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**Exploring Models
for Mixed Community Housing
in New Zealand**

A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Planning

at
Lincoln University
by
Matthew Robert Williamson Klomp

Lincoln University
2016

Abstract of a dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the
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The potential for mixed communities in tackling issues of poverty, segregation and other associated public and low-income housing ills has long captivated the minds of planners and policy makers. Examples of relevant 'mixed policies' and 'mixed developments' can be seen across the United States, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and several other nations. However, interest in the potential of mixed communities has only just recently surfaced in New Zealand, with very limited research available. The research undertaken for this dissertation aimed to better understand the claims that mixed community schemes are viable alternatives to existing public housing models in New Zealand. This was achieved through answering key research questions relating to whether mixed community developments in New Zealand had been informed from lessons learned internationally, and if this is problematic what improvements can and should be made best on international best practice. The results of this research suggest that New Zealand to date has followed a largely ad hoc approach to mixed community developments, and suggests that New Zealand read against more aggregated knowledge gathered elsewhere. In the absence of a formal commitment to using existing sources of guidance as the process continues it was decided that perhaps the most efficient interim solution would be to create a set of assessment criteria.

Keywords: mixed communities, social mix, gentrification, public housing, social housing, state housing.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to acknowledge those which allowed themselves to be interviewed as part of this research. These discussions played a significant part in challenging and building upon my understanding of the research topic, and I greatly appreciate the time given by each interviewee.

My supervisor, Dr. Roy Montgomery, has been a great source of advice and direction throughout the year. Additionally, group meetings with Dr. Montgomery and Zohreh Karaminejad, PhD candidate and fellow student under Dr. Montgomery's supervision, helped challenge and shape this research. Ms. Karaminejad's research was of particular relevance in terms of collaborative governance and its impacts on housing projects.

Thanks also to my fellow Master of Planning students and the lecturers and staff of Lincoln University. You have all been so supportive and encouraging throughout these past two years.

Finally, I would be remiss if I did not express my very profound gratitude to my girlfriend, Vic, my family, and to my friends for their continued support and encouragement throughout my years of study and during the process of researching and writing this dissertation. This accomplishment would not have been possible without you all, so I thank you.

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Glossary

Public Housing low-rent housing owned, sponsored, or administered by local or central government.

Note - the term public housing will be used to define both state and social housing in New Zealand (please refer below) when appropriate in this research.

State Housing subsidised housing constructed and operated by central government.

Social Housing not-for-profit housing programmes (including emergency housing) that are supported and/or delivered by central or local government, or community housing providers, to help low income households and a range of other disadvantaged groups to access appropriate, secure and affordable housing.

Affordable Housing low to middle income households (i.e. those households earning up to 120% of median household income) spending no more than 30% of their gross income on rent or mortgage costs.

Market Housing private housing bought, sold or rented under prevailing open market conditions, largely without any direct assistance.

Note - the terms referenced above are specific to the New Zealand context.

1 Introduction

The potential for mixed communities in tackling issues of poverty, segregation and other associated public and low-income housing ills has long captivated the minds of planners and policymakers (Tunstall & Lupton, 2010; Morris, Jamieson & Patulny, 2012; Levy, McDade & Dumlao, 2010). Examples of relevant ‘mixed policies’ and ‘mixed developments’ can be seen across the United States, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and several other nations (Melis, Marra & Gelormino, 2013). However, interest in the potential of mixed communities has only just recently surfaced in New Zealand, with very limited research available (Saville-Smith, Saville-Smith & James, 2015). Housing New Zealand (HNZ), a New Zealand Crown agency responsible for the provision of housing services for people in need, has initiated a national redevelopment programme aimed at creating mixed communities (Housing New Zealand, 2016b). This process appears to be largely ad hoc in nature, which according to Lees (2008) and Bridge, Butler and Lees (2012) could have serious negative effects on affected populations. This research investigates these claims and whether mixed community schemes might present a viable alternative to existing public housing models in New Zealand.

