominent persons on matters of public interest; and/or
- The information requested was within the scope of their public duties; and/or
- Individual participants were acting in a client capacity.

Prior to the commencement of data collection participants were consulted regarding confidentiality preferences, to protect the identity of each participant. Some participants requested to remain anonymous, whilst others did not have a preference. In addition, consent to record the interview was requested. Each participant provided consent for the interview to be recorded. The audio recordings were transcribed in preparation for data analysis.

4.3.2 Data collection

When requesting feedback regarding the strategic framework, a set of criteria has been developed that can be used as prompts in the interview to guide the participant so as to provide meaningful and relevant feedback for data analysis. Initially Roy Montgomery suggested terms for criteria such as 'relevant' and 'workable'. In addition, (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017)) discuss how mixed-tenure housing is often touted as politically viable, socially viable and financially viable. Thus, these terms

were used as criteria. The criteria are simply prompts for discussion, as the method is a semi-structured interview not a full structured interview. This means that all of the criteria do not have to be applied systematically for each question. The criteria may or may not be applied as prompts in each question depending on the course of the conversation. The formalities of the interviews involved chronologically working through the eight success factors, by asking the respondent for feedback and using prompts such as whether the respondent thinks the success factor is 'workable' or 'financially viable'.   Retrospectively, the criteria commonly applied as prompts in the semi-structured interviews were the terms 'workable' 'relevant' and 'financially viable'. The full index of interview questions are listed in Appendix A of this document.

4.4   Qualitative content analysis

After the data has been transcribed it was analysed by qualitative content analysis. This method systematically describes the meaning of qualitative data (Flick, 2014). The method is systematic because it involves assigning qualitative codes to the transcribed material. These codes are themed categories. Qualitative content analysis is a deductive method, so that the quantity of data is reduced in a systematic way, that allows the research to derive the meaning implied by the respondent – "it requires the researcher to focus on selected aspects of meaning namely those aspects that relate to the overall research question." (Flick, 2009, p. 170). Another reason for qualitative content analysis, is that is flexible but also systematic. The primary systematic component of qualitative content analysis is the coding frame (Flick, 2014). Through the use of a coding frame, categories of common themes can be derived from the data. The coding frame is established by the following steps:

1.   Selecting material
2.   Structuring and generating categories
3.   Defining categories
4.   Revising and expanding the frame (Flick, 2014).

The main analysis phase is where the transcripts are divided into sections and analysed by assigning these codes. The results from coding are prepared so as to meaningfully answer the research question 'What do housing providers and policymakers think of the strategic framework?'.

4.5   Limitations and bias

There were numerous limitations regarding my research. Firstly, the timeframe to conduct the research is limited to nine months. This timeframe limited the depth of the research. However, this

limitation was anticipated. This meant that certain aspects of the research were restricted in order to deliver this body of research within the given timeframe.

Another limitation was the Covid-19 pandemic. During this period of research, there was a small lockdown in the first few months which meant that I was not able to meet with my supervisor face-to-face. This lockdown also slightly hindered my performance academically. However, at this time I was not conducting interviews, so it did not significantly impact the interviews phase. The interviews were conducted in alert level orange which meant that meant that participants preferred to be interviewed via video-call.

Another limitation was that it was difficult to get in contact with people who worked for Kāinga Ora. This is because the organisation is very large and is predominantly based in Auckland. Kāinga Ora was an important organisation to get in contact with regard to this research as Kāinga Ora has a significant role in the housing sector and also is currently undertaking large mixed-tenure housing developments. As such, I considered that the feedback from Kāinga Ora would be valuable. Only one of my inquiries to the organisation went beyond the administration team.

The last limitation is regarding the methodology. The methods involved semi-structured interviews and the interview plan for these interviews involved questioning the reference group for feedback on the proposed strategic framework, specifically the success factors and the principles. However, a helpful question left out from the interview plan was whether there was anything missing from the strategic framework. This question would have allowed for open discussion and would have provided some valuable feedback to refine the strategic framework further. Another question left out was with regard to the strategic framework as a whole including the principles, and outcomes – essentially asking the reference group for feedback on the strategic framework in its entirety. Instead, I mainly asked the interviewees for feedback solely regarding the success factors and some of the principles, which is only a limited aspect of the strategic framework. It would have been beneficial to receive feedback on the strategic framework as a whole.

A bias in my research is that I am currently employed with Christchurch City Council. This made it a lot easier to get in contact with employees of Christchurch City Council for the two interviewees Lisa Washington and Paul Cottam. Washington also helped get me in contact with another interviewee from Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust, Ed Leeson, who the Council is frequently in communication with. As such, two out of the five members of the reference group work for Christchurch City Council and three out of the five members of the reference group are based in Christchurch. This can create a bias in the feedback received as the interviewees will provide feedback in relation to their lived work experiences in local government and in Christchurch.

Chapter 5

Results

5.1 Overview

This chapter provides a summary of the results obtained through the semi-structured interview process. The chapter begins with a brief synopsis of each individual interviewee. I considered the synopses necessary to familiarise the reader of the interviewees' knowledge and expertise, key points and lastly any potential bias that may have been exhibited in the interview process.   This leads onto the second section of the chapter which discusses the feedback received on each success factor in the strategic framework. This second section outlines the results in more detail than what is provided in the synopses. The chapter concludes with an overall summary of the findings.

5.2 Interview Summaries

5.2.1 Lisa Washington, Community Housing Lead, Christchurch City Council

Lisa Washington, a Community Housing Lead at Christchurch City Council provided helpful insight into the realities that local government faces with regard to community housing and developing mixed-tenure housing developments. One significant issue that Council faces is acquiring funds for social housing. Washington elaborates on how the Council acquires funding through financial methods such as rent or interest on Council owned assets:

> "With regard to the Council owned housing, social housing for Christchurch is rates neutral. None of it is funded from rates. Basically, what we get out of rent or interest, or any other payment is what goes back into social housing." (Washington, personal communication).

The financial issues that local government faces with regard to mixed-tenure housing will be expounded on in the latter part of this chapter. Notably, despite the financial difficulties that Council faces, Council is still exploring opportunities to undertake mixed-tenure housing. This is unsurprising, based on the background research explained in Chapter 3, which presents that there is a socio-political shift in the housing sector. This shift is a shift away from mono-tenure public housing developments towards more diverse housing models. Washington comments on mixed-tenure housing: "It is a good model, and it is probably where social housing will head towards, or where we would like to see social housing go" (Washington, pers. comm). Based on the discussion with Washington, mixed-tenure housing is currently aspirational, or more rather, in the infantile stages for Council. As such, providing guidance and academic research for mixed-tenure housing such as a strategic framework, is highly opportune and relevant to local government. Council does have

existing tools in place, just not a tool such as a strategic framework. For the most part, all the principles in the strategic framework were workable and agreeable to Washington. Overall, the strategic framework is likely to be beneficial to Council for forthcoming mixed-tenure housing developments.

5.2.2 Paul Cottam, Principal Social Policy Advisor, Christchurch City Council

Paul Cottam is a Principal Social Policy Advisor at Christchurch City Council. His main work is centred around the Council's Community Housing Strategy 2021 – 2031 (Community Housing Strategy). As such, Cottam provided helpful feedback as to whether the mixed-tenure housing strategic framework aligns well with Council's existing social housing policies. Cottam expressed that mixed-tenure housing strongly aligns with Council's Community Housing Strategy. He states that the Community Housing Strategy "sets the strategy direction, calling for more mixed-tenure forms of development as part of integrating community housing into everything we do" (Cottam, personal communication). Cottam agreed with the majority of the success factors and principles from the strategic framework.

Furthermore, he also expressed a clear aspiration to shift away from mono-tenure public housing developments similar to Washington. He noted that local government has an important role to play with this socio-political shift as local government has the public interest in mind:

> "I think councils have the community wide and long-term interest that few other players have in this space. Whatever public owned assets that we [Council] have got I think it is imperative that we keep them" (Cottam, personal communication).

Overall, Cottam provided a broad and high-level perspective on mixed-tenure housing, that led to some valuable discussions.

5.2.3 Ed Leeson, General Manager Property and Development, Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust

Ed Leeson is the General Manager Property and Development at Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust which is a community housing provider. Leeson provides helpful insight with regard to how feasible mixed-tenure housing developments are for community housing providers. Leeson expressed that mixed-tenure housing is a charity-based answer or in other words, mixed-tenure housing tenancy managers are 'social landlords.' "You are literally being a charity and giving stuff away or discounting heavily so people can afford it." (Leeson, personal communication). However, he does highlight that the 'charity' situation is not necessarily a concern because of the social benefits that are reaped from mixed-tenure housing developments – "it so much better to have people in a house having a secure

tenure where they know where they are going." (Leeson, personal communication). Similar to Cottam, Leeson alludes to the idea that the public sector has community interests in mind, as opposed to a predominant commercial or financial interest like that of the private developers. As such, community housing providers are more likely to adhere to the principles from the strategic framework, instead of being fixated on financial gain. Leeson provides an example of this with a development currently underway with Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust, whereby the Trust provided for green spaces instead of inserting more units which would have increased profits. This demonstrated the principle of effective design included in the strategic framework. Leeson elaborates:

> "We have left in green spaces here where we could have easily put a lot more houses. There is a whole heap more we could have done to make this commercially more viable – we could have built up higher with these [houses] in here, but we have put a value on having the green spaces so people can connect as a community." (Leeson, personal communication).

Overall, as a representative for Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust, Leeson provided some positive feedback on the strategic framework and agreed with the majority of the success factors and principles.

5.2.4 Spokesperson, Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust

This interviewer preferred to remain anonymous and preferred to be referred to as a spokesperson for Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust, whom she works for. Firstly, Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust is a community housing providers, just like Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust. However, Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust is in a unique position, as the Trust is located in Queenstown, a wealthy area with significant population influxes from tourism as well as some of the highest housing market prices in New Zealand. This socio-political climate has driven the demand for affordable housing options in Queenstown, as such, Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust aims to meet the demand for affordable housing by supplying mixed-tenure housing. The spokesperson explains the different tenure options available:

> "We will put around 65% of the tenures into our assisted ownership model - the Progressive Home Ownership Program - Secure Home. Then the other 35% roughly will be a mixture of rentals and within the rentals will typically be an even mixture of public housing, assisted rental and rent-to-buy (our rent-to-buy program)." (Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson, personal communication).

As such, Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust is at the forefront of mixed-tenure housing developments in New Zealand. In fact, the mixed-tenure housing developments by Queenstown

Lakes Community Housing Trust have been exemplar models for other housing providers to follow suite such as Christchurch City Council and Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust. However, mixed-tenure housing developments are not always easy. The spokesperson described the difficulties of obtaining land for development as a community housing providers. The spokesperson communicated that this limitation can sometimes make it difficult to adhere to all the principles in the strategic framework. Nonetheless, the spokesperson provided positive feedback for most of the success factors and principles of the strategic framework.

5.2.5 Senior Urban Designer, Kāinga Ora

This interviewer works as a Senior Urban Designer for Kāinga Ora. She opted to remain anonymous for the purposes of this research but consented to her role and the organisation that she works for to be given. Based on the background research described in Chapter 3, Kāinga Ora is leading the way with the largest mixed-tenure housing developments in New Zealand under the Auckland Housing Programme. As such, the opportunity to interview this public official from Kāinga Ora was highly beneficial for the purposes of my research, particularly because the aim of this research project is to provide a robust and helpful strategic framework that housing providers - in particular, governmental organisations such as Kāinga Ora - can adopt. From the interview, Kāinga Ora already has some principles in place when it comes to large-scale housing developments. As such, the strategic framework would have to complement or integrate with the existing housing and design principles that Kāinga Ora adheres to. Overall, she provided valuable feedback for the strategic framework from the perspective of Kāinga Ora as well as from an urban design perspective.

5.3 Feedback for the Success Factors and Principles of the Strategic Framework

Each interviewee was asked to provide feedback regarding the eight success factors and subsequent principles in the strategic framework. This next section seeks to summarise the feedback received from all five interviewees and highlight any themes that came across from the feedback provided. The themes were derived from coding as a form of quantitative content analysis. The structure of this next part of this chapter, is that the part is divided into eight sections for each success factor. The themes found from the coding are briefly highlighted in each section with significant themes discussed in more detail. Overall, the main theme was that the strategic framework received positive feedback. This means that the reference group agreed with the eight success factors as well as the subset of principles.

5.3.1 High Levels of Social Interaction

The first success factor listed in the strategic framework is 'high levels of social interaction'. There are three principles within this success factor. Feedback was sought from all the reference group members regarding the three principles. The first principle is that houses with alike tenure types are arranged closely. This is based on the research outlined in Chapter 2, that people with similar backgrounds, prefer to interact with one another. This means that within a mixed-tenure housing development, public housing should be arranged to be located next to affordable housing, affordable housing should be arranged to be located to be next to both public and market housing, and lastly market housing should be arranged to be located next to affordable housing. However, this principle was met with criticism and opposition. For instance, Cottom made the following comments regarding this principle:

> "From a policy perspective, I would not be recommending that or supporting that to Council. The whole point about mixed tenure is that it is mixed. […] I mean developers will think it is a stigma but the whole point is to move past that and recognise that community housing is part and parcel of our society […]. We need to move past the idea of 'silo-ising' or worse case, 'ghetto-ising' them [social housing tenants] into lumpy-clumps. I know that is not what you are saying but that is some of the downside or risks [of that principle]."
> (Cottam, personal communication).

Similarly, the spokesperson for Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust states that the Trust does not intend to subscribe to that principle. She states that the Trust is about 'pepper potting' tenures all around the place so it is a true mix.

The second principle is about the provision of community facilities that are accessible and close by to the mixed-tenure housing development. There is consensus across the reference group that community facilities such as a town hall, or library nearby is an important factor that contributes to the success of mixed-tenure housing developments. For example, Leeson stated that this idea is already a key principle for Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust. In addition, Cottam stated that this principle aligns with the Council's Community Housing Strategy which discusses that housing adequacy means housing is in proximity to community facilities and services such as shops, libraries, pools, parks and open spaces. Likewise, Leeson states this idea is also an existing principle for Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust - "our key criteria are all around the amenities for that. For the location, so, you have to look at doctors, shops, hospitals, we will say libraries, we will say pools, that sort of stuff." (Leeson, personal communication). However, the spokesperson for the Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust, expresses a difficulty that the Trust encounters with trying to make sure their housing developments are nearby community facilities. This is difficulty is that

Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust does not always get to determine the location of the land that the Trust acquires. She explains this:

> "We typically receive land through a process called inclusionary zoning. We usually do not have the ability to dictate where we receive land and therefore, where we build the developments. We do not have the ability to say, "let us do our next development over here, which is close to this infrastructure or community facilities" (Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson, personal communication).

Regarding the last principle which is providing community groups to encourage a sense of community, Leeson communicates that Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust tries to do lots of community projects. He states "within our social housing developments, we do a lot of projects to try and instil a sense of community within social housing. [...] Hopefully we will reduce tension, so people get to know each other, they know the neighbours" (Leeson, personal communication). Overall, a common code derived from the thematic analysis was that encourage high levels of interaction is fairly workable. Washington states "I do think it is workable and as I say, it is something that we are currently looking at with a couple of sites that we have in Christchurch" (Washington, personal communication).