Research Approach

The main aim of this research is to better understand the claims that mixed community schemes are viable alternatives to existing public housing models in New Zealand. The main objective of this research is to contribute to planning practice, specifically in relation to public housing in New Zealand. The two research objectives specific to this research topic are as follows:

- To analyse progress to date on mixed community initiatives internationally.
- To analyse progress to date on mixed community initiatives in New Zealand.

The above research objectives have led to the following three central research questions, detailed below.

- Have mixed community developments in New Zealand been informed from lessons learned internationally?
- If they have not been informed by international best practice is this problematic?

- If it is problematic what improvements can and should be made based on international best practice?

In addressing the above research questions two research methods will be utilised. These included a review of the relevant literature and research available, and the use of semi-structured interviews with those involved with public housing and mixed communities research and implementation in New Zealand. These research methods are explained further below.

Literature Review

There are existing comprehensive literature reviews on the topic of mixed communities, such as: Monk, Clarke and Tang (2011); Levy et al. (2010); Melis et al. (2013); and Morris, Jamieson, and Patulny (2012). It was not within the scope of this research to conduct a similarly comprehensive review. However, a more concise review of the relevant literature was carried out to provide the necessary theoretical background for this research.

Furthermore, the implications of these bodies of research were not directly intended to address public housing in New Zealand, which is what separates this research from those above.

The types of literature comprised within this review can be categorised as the following:

- books, journal articles and reports published in reputable academic sources, and
- newspaper articles, opinion pieces, and websites.

The use of sources not commonly viewed as strictly academic (newspaper articles, opinion pieces, and websites) was utilised as the subject of public housing in New Zealand is a particularly relevant media topic at the present time.

The purpose of this review was to critically analyse currently available information in defining the overall aim of the research, forming research objectives and subsequent research questions, and to survey existing knowledge on mixed communities.

Interviews

The purpose of the interviews was to gauge the professional opinion of participants, as well as the opinion of the organisations they represent, on the topic of public housing and mixed community schemes in New Zealand. Selecting participants which operated across the different sectors, both public and private, was aimed at providing results which more accurately represented the target population.

Interviews were conducted following a semi-structured format, which according to Flick (2006) results in interviewees viewpoints which are “more likely to be expressed in an openly designed interview situation than in a standardised interview or questionnaire” (Flick, 2006, p.149). The following questions were used as a starting point for discussion.

- *What is your position at the organisation you work for? And how and to what extent have you been involved with mixed community developments?*
- *How would you define mixed community developments? (i.e. what is their purpose and who do they effect?)*
- *What do you believe are the benefits and/or weaknesses of mixed community developments?*
- *Have you experienced any difficulties in the process of mixed community developments? If so, what have they been?*
- *What would you recommend for future processes associated with mixed community developments?*
- *What do you believe are the ‘enduring’ characteristics of mixed community developments? (i.e. what makes these developments stand the test of time?)*
- *Is there anything else you would like to mention regarding mixed community developments?*

Participation in this research was voluntary. Local participants were interviewed in person, whereas non-local participants were interviewed over the phone or responded to research specific questions via email. Verbal interviews were recorded and later transcribed, with permission from participants. Participants were given the option to review transcriptions. Interviewees completed a consent form, explaining the research and providing anonymity options (please refer to **Appendix A**). Some interviewees requested to remain anonymous for the use of some quotes.

A total of seven participants were interviewed for this research. Interviewees were selected using purposive or snowball sampling, which fit under non-probability sampling methodology. According to Lærd Dissertation (2012), these sampling methods involve selecting samples “based on the subjective judgement of the researcher, rather than random selection”. This particular sampling methodology was utilised as this research field is relatively new and therefore specialised in New Zealand.

Those interviewed and quoted within this research are as follows:

Interviewee A Tim Allan, Development Strategist, Housing New Zealand - Christchurch

Interviewee B Ruth Markham-Short, Planner, Christchurch City Council

Interviewee C Tim Church, Senior Principal and Urban Designer, Boffa Miskell - Auckland

Interviewee D Lee Sampson, Senior Project Manager, Christchurch City Council

Interviewee E Rose Lythe, Social Worker, Catholic Social Services - Auckland

Interviewee F Paul Cottam, Principal Advisor of Social Policy, Christchurch City Council

These groups and organisations were chosen as they represent those closely involved with the research and implementation surrounding public housing and mixed community initiatives in New Zealand, specifically Christchurch and Auckland. Furthermore, this number and professional range of participants has been chosen as it is in line with the scope of this research. It is acknowledged that the general public, particularly those which reside in public housing, were not interviewed due to considerable human ethics issues which, again, were not within the scope of this research.