5.3.2 Blind Tenure

The next success factor is 'blind tenure' whereby public housing architectural exterior is visually like that of private housing. This success factor has three subset principles which are relatively the same. This success factor received the most recognition and positive feedback from all five interviewees. One of the themes derived from the analysis was that the success it is workable. For example, Washington states:

> "I do think it is. To be honest, we are tending to go that way now. I am thinking of the big new development on Brougham Street, and I am thinking of a couple of other ones that the Trust have done. They are very much in style with the current buildings of like the Williams Corporation, Mike Greer Homes, who are doing these big property developments around town. I think you could easily do it." (Washington, personal communication).

Another theme was that the principle is already existing as Leeson communicates that it is something that Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust already does, and Kāinga Ora also applies 'blind tenure'. "We try to make sure that the facade of the buildings does not 'say' that those units are social housing." (Senior Urban Designer, personal communication). Another theme was that there was strong support for 'blind tenure'. The spokesperson spoke in strong support of the success factor and mentioned that the Trust already adheres to blind tenure principles - "We essentially, do support

blind tenure principles" (Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson, personal communication). However, she did comment that it can be a little difficult to implement fully in the case of moderate to large scale developments. She explained that when the Trust undertakes a development that involves a mixture of tenures and housing types, the houses do not look identical, but the houses do look slightly similar. This is because the project would involve contracting a building company to build and design the homes, which means that the houses look reasonably similar in terms of design and flair. But the spokesperson comments that this process is simply what would happen with large developments:

> "[…] sometimes when we do a big development, it is pretty clear which ones are the housing Trust's, purely because there is, for example in Shotover Country, we built 44 homes and they all have a similar style about them. But that is no different to classic builders. For example, buying 50 sections and building 50 of their homes, they all kind of look the same. So blind tenure as in keeping with the rest of the subdivision, but they still might be identified just because there is a number of them at scale." (Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson, pers. comm).

Overall, this success factor received positive feedback and is workable for housing organisations.

5.3.3 Financial Viability

The feedback received on the success factor was the least positive of all the success factors. A common theme drawn from the qualitative content analysis was that mixed-tenure housing has financial limitations. Basically, most interviewees expressed considerable concerns regarding the financial viability of mixed-tenure housing. Firstly, local government faces financial limitations as they are excluded from accessing the income-related rent subsidy from central government through the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development. The Ministry has only enabled the income-related rent subsidy to be accessible by a couple of select actors which are Kāinga Ora and registered community housing providers. As such, these two housing organisations are the primary providers of social housing. Local government does not have access to the income-related rent subsidy. The income-related rent subsidy covers the costs of social housing tenancy management. Cottam (personal communication) states this in the interview:

> "How community housing is incentivised in the first instance through the government's income-related rent subsidy. This was a falling out of the previous government. The current government has continued it (it does not see much of a role for local governments to play in the community housing space). So, in terms of funding community housing (different from financing it, which is the build capital up front), but in terms of funding its ongoing operation,

it is all built around this income-related rent subsidy that community housing providers can get, and that Kāinga Ora gets… but so far councils do not get."

Cottam expresses a clear disfavour of this situation, stating that it "emasculates local authorities" in terms of what they can do. This means that local government is dependent on themselves to arrange funding for social housing developments. Different funding options are available as Council has social housing developments in Christchurch, which they are making work financially. Washington states this usually comes from rent payments or interest on their housing:

> "What we get out of rent or interest, or any other payment is what goes back into social housing, so we are limited to what we can put in. That fund needs to be solvent for it to us to do what we need to do. So, there is not a lot of capital gain for us to be doing extra developments over and above what that fund has." (Washington, personal communication).

As such with limited funds available to the Council, the Council has limited financial ability in the community housing space. Cottam builds off Washington's explanation and explains how they try and resolve the situation - as Council does not have access to the income-related rent subsidy, the Council leases its housing to Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust, which as a community housing provider, is eligible for the income-related rent subsidy:

> "[This] is why we set up the Trust to lease our stock. They get the funding subsidy from the government and then in turn, pay us, not a dividend, but a return back and with that money" (Cottam, personal communication).

Washington also comments on the situation, stating that is better that they have access to the income-related rent subsidy through Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust for the tenants:

> "This works out a bit better for the tenants, because the tenants are paying 25% of their income in rent as opposed to about 70%, which they were having to pay Council because we could not afford to top it up." (Washington, personal communication)

Although this arrangement may seem like an adequate solution, there still remains a degree of financial difficulty for Council:

> "It is a convoluted circuit - we receive some of it [the finance] indirectly, that at the moment we are putting back into the quality of our existing stock for the next few years and then as we plan ahead to replace it. So that is some of the funding and financing issues that go around that." (Cottam, personal communication).

Another issue was that the affordable housing options are financial costly. Leeson makes a point of singling out the affordable tenure arrangements as the financial issue with mixed-tenure housing for community housing providers, not the social housing tenure arrangements. He explains that profits can be made from the social housing tenure arrangements because community housing providers receive the income-related rent subsidy. The Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson states similarly that social housing is typically financially viable for those who can access the income-related rent subsidy, but the affordable housing arrangements are an issue. The Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson comments on the matter:

> "Our assisted rental program is aimed at people who do not qualify for public housing. They might still pay a below market rent e.g., 80% of market, but the Trust is carrying that subsidy for the household, whereas with public housing, the household pays whatever they can afford, but the Trust is topped up to full market rent by the government. Therefore, public housing, ironically, is actually more cost effective for us than assisted rental. That is a kind of interesting twerk to it, which is why so many community housing providers are getting into or involved in public housing because we get that support from the government to do it."
> (Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson, personal communication).

Another theme was that mixed-tenure housing is regarded as not financially viable for private developers. The interviewees commented on the private developers' perspective with regard to mixed-tenure housing. Leeson speculates that private developers are likely to have little to no interest in mixed-tenure housing developments as a mono-tenure development of market housing is far more profitable. "[..] to compete in a [mixed tenure] development against a normal development, doing all private sales, you cannot because they [private buyers] can pay more" (Leeson, personal communication). In fact, mixed-tenure housing will come at a financial loss for private developers - full private enterprise developers do not have access to the income-related rent subsidy. In addition, the affordable housing arrangements will also come at a financial loss to private developers. Leeson explains that this is because the affordable housing tenure arrangements such as assisted home ownership schemes are simply a form of 'charity':

> "[…] providing progressive home ownership - I do not see how you make a commercial return out of it. […] with affordable housing - you are literally being a charity and giving stuff away or discounting heavily so people can afford it" (Leeson, personal communication).

Cottam comments similarly with regard to whether mixed-tenure housing developments are financially viable for private developers - "If you are looking at it from a pure profit margin well, no. The market will do what the 'market-will-do'; they [private developers] are going to build town houses" (Cottam, personal communication).

5.3.4 Effective Design and Designing for Children

By in large, participants responded positively to this success factor and the principles. A theme was that many participants stated that it is already something that their organisation works through. The first principle is the inclusion of social infrastructure such as common outdoor areas, seating, walkways, and community gardens. Washington comments that the principle is very workable:

> "I think it is a good idea. […] we are looking at having communal areas, whether it would be a playground, some green space – and I am thinking of some complexes that already have that" (Washington, personal communication).

The Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust has been granted resource consent for a 68-lot subdivision in Arrowtown. The spokesperson for the Trust states that the principle of providing social infrastructure is highly workable and already an existing principle that has been applied to the plans for the 68-lot subdivision. However, she did state that the suggestion of community gardens for the principle is not a workable suggestion for the Trust - "people use it for a couple of months and then no one really takes ownership, and it ends up just a bit of a mess.". Nonetheless, social infrastructure is viewed as an important mechanism to foster community:

> "I think creating community in social housing is very, very important because a lot of social housing people are lonely and some of them have high needs - through to mental health issues and various other needs. Having that support network of community is incredibly important to them because that sometimes is the only social interaction that they get as they do not have the social networks outside of generally their own living often."
> (Washington, personal communication).

Leeson and Cottam also express similar sentiments on the importance of community, but both explain that there is a dichotomy when it comes to housing developments of 'cheap and nasty' or 'costlier and nicer' – "sometimes affordability is the sacrifice that gets made or sometimes amenity and urban design goes 'by the by' to achieve affordability." (Cottam, personal communication). As such the design principles can be difficult to achieve due to financial limitations. Cottam explains that one of the financial limitations is that developing a small number of lots can be expensive. He suggests developing multiple lots at one time, which is more affordable due to 'economies of scale' allowing for a greater budget to lay aside for social infrastructure: "if you amalgamate land at scale, you have got much more opportunity to achieve, the desired green space outcomes and all the housing fronting the street with plenty of green space in behind. This is as opposed to a long rise of 'sausage block' semi-detached [houses] with not much great urban design or green space." (Cottam, personal communication).

Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust is undertaking a fairly large new development for which the Trust has implemented the principle by including a series of large green spaces throughout the development. He explains that this makes the development slightly less commercially and financially viable as houses could have been plotted on the green spaces instead, but the green spaces hold the value of community "we have put a value on having the green spaces so people can connect as a community." (Leeson, personal communication). As such, for the most part, the provision of social infrastructure is considered an important principle despite some financial limitations. This principle also ties in closely with the principle of designing for children and families, by including design elements such as playgrounds and parks to help foster a sense of community. Although, Washington, Leeson and the Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust portray that the principle is workable, the Senior Urban Designer from Kāinga Ora expresses otherwise "…our tenancy managers prefer to not have anything. They prefer to have just an outdoor green space rather than a place for people to stay. They are concerned about tenants fighting and gang activity." Notably, she speaks from a social housing perspective. Social infrastructure may encourage interaction and community, but it comes down to the type of interaction and community occurring. Kāinga Ora wants to avoid crime, anti-social and gang behaviours. As such, Kāinga Ora has already existing principles that they follow, which are quite different to the principles suggested "we call this 'Crime Prevention through Environmental Design'. We try to provide a good street frontage, legible front doors, natural surveillance. We try to avoid risk of entrapment and concealment." (Senior Urban Designer, personal communication). I note that 'Crime Prevention through Environmental Design' is a thoroughly embedded design practice in urban planning. But for Kāinga Ora, it also depends on the nature of the development and the area. Sometimes they do implement design principles for encouraging community and families to interact with one another "it is always nice to have a place for young mothers to sit in and meet other young mothers while their kids are playing. It is a sign of a strong community, basically - you know your neighbours" (Senior Urban Designer, personal communication). As such, it is case-by-case basis, and the principle is not always workable in every circumstance. However, two of the sub-principles in the framework regarding designing for families which are 'safe pedestrian networks' and 'streets with low traffic and low speed limits' are workable and are applied across all of their developments "we must deliver good pedestrian safety because we do not want kids getting ran over in our developments." (Senior Urban Designer, personal communication).

The second principle is about minimal exclusionary structures, which the Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust strongly agrees with:

> "We are really big on good urban design, and we hate big high fences, closed fences […].
> They do not encourage good community engagement. We like 'soft landscaping' - we might

do a lot more landscaping and hedge fencing rather than large 'hard' fencing. We will make sure that street frontages are low and inclusive." (Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson, personal communication).

The Senior Urban Designer also agrees with this principle, but for different reasons. She expresses that for Kāinga Ora it is not really about creating a sense of community, but rather it is about minimising anti-social behaviours and preventing crime - low fences offer passive street surveillance.

5.3.5 High Degree of Spatial Integration

The reference group broadly agreed with this success factor. Washington notes that Council's social housing units are spread right across the city. She expresses that it is important to have a high level of integration because it can reduce social issues such as high crime rates and anti-social behaviours, alluding to deconcentration theory - "if you spread that out across the city, pocket it in amongst private/market housing, I personally think that you have got hopefully less issues". (Washington, personal communication). Leeson expresses that having a high degree of spatial integration may not always be financially viable due to land prices for Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust. For example, if they sought to integrate social or affordable housing amongst private housing in an upmarket area, then the land would be more expensive and would not be as financially viable for the Trust. "If we do [a development] in Fendalton, where you are paying $2,500 a square meter - our returns are going to be so much lower, than if you are doing one in Aranui, where it is $500 a square meter for a bit of dirt. The rent does not reflect the difference in the price of the land." (Leeson, personal communication). As such, financial limitation was a theme drawn from the interviews regarding this success factor. Cottam states similarly to Leeson, that there are financial limitations for local government under the current tax and finance policy settings. Cottam lists a suite of reasons. For example, a couple of reasons are that Council does not tax capital gains, and that central government withdrew state funds from the first home affordable ownership scheme in the 1980s. As such, he suggests inclusionary zoning as a solution - that way the costs fall on developers in the private sector, instead of the public sector. Inclusionary zoning is often applied to housing developments on greenfield sites, but Cottam suggests that inclusionary zoning policies can also be applied to brownfield sites through up-zoning in the District Plan. "That is the attraction of inclusionary zoning - not just greenfield sites but brownfield sites through up-zoning." (Cottam, personal communication). Similarly, the Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson mostly agrees with the principle but states that achieving the highest degree of integration is not always workable, or financially viable such as having different tenures within an apartment or on different floors – "totally agree with pepper potting, but probably do not support number 3 which is having different

tenures within an apartment on different floors." (Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson, personal communication).

5.3.6 Broad Continuum Allocation

A common theme to this success factor was that is it not always workable to provide a broad range of tenure types within a housing development. This is because the types of tenure options that a housing organisation can provide depends on what type of housing organisation it is. For instance, there are limitations to providing full market housing for public sector housing organisations. The Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson explains that if they receive land through inclusionary zoning, then the Trust must retain the land in perpetuity. As such, they cannot build market housing to sell it off. This means that the Trust cannot always provide market housing. But other than that limitation, the Trust aims to have a range of tenure options and provides positive feedback regarding this success factor. The spokesperson explains that Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust already has a similar principle in place. This principle is that the Trust allocates 65% of their housing to 'Secure Home' arrangements and 35% of the housing as rentals. The spokesperson describes 'Secure Home' as the name of their Progressive Home Ownership Program which is a type of affordable housing. "The other 35% roughly will be a mixture of rentals and within the rentals will typically be an even mixture of public housing, assisted rental and rent-to-buy" (Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson, personal communication). Therefore, Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust truly provides a range of different tenure arrangements aside from market home ownership. As such, the principle is fairly workable for the Trust. Cottam also states similarly that the Council does not provide market housing but works to provide all the other tenure arrangements. In fact, this is already an aiming objective of the Council as communicated in the Community Housing Strategy. However, Cottam suggests that the success factor and subsequent principles are not always workable because mixed-tenure housing does not always last as mixed-tenure – "affordable housing will start reverting to market housing overtime". He suggests having retention controls in place through policy, for the mixed-tenure housing to last. Otherwise, he states that mixed-tenure housing runs the risk of gentrification. Cottam also strongly agrees with the second principle that should be no market housing skew - "there is plenty of market housing [already]" (Cottam, personal communication). Washington from Council also believes that a broad continuum allocation is workable but expresses some hesitancy - "it will take a bit of management from a social housing perspective because you have to make sure that those people are 'towing the line' to fit in with the private."

However, for a private developer providing a broad range of tenure types is simply not financially viable. Leeson elaborates that there is no benefit for mixed-tenure housing for a private developer.