Formal ethics approval was not required for this research as participants were interviewed in their professional capacity. However, ethical considerations was central to this research, and the *principles which govern sound ethical research involving human participants* produced by the Lincoln University Ethics Committee, was closely followed (please refer to *Figure 1* below).

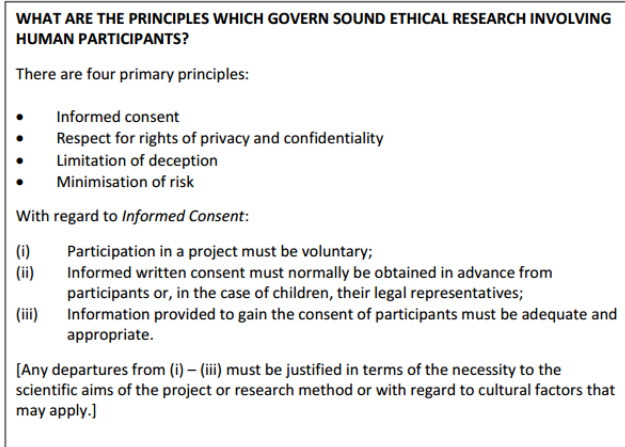


Figure 1 - Principles of Sound Ethical Research Involving Human Participants (Lincoln University, 2014).

Interpreting Interview Results

Interviews (audio) were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Interview transcripts were then memo-ed, identifying emerging themes and interesting points. In this case, data collection and analysis essentially took a snowball effect and informed each other. In some instances memo-ed results informed questions in subsequent interviews.

Structure of Dissertation

The dissertation proceeds as follows. Chapter 2 examines the relevant literature on mixed communities, dividing each section into the themes which emerged most prominently within the literature. Chapter 3 examines international case studies and commentary on mixed communities. Chapter 4 introduces the history of state housing in New Zealand. Chapter 5 details the current environment surrounding mixed communities in New Zealand, including the perception of public housing in the media, the public housing system structure and examples of mixed community applications (discussed further in Chapter 6). Chapter 6 analyses the qualitative results from interviews conducted as part of this research. Chapter 7 brings together the main ideas to reflect on the existing research and its implications on mixed community initiatives in New Zealand. Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation.

2 Literature Review

The following headings within this literature review were chosen as they represent the themes which emerged most prominently within the relevant literature.

Defining ‘Mixed Communities’

The term ‘mixed communities’ is contentious in that academics have largely failed to reach a consensus on what this term should actually mean. When referring to the mixing of a community this could entail a number of types of mix. From income and tenure mix to ethnic and social mix, these types of mix are all simultaneously interconnected and relatively different in their own way. This section of the literature review will aim to provide some clarity to the question, what does it mean to be mixed?

Saville-Smith, Saville-Smith and James (2015), in their research on *Neighbourhood Social Mix and Outcomes for Social Housing Tenants*, discuss that to date the terminology of social mix, and consequently mixed communities, is not well defined. This absence of a definition carries across policy, planning and research literature, which Saville-Smith et al. (2015, p.2) explain results in research which is “weakened by poor operationalisation and conflation of different types of mix”. In saying this, Saville-Smith et al. (2015, p.2) provide the following interpretation of mix:

- *Income mix – typically low and middle income in an area.*
- *Ethnic mix.*
- *Tenure mix – owner occupation and rental mix.*

Saville-Smith et al. (2015, p.2) explain that tenure mix is commonly used as a proxy for mix, and that the “[mixing] of tenants receiving public housing assistance and owner occupiers” is given the most attention in housing mix policy. This focus Saville-Smith et al. (2015, p.2) explain reflects the typical policy drivers for mix which are:

- *Breaking down, where they exist, high concentrations – certainly in excess of 65% - of (often) high-rise, high density, under-maintained public housing.*
- *Regeneration or new build developments with covenants requiring inclusion of set proportions of social rental or ownership dwellings for low income people.*

However, if we are not able to effectively understand the ideals behind this mix, then how are we to create policy drivers which accurately direct this mix? Tunstall and Fenton (2006), Vale and Shamsuddin (2015) and Monk et al. (2011) further discuss the difficulties associated with the question, what does it mean to be mixed?