"[In relation to] the rent-to-buy or build-to-rent arrangements - the build-to-rent is the same as the 'social landlord', but you just put in the market rent and you aim to rent them out. With most developers in New Zealand, very few of them are at the scale where that can be economically viable, because the build-to-rent arrangement has small [profit] margins. [But] it is a good solid cash flow over a long period of time". (Leeson, personal communication).

5.3.7 Housing Assistance and Organisation

Many of the interviewees already work for a housing organisation that oversees a mixed-tenure housing development, as such a common theme was that the success factor is workable. However, another common theme was that there are financial limitations. Firstly, Washington explains the financial limitations they experience as local government. Council works alongside Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust as a community housing providers to receive the income-related rent subsidy from Ministry of Housing and Urban Development.

However, this alliance has been a cause of miscommunication regarding housing maintenance responsibility - "Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust were doing minor maintenance and then next thing Council would come in and repeat it with the major maintenance or vice versa. Even though you try to communicate as much as you can". This issue has been resolved, as Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust is now responsible for all maintenance. Overall, Washington expresses that as a housing provider organisation, it is going well. "Programmes are running well. Communication is running well. There has been some positive feedback" (Washington, personal communication).

Leeson states that Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust arranges land leases that include a ground maintenance fee, which enables the Trust to maintain the roads, green spaces and so forth. He also describes that ground maintenance is slightly more difficult for standalone houses, as opposed to a set of 10 townhouses that are close together. Cottam also expresses financial limitations regarding mixed-tenure housing:

> "Some of them [community housing providers/organisations] are confident in making it work and they will say "Yeah it is tight, and it is difficult with land prices and land values". […] The higher the land value, the more attractive shared equity leasehold gets. [The Queenstown Lakes Community Housing spokesperson] would have told you that that is what they had to do in Queenstown in order to finish and to make their scheme work." (Cottam, personal communication).

Cottam also expresses financial difficulty with securing access to land through the bank and because of the difficulty he implores central government to take more action - "I will always try to lobby government by saying "can you take a bit more of a leading role in this policy and development

space" (Cottam, personal communication). Overall, a common theme drawn from this success factor is there is financial limitations as a housing organisation providing mixed-tenure housing.

5.3.8 Educational Institutions

A common theme from this success factor was that it is agreeable and the already existing within the housing organisations that the interviewees work for. Leeson states that it is an existing criterion for Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust –

> "It is one of our criteria - [low quality schools] taints the developments we do. The proximity to the school […] we are doing a lot more family homes because the school is right across the road. Why would you not do family homes there to help boost the school? That would be the way I would look at it. From what I can see in Christchurch, a lot of the land prices are derived by the schools and the proximity of the schools." (Leeson, personal communication).

As such, as above Leeson expresses that there are financial limitations to the principle as land prices can increase due to proximity to desirable schools. For Kāinga Ora the principle is hugely important –

> "Always. Especially in our master plans, we have five master plans in Auckland, and we are intensifying housing in in those five master plans. We have to take into consideration not only the extra number of kids who will require day-care or school, but also public transport and commercial facilities nearby." (Senior Urban Designer, personal communication).

Senior Urban Designer explains that Kāinga Ora has other existing principles such as avoiding areas near liquor stores, proximity to public transport and commercial facilities – "We want to encourage our tenants to use public transport more, to rely less on cars, and to be healthier by walking to and from school. We also try to avoid placing some one-bedroom developments near liquor stores, for instance drinking may cause trouble." (Senior Urban Designer, personal communication). The Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson expresses that it is a great success factor - "Yes, it is totally. It is a great principle. All the schools in the Queensland Lakes District are high deciles." (Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust, personal communication).

Notably, for Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust, all the schools in the Queensland Lakes District are high deciles mainly decile 10, which is indicative that the area is wealthy, and the schools are well funded. As such the quality of the educational institution is less of an issue, but locality and availability can be difficult factor. "If we are receiving the land through inclusionary zoning, we do not have the option to actually define this and make it a requirement" (Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson, personal communication).

5.4 Summary of Findings

Overall, there was mainly positive feedback received regarding the success factors and principles of the strategic framework. A brief summary of the findings from each success factors and subset of principles will be outlined in this section. The first two success factors - high levels of social interaction and blind tenure mainly received positive feedback, particularly the success factor of blind tenure which is regarded as workable and already existing. The third success factor, financial viability, received a lot of mixed-feedback, and it is obvious that there are some financial difficulties when it comes to mixed-tenure housing. With regard to the success factors of effective design and a high degree of spatial integration, financial difficulty was a common theme raised, but both of the success factors mainly received positive feedback. The success factor of a high degree of spatial integration, stimulated discussion around inclusionary zoning as a solution to incorporate more mixed tenure developments. This will be elaborated on further in the discussion. Having a broad continuum allocation type was agreeable to most of the reference group but a common theme was that it depends on the type of housing organisation undertaking the mixed-tenure development as to what tenure options can be available.   Following on was the next success factor which is establishing a housing organisation to oversee mixed-tenure housing developments. This success factor is considered as workable as a lot of the reference group members work for housing organisations that have been involved in mixed-tenure developments. As such, this success factor received fairly positive feedback. The last success factor – quality educational institutions also received fairly positive feedback and it was stated that this is an existing criterion for the housing organisations that the interviewees work for. Overall, each of the success factors stimulated significant discussion from the reference group and it is clear that the success factors and principles are highly relevant to the housing organisations. One common theme is that there is an aspiration to shift away from mono-tenure public housing developments towards more diverse housing models. Another theme was that there are financial limitations to mixed-tenure housing. These are just some of the themes drawn from the findings. The themes from the results will be highlighted and discussed further in the discussion chapter. The implications of these themes will also be discussed.

Chapter 6

Discussion

As noted in the results there were several themes drawn from the coding process that were highlighted for each of the success factors. Based on these themes, it can be concluded that the feedback received from the reference group was primarily positive. Most of the members of the reference group had already thought about the success factors that were recommended in the strategic framework. In fact, the housing organisations that the reference group members work for, already implement a lot of the success factors and subsequent principles in some form. For instance, regarding the success factor and principles of blind tenure, the Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson provides positive feedback "we essentially do support blind tenure principles" as well as the Urban Designer stating that 'blind tenure' is already a principle in place for Kāinga Ora "Yeah, we try to do that in all our developments, so our tenants […] are more accepted by their neighbours.". Other examples of the reference group agreeing with the strategic framework principles include when they were asked about having a high degree of spatial integration for which Washington states "I think Council do a good job of that. […] social housing for Council is spread right across the city" and when asked about the principles for having effective design and designing for families the Senior Urban Designer said that is something that Kāinga Ora already implements "Yes, we do. We call this crime prevention through environmental design". Lastly, when the Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson (personal communication) was asked about the success factor of 'high levels of social interaction' she replied, "Totally agree with your principles". This is just a few of the examples where the reference group was in agreement with the strategic framework. Thus, it can be concluded that the strategic framework is workable for people working in the mixed-tenure housing space to utilise. As a result, a revised version of the strategic framework is not needed.

However, based on the results there were some success factors and principles that were not always workable for members of the reference group and the housing organisations that they represent. This needs to be highlighted because this shows that academic theory does not always work in practice. The strategic framework is based on theory found in the literature review, but the reference group expressed that some of the success factors are not always workable, are financially difficult and can come with risks. As such, this research is a reflection of theory and practice converging. It can be concluded that theory does not always work perfectly in practice. This expresses the notion that the strategic framework is simply a guidance tool with a suite of recommendations (success factors) that are based on academic research and literature. Thus, the

strategic framework should not be considered or employed as a definitive or objective tool, but rather simply as a guidance tool with a list of recommendations that should be aimed to be achieved. Overall, the framework can be a useful tool to guide people working in the mixed-tenure housing space.

Notably, there were some considerable themes that need to be discussed further, as these themes provide valuable insight into the socio-political climate of mixed-tenure housing, the financial realities of mixed-tenure housing as well as the risks associated with mixed-tenure housing. This next section seeks to highlight and discuss these key themes, so that housing providers and policymakers can be aware of these realities when utilising the strategic framework and working on mixed-tenure housing developments or when developing social policy.

6.1.1 Financial Viability

The first prominent theme is the issue of financial viability. There was a lot of mixed feedback regarding the financial viability of mixed-tenure housing developments and this needs to be taken into consideration. Financial issues arise from the different tenures included in mixed-tenure housing reflected in Figure 1. Specifically, public housing tenures and affordable housing tenures require differing amounts of financial expenditure and subsidy. These two type types of tenure arrangements will be expounded on in the following section.

Public Housing

Public housing is a significant part of mixed-tenure housing. Acquiring funds from the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development welfare fund allows housing providers to provide social housing that is fully funded by central government. For example, Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust has access to the income-related rent subsidy "we do public housing and for us, that is typically financially viable […]. With public housing, the household pays whatever they can afford, but the Trust is topped up to full market rent by the government. Therefore, public housing, ironically, is more cost effective." (Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust, personal communication). However, as mentioned previously not all housing providers are eligible for the income-related rent subsidy. This makes it difficult for local government as well as other housing providers to provide social housing as these organisations do not have access to the subsidy. Christchurch City Council forms a partnership with Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust to work round this issue. However, this partnership between Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust and Christchurch City Council is not necessarily financially viable. In addition, Council has been considering only taking a 1.5% ground lease on some proposed leasehold housing to Ōtautahi Community Housing Trust, which is a very low rate of return. But Cottam explains that this is because Council views housing as a human right - "If you hold the 'public land is a public good' perspective, then you are doing a trade-off, but you are

happy with a lower return because you are achieving a range of social and economic benefits." (Cottam, personal communication). Cottam reiterates this idea when he discusses return "in terms of return, it depends on how you 'view' the return." Both Leeson and Cottam comment that there might not be a significant financial or economic return for mixed-tenure housing, however, there is a socio-economic return. As such, this was a theme drawn from the analysis that there are social outcomes that can be achieved from mixed-tenure housing. This aligns with the literature review in Chapter 2, which states that there are positive socio-economic outcomes expected to result from mixed-tenure housing. Overall, providing funding for social housing arrangements is only financially viable for those who have access to the income-related rent subsidy. As Cottam mentions previously, this "emasculates local authorities". Cottam expresses that there needs to be a shift in the current government from neoliberalist thought, that views housing as a private commodity or good towards viewing housing as human right.

Affordable Housing

Regarding the affordable housing arrangements, a lot of the reference group stated that it is financially difficult, as these types of tenure arrangements are basically a form of charity. "With affordable housing, you are literally being a charity and giving stuff away or discounting heavily so people can afford it." (Leeson, pers. comm). Some types of affordable housing arrangements mean that the house price is set below the market price. Setting the housing price below market price will require a significant amount of funding. Furthermore, Leeson points out that the housing price needs to be subsidised fairly heavily for it to be considered affordable for those persons in the lower income brackets - a 50k subsidy may not be enough. "Everyone can discount a new house by 20k, 30k or even 50k, but that makes no real difference to those who are on the lower income brackets." (Leeson, personal communication). The spokesperson discusses setting a price for affordable housing at 80% for the buyer - "They might still pay a below market rent e.g., 80% of market, but the Trust is carrying that subsidy for the household". Therefore, in this case if the market price is set at $700,000 and the affordable housing price is set at 80%, this will require a $140,000 subsidy for one housing unit. For a housing organisation to obtain this level of funding can be financially difficult. Cottam states "there are some emerging community finance providers based out of Auckland, whereby they pull money from the philanthropic sector and investors." (Cottam, personal communication). As such, there are ways to obtain funding, but this does not negate the financial realities of mixed-tenure housing developments.

In addition, depending on the type of affordable housing tenure arrangement such as build-to-rent, the smaller profits will have to be made over a longer period compared to the potential upfront profits made from private housing tenure arrangements. This is coupled with the profit margins being smaller as Cottam explains "profit margins have the potential to be a lot smaller compared to

the profit margins of market housing." (Cottam, personal communication). Community housing providers have the long-term and community wide interest in mind and are not driven by profits like private developers. As such, community housing providers are a suitable housing organisation to undertake mixed-tenure housing. In fact, private developers are likely to have no interest in mixed-tenure housing developments – "If you are looking at it from a pure profit margin, well, no. The market will do what the 'market-will-do'; they are going to build town houses." (Cottam, personal communication). Similarly, Leeson states:

> "…Only take $100,000 out of it, rather than taking $1,000,000? Unless you force people to build with a ratio of 10 social houses, to 100 privately owned houses, to 10 affordable houses, (whatever it might be) – you will never get people doing it, and if you do that – they would make most of the cost to be passed on to the new homeowner of the private market." (Leeson, personal communication).

That is why enacting inclusionary zoning policies in local government statutory district plans can help address this issue. Inclusionary zoning policies can require private developers to undertake mixed-tenure housing. "Essentially, that is what is down in Queenstown. [The Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson] has got her 'cash or kind' through the District Plan change." (Cottam, personal communication). Some local governments have recognised the issue that private property developers are mixed-tenure housing averse, and as such have addressed the issue through this planning and policy mechanism known as inclusionary zoning. Cottam suggested inclusionary zoning in the interview "We need to stop 'playing catch up' and integrate right from the get-go. That is the attraction of inclusionary zoning - not just greenfield sites but brownfield sites through up-zoning. I understand that a lot of up-zoning has happened already, but you have to start at some point for the future sooner rather than later." (Cottam, personal communication). Although inclusionary zoning comes as a loss to private developers, it achieves a range of social benefits for society. There are differing policy options for inclusionary zoning, but in essence, inclusionary zoning is a requirement for private developers to allocate a small proportion of houses within a new proposed development as affordable housing. Inclusionary zoning policies can range from a 'soft' requirement that simply encourages developers to do so, through to a 'hard' or 'mandatory' requirement. Inclusionary zoning policy can be considered as a 'rebalancing' mechanism, designed to decrease the dominance of private housing arrangements in the housing market and increase the proportion of other tenure arrangements such as affordable and social housing tenures. These types of policies are increasingly necessary, based on the current housing crisis and socio-political climate within New Zealand. Essentially, it is about meeting the diversity of housing needs. The Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson advised that the Queenstown Lakes District Council has implemented inclusionary zoning policies into the Queenstown Lakes District Plan and Cottam

advises that the Christchurch City Council will be following suit "there is certainly some policy direction emerging at the Greater Christchurch level for inclusionary zoning." (Cottam, personal communication).

In summary, there are significant financial expenditures associated with affordable housing arrangements. As Leeson stated, it is a form of charity, an endeavour fuelled by the welfare state. Policy and planning mechanisms can help address this financial issue such as inclusionary zoning, enabling some of the costs to shift from the welfare state onto the private sector.