Tunstall and Fenton (2006, p.6) discuss that a place may be mixed in terms of the buildings which fill that place, particularly their “built form, size, designated uses, tenure (if housing), market value or rent levels”. A place may also be mixed in terms of the people which populate that place. This social mix can include: the characteristics and attitudes of this population, their income, their employment status, their age, their ethnicity and household types. Tunstall and Fenton (2006, p.6) explain that less research has been concerned with “the spatial mixing of genders, religions and people of different physical abilities”. Tunstall and Fenton (2006, p.7) also explain that the terms “mixed tenure; mixed income; and mixed community” have been used interchangeably in research and policy literature, and that housing characteristics such as tenure and income have been used as proxies for “other characteristics and attitudes of households and individuals”.

Vale and Shamsuddin explain that through the HOPE VI program - United States Department of Housing and Urban Development plan targeted at revitalising the worst public housing projects in the United States into mixed-income developments – some 250 public housing redevelopment projects received funding from the federal program. However, even though these projects were funded by the same federal program and subject to the same basic federal regulations Vale and Shamsuddin explain that there was considerable differences between the final form of these projects due to the level of discretion available to local authorities on what ‘mixed-income’ constituted. Vale and Shamsuddin attribute these differences and this level of discretion to the vast range of “social, economic, financial, and spatial mixes [that] share the name ‘mixed-income’”, and conclude that policymakers must agree upon clearer definitions for the aims and attributes of mixed-income housing before the sought-after benefits of these redevelopment projects are to be achieved.

In their review of the literature on the topic of ‘mixed communities’, aimed at informing thinking in Scotland, Monk et al. also discuss the primary issue when discussing mixed communities, which is that of defining them. These problems arise due to questions surrounding the concentration of the mix, its composition (i.e. what basis people should be mixed by), and spatial scale (please also refer to Galster, 2013).

Through their research Monk et al. have prepared the following table on the components of mixed communities in research (please refer to *Table 1* below). As can be seen, the focus of research on mixed community developments in the United Kingdom, United States, Holland (and other locations) display a lack of consistency in terms of the components of mix, varying between mixed household type, mixed income and mixed tenure. This lack of consistency in what type of mix is being researched may yield results which cannot effectively be cross-compared.

Table 1 - Components of Mixed Communities (Monk et al., 2011, p.4).

	Mixed household type	Mixed income	Mixed tenure	Others	Applied to
DoE, 1995			✓		England & Wales
Schwartz & Tajbakhsh, 1997		✓			USA
DETR, 1998	?	?	?		England
Social Exclusion Unit, 1998				Employed & unemployed	England
Urban Task Force, 1999			✓	Uses & activities	UK
DETR, 2000	✓				England
Ostendorf, Musterd & De Vos, 2001			✓	Low-quality & high quality houses	Amsterdam
Martin & Watkinson, 2003		✓	✓		England
ODPM, 2003	✓	✓	✓		England
Andersson, Bråmã & Holmqvist, 2010	✓	✓			Sweden
Baum, Arthurson & Rickson, 2010		✓	✓	Mix of racial or ethnic backgrounds	Australia
DCLG, 2010	✓		✓		UK
Livingstone, Bailey & Kearns, 2010			✓	Mix of ethnicity	England
Tunstall & Lupton, 2010		✓	✓		UK

The difficulties associated with defining mixed communities not only relate to what type of mix is preferred but also what constitutes a community or neighbourhood. Monk et al. discuss the failure of quantitative studies in recognising this complex conceptualisation of neighbourhoods. Lupton (2003) explains the three broad understandings of neighbourhood conceptualisation as being ‘people and place’, ‘size and boundaries’, and ‘relation to the wider world’. Monk et al. investigate these conceptualisations, beginning with people and place where Lupton and Power (2002) and Harding (2002) describe neighbourhoods as having ‘intrinsic’ characteristics making them relatively entrenched spaces. Monk et al. somewhat disagree with this view, arguing that neighbourhoods are simultaneously physical and social.