6.1.2 Gentrification Risks

As mentioned in Chapter 2, tenures such as a rent-to-buy tenure, or affordable housing, will eventually become full market housing over the long-term. This is because 'rent-to-buy' describes a tenure arrangement whereby the tenant is gradually buying the house from the current owner. With an affordable house, the first buyer of the home will benefit, but then the homeowner might later on sell the house at full market price. In both cases, the affordable tenure arrangements have converted to a private tenure arrangement. Cottam comments "if you are not careful, affordable housing will start reverting to market housing overtime, that is, if there are no retention controls in place. It will be lost to the private rental sector." (Cottam, personal communication). Other ways that this could occur is through cross-subsidising which Cottam describes "Kāinga Ora (or even others) redeveloping social or community housing by putting medium density housing on it with a mix of community, affordable and market housing. [But] they get the market housing and cross-subsidise to pay for the redevelopment of the community housing. I would argue that is essentially privatising off a chunk of the land and reverting it to market housing." (Cottam personal communication). Cottam refers to this as gentrification and forcing people out of their communities. As mentioned in Chapter 3, gentrification is a clear concern of many sceptics of mixed-tenure housing. Klomp comments with regard to mixed-tenure housing - "they are pitched as a heterogeneous remedy with a clear bias towards deprived neighbourhoods, when they are nothing more than a transitory phenomenon towards complete gentrification." (Klomp, 2016). As such, Cottam argues that retention control mechanisms need to be place, to ensure the affordable tenure housing arrangements remain affordable future generations. Cottam did not expound on the retention control mechanisms that could be used, but essentially, the retention control mechanisms would enable the housing organisation to retain the property or land or both in perpetuity. This is just one the ways that gentrification can be avoided. As mentioned in Chapter 3, gentrification can be meaningfully addressed if the mixed-tenure housing development is designed well with blind tenure principles, and with community facilities available as well as other success factors in place. Based on the

academic research, the four positive socio-economic outcomes can be purported to be achieved and result in benefits to society.

6.1.3 Housing Organisation Type

Mixed-tenure housing is a case-by-case basis. A common theme found from the coding is that it depends on the housing organisation undertaking the mixed-tenure housing as to what types of success factors can be achieved. This is because each housing provider or organisation such as Kāinga Ora or community housing providers have access to different sorts of funding and have different responsibilities. As such, not every housing organisation is able to achieve mixed-tenure housing in the exact same away, nor is every housing organisation able to achieve all of the eight success factors outlined in the strategic framework. This theme was found in the thematic analysis. For instance, when asked about the principles of having community facilities nearby, the Queenstown Lakes Community Housing Trust spokesperson states that they are not always able to purchase land wherever they want, but rather they receive land from inclusionary zoning. Another example, which has mentioned previously, is that local government does not have access to the income-related rent subsidy, which makes it difficult to provide social housing. As such local government may not be able to achieve the success factor of having a broad continuum allocation, whereby there is a range of tenure options from social housing through to market housing, if the organisation cannot provide social housing. Lastly, another example that each housing organisation is different, is when the Urban Designer from Kāinga Ora discussed the success factor of 'effective design'. The principles for this success factor included having communal spaces, outdoor seating and low fences to encourage social interactions, which she did not agree with. This is because Kāinga Ora is primarily about providing social housing and she raised the issue that sometimes communal areas can be hotspots for anti-social behaviours or gang activity. As such, if Kāinga Ora is undertaking a mixed-tenure housing development with multiple social housing units, then Kāinga Ora would prefer to not adhere to those principles suggested in the strategic framework. The Urban Designer continued the discussion, by saying that it depends on the type of development Kāinga Ora is undertaking and reiterates the notion that each housing development is undertaken on a case-by-case basis. Sometimes the organisation will build communal areas with outdoor seating, it just depends on the type of development:

> "Other developments - depending on the area - they say that it is always nice to have a place for young mothers to sit in and meet other young mothers while their kids are playing. It is a sign of a strong community" (Senior Urban Designer, Kāinga Ora, personal communication).

As such, it depends on the housing organisation and the housing project they are involved with as to what success factors they are willing to achieve. This reiterates the notion that the strategic framework is simply a guidance tool with a suite of recommendations (success factors) that are based on academic research and literature. Thus, the strategic framework should not be considered or employed as a definitive or objective tool, but rather simply as a guidance tool with a list of recommendations that should be aimed to be achieved. Overall, the framework can be a useful tool to guide people working in the mixed-tenure housing space.

6.1.4 Shift from Mono-Tenure Public Housing Developments

Another common theme is that there is an aspiration to shift away from mono-tenure public housing developments. This notion was mentioned in Chapter 3, whereby comments regarding large-scale mono-tenure public housing developments were described as "dysfunctional" and a "a proven failure". The reference group also concurred with this notion as it was a common theme them drawn from the analysis. For instance, Cottam states that the Council's Community Housing Strategy is "calling for more mixed-tenure forms of development as part of integrating community housing into everything we do" (Cottam, personal communication). The reference group communicated a dislike of mono-tenure public housing developments. For instance, an interviewee comments on a few housing developments that Kāinga Ora built several years ago. The developments were described negatively as 'ghettos':

> "Kainga Ora are building ghettos (especially in Aranui and in pockets of Riccarton), for lack of a better word, because we are putting a lot of social housing where we had built one or two houses and putting twenty units on, and that is tough. If you, across the city, spread that out, pocket it, in amongst private/market housing, - I personally think that you have hopefully got less issues." (Anon, personal communication).

Cottam also elaborates further on the matter "we need to move past the idea of 'silo-ising' or worse case, 'ghetto-ising' them into lumpy-clumps." (Cottam, personal communication). As such, it is very clear that local government aspires to shift away from mono-tenure public housing developments. There is an aspiration for diverse, mixed communities, and an aspiration to integrate lower socio-economic tenants with the rest of the community:

> "The whole point about mixed tenure is that it is mixed. […] I mean developers will think it is a stigma but the whole point is to move past that and recognise that community housing is part-and-parcel of our society." (Cottam, personal communication).

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Finance Minister of New South Wales states that mono-tenure public housing developments create cycles of disadvantage. This is an allusion to deconcentration theory

mentioned in Chapter 2, that areas of deprivation compound socio-economic issues. The reference group also alludes to deconcentration theory. For instance, Washington believes there will be less socio-economic issues with mixed-tenure developments - "that is my hope – that there is less issues in social housing and that they will integrate into society better, as opposed it to being a bit of a melting pot for potential disaster and issues." (Washington, personal communication).

Mono-tenure public housing developments have been the norm under neoliberal policy settings that emerged strongly in political discourse in the 1980s. Nowadays, central, and local government are having to address the issue and make changes. Cottam refers to this as "playing catch up". One aspect of mixed-tenure housing is that it is about providing a range of tenure options to meet the diversity of housing needs that New Zealanders have. This is a reiteration of the viewpoint that housing should be considered as a human right, which Cottam comments that it is about "trying to shift it away from a market or commodity good which has been very prevalent under neoliberal policy settings" (Cottam, personal communication). That is why Christchurch City Council's Community Housing Strategy has a mixed-tenure housing focus – "Creating as many tenure options for people as possible - that is really key I think - along the housing continuum and trying to achieve things like security of tenure both within a house and within a community underpinned by 'housing as a human right' focus." (Cottam, personal communication).

6.2 Summary

Overall, the interviewees in the reference group provided positive feedback regarding the mixed-tenure housing strategic framework and most of the success factors were agreeable to the reference group. For the most part the success factors were implemented in one form or another in the work of the housing organisations that the interviewees work for. As such, the strategic framework, along with all the success factors, is a workable tool for housing providers and policymakers to utilise. In summary, a revised version of the strategic framework is not needed. However, there were some considerable themes that were drawn from the interviews to note regarding some of the success factors. These themes provide some important insight into the socio-political climate of mixed-tenure housing, the financial realities of mixed-tenure housing as well as the risks associated with mixed-tenure housing. These themes were that mixed-tenure housing is not always financially viable, there are concerns of gentrification, each housing organisation is different and lastly that there is a clear shift away from mono tenure public housing developments. Housing providers and policymakers need to be aware of these issues and realities with regard to mixed-tenure housing, but the strategic framework still remains a useful and helpful tool to guide them through mixed-tenure housing. Notably, throughout the discussion was a common thread to view housing as a human right. This is an important conclusion to reiterate, as the housing crisis discussed in Chapter 3 is a

prevalent issue in New Zealand. As Cottam states, there needs to be a socio-political shift in discourse away from neoliberalism. As such, implementing mixed-tenure housing by providing a range of tenure options to accommodate New Zealander's housing needs can be considered the way of the future for New Zealand's housing sector.   The strategic framework developed from this research can be a useful guidance tool to help achieve this aspiration and implement mixed-tenure housing across New Zealand.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Summary

Mixed-tenure housing provides a range of tenure options to meet the diversity of housing needs in New Zealand. In addition, it is expected to achieve the positive socio-economic outcomes identified in Chapter 2. This study has identified the success factors (high levels of social interaction, blind tenure, financial viability, effective design and designing for children, high degree of spatial integration, broad continuum allocation, housing assistance and organisation, and educational institutions) that are critical to achieving those outcomes and compiled this information into a strategic framework. This strategic framework was designed to provide guidance for housing providers and policymakers in New Zealand with regard to mixed-tenure housing, as so far, there has been minimal guidance available.   The primary aim of this research has been to develop a strategic framework and obtain feedback on it. Feedback has been obtained and analysed and as such, the research question "what feedback do housing providers and policymakers have regarding the proposed strategic framework?' has been answered. The reference group provided positive feedback regarding the mixed-tenure housing strategic framework and most of the success factors were agreeable to the reference group. As such, the strategic framework, along with all the success factors, is a workable tool for housing providers and policymakers to utilise. Notably, as concluded in the discussion, mixed-tenure housing is a case-by-case basis, which means that each housing organisation will undertake mixed-tenure housing developments differently. That is why the strategic framework was designed to be generalised and broad so that it can be applied in a range of contexts. Thus, the strategic framework is simply a guidance tool, that be used by housing providers and policymakers to suit them.

Providing guidance and research in relation to mixed-tenure housing is important because there is a clear aspiration to shift from mono-tenure public housing developments. There is a call for more mixed forms of development and to change the norm of placing social housing into clumps. But mixed-tenure housing should not be considered as 'a silver bullet' in alleviating socio-economic issues in the housing sector. The reference group raised concerns that mixed-tenure housing is not always financially viable and there are potential risks of gentrification. As such, housing providers and policymakers need to be aware of these realities of mixed-tenure housing that were discussed in Chapter 6. Despite the financial limitations of mixed-tenure housing and the risks of gentrification, the strategic framework can be used as a suitable tool for to undertake mixed-tenure housing and create more diverse communities that provide for a range of New Zealander's housing needs.

7.2 Implications of Research

The findings of this research have a number of implications for both theory and practice. Firstly, the implication for theory is that there is an aspiration to shift away from mono-tenure public housing developments which reflects that deconcentration theory is prevalent in present-day socio-political discourse. Another theory that emerged from the discussion was the risk of gentrification with mixed-tenure housing developments. Affordable tenure arrangements could convert to private tenure arrangements over the long-term. This has implications for practice as policymakers should consider implementation of retention control mechanisms in policy and planning documents to ensure the affordable tenure housing arrangements remain as affordable arrangements for future generations. Lastly, the most prominent issue for discussion was the issue of financial viability of mixed-tenure housing developments. This has significant implications for practice. Mixed-tenure housing providers need to consider how funding will be acquired for the social housing and affordable housing arrangements. If a housing provider does not have access to the income-related rent subsidy, then alternative options need to be arranged. In relation to the affordable housing arrangements, funding needs to be available to provide the housing at below market price. Policymakers might want to consider enacting inclusionary zoning policies to address the financial issues of mixed-tenure housing to require private developers to provide a small portion of housing as affordable housing.

Most importantly, the development of a strategic framework has implications for practice. Based on the feedback received, the strategic framework can be a workable tool for housing providers and policymakers to use in practice.   As such, the strategic framework, along with all the success factors, is a workable tool for housing providers and policymakers to utilise.

7.3 Future Research

The strategic framework, along with all the success factors, is a workable tool for housing providers and policymakers to utilise. However, the tool should be one of several, situated in a myriad of academic research on mixed-tenure housing in New Zealand. There is little research regarding mixed-tenure housing even at the wider scale of the academic body of literature and research from Australia and New Zealand. The majority of research regarding mixed-tenure housing comes from the United States. This is the first study to develop a strategic framework for mixed-tenure housing in the context of New Zealand. Providing further academic research and guidance regarding mixed-tenure housing in the New Zealand context is needed. Another key issue that was raised in this research is the financial limitations and gentrification risks associated with mixed-tenure housing. Finding ways to reduce gentrification and reduce the financial limitations associated with mixed-tenure housing could also be a point of further research.

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Appendix A

Interview questions

Disclaimer:
- Interview questions were modified for each participant based on their background and area of expertise.
- Interview questions were also modified to encourage a relaxed style of interview that reflected the characteristics of a natural conversation to an extent. The methodology is described in more detail in Chapter 4.3 – Semi-structured Interviews.
- As per the above, the suite of interview questions below were considered as a guide rather than fixed, and subsequently varied in actuality.

You Role and Background
- What is you role and the organisation that you work for?
- Can you tell me about your background in housing?

High Levels of Social Interaction
- My first success factor is having positive social interaction between people in different tenure houses. Some of the principles from my research to encourage this are community groups, public/community facilities (such as a library, swimming pool or a town hall) nearby. Do you think that is workable?
- Another principle regarding this success factor is having similar tenure types adjacent – such as social housing next to affordable housing. Do you think this arrangement is relevant and workable?

Blind Tenure
- Blind tenure is when the exterior of social housing appears visually similar to other houses with different tenure types. Do you think 'blind tenure' is workable and financially viable?

Financial Viability
- The third success factor is financial viability. In some cases of mixed-tenure housing, there might not be adequate funding for social housing arrangements. Do you think that mixed tenure developments are financially viable?

Effective Design and Designing for Children
- The next success factor is about effective design. Some of the principles that I found from my research is having social infrastructure to encourage good social interaction between people in different housing types. For example, you could have outdoor areas with seating or community gardens, green spaces, etc. What are your thoughts on effective design?
- Is providing social infrastructure within a mixed-tenure housing development a financially viable option?
- What are your thoughts on designing for children? For example, this could include playgrounds, having quiet streets and low traffic volumes. Is that something you think about? And for your developments - do you think it is relevant and/or workable?

High Degree of Spatial Integration

- The next success factor is about highly integrating the tenure types so that there are not 'blocks' of tenures in an arrangement, but so that the tenures are integrated – "pepper-potted". What are your thoughts on this success factor?
- Is this success factor financially viable?

Broad Continuum Allocation
- The next success factor is having a broad continuum allocation, which means that the housing within a mixed-tenure development is not a majority of one type of tenure (such as market housing). But you have all of these different types of tenure arrangements from public, to affordable, to market with a good range to meet all of the diversity of needs. Is this workable?
- What are the current arrangements that your organisation implements when it comes to housing developments?
- Do you think that this success factor is workable and financially viable?

Housing Assistance and Organisation
- Another success factor is establishing a housing organisation that oversees and maintains the mixed-tenure housing development as these developments need maintenance and management. Is this success factor workable and financially viable?

Educational Institutions
- The last success factor is having "quality educational institutions in proximity to mixed-tenure housing developments". I highlight that occupants in private home ownership arrangements may prefer high decile, local, quality schools. It may also be beneficial for social housing tenants to have access to quality education. Does your organisation consider this success factor when it comes to housing developments?
- How workable is it?

General
- Any final comments?