The social relations within a neighbourhood may impact decisions to “stay or move”, making neighbourhoods susceptible to change, and therefore continuously changing. Monk et al. then turn to discuss the conceptualisation of size and boundaries, which has largely plagued neighbourhood research. Massey (1994) and Kearns and Parkinson (2011) explain that neighbourhoods are overlapping sets of social relationships with three distinct levels; the home area, the locality, and the urban district. Monk et al. discuss the importance of the relationship between these levels and the implications of this in relation to aspects of day-to-day life, such as relations with neighbours, school and work. However, it is implicitly acknowledged that the boundaries of neighbourhoods or communities cannot easily be spatially defined, which presents difficulties in determining the extent of sought after mix. Monk et al. finally discuss the important conceptualisation of neighbourhoods in ‘relation to the wider world’. They explain that neighbourhoods not only shape the spaces in which they are located but that they are also shaped by those spaces. Atkinson and Kintrea (2001) determine the most significant area effect of neighbourhoods as being perceived reputation, opportunities and experiences for residents. These effects are the direct result of a neighbourhood and its ‘relation to the wider world’, and is important in understanding the sought after benefits of mix. Monk et al. (2011, p.2) summarise the above findings on neighbourhood conceptualisations as further quantitative research requiring more complex research design “to capture the mechanisms at work”. This includes: reflecting on the ideas that concentration of poor might have negative consequences and that poor are systematically disadvantaged living in poorly resourced areas with weak comparative advantage; the use of appropriate boundaries relevant to mechanisms being tested; and reflecting on the different relationships between individuals and neighbourhoods, and between neighbourhoods themselves. These recommendations are directly focussed at ensuring future quantitative studies have the necessary sophistication to measure the complexity of neighbourhoods (Lupton, 2003).

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) (2006) provides a more practical or development focussed interpretation of mixed communities, focussing on the types of mixed communities that exist. As can be seen in *Table 2* below, the JRF identifies four different creation types of mixed communities, including: (1) through the evolution of older housing areas, (2) as a by-product of mainstream housing development, (3) the overall masterplanning of new or large-scale renewal areas, and (4) the intentional alteration of existing social renting areas. These creation types each contain their own unique characteristics.

From area size and mix type to development timeframes and funding options, these four different creation types of mixed communities present their own strengths and weaknesses, reflected in the case studies referenced included in *Table 2* below.

Table 2 - Simplified Types of Mixed Community (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2006, p.4).

How created	Characteristics	How reflected in the programme
Through the evolution of older housing areas.	Diverse area sizes, housing types, tenure, income and household mix. May include mixed use as well as mixed housing. Include private housing developments with affordable housing as part of the planning requirements.	Not covered by the case studies but included in overall trends identified in <i>Berube, 2005; Meen et al., 2005.</i>
As a by-product of mainstream housing development.	From tens to low thousands of homes; often private housing majority; exact mix depends on local market and interests of partners. Some New Towns, current Growth Areas, large planned urban extensions, and Pathfinder areas.	Case study examples in <i>Rowlands et al., 2006; Silverman et al., 2005; Bailey et al., forthcoming.</i>
By the overall masterplanning of new areas, or areas of large-scale renewal.	From tens to high thousands of homes; usually private housing majority; diverse income, home size, household types. Masterplanning includes design and use mix; may be some extra regeneration funding or subsidy.	Case study examples in <i>Martin and Watkinson, 2003; Allen et al., 2005; Silverman et al., 2005; Meen et al., 2005; Bailey et al., forthcoming.</i>
By intentionally altering existing areas whose origins were social renting.	Council or housing association estates that have become mixed tenure through redevelopment with demolition, sale and new building. Can be high profile process over several years with substantial public subsidy; often remain majority social and family housing.	Case study examples in <i>Meen et al., 2005; Silverman et al., 2005; Bailey et al., forthcoming.</i>

In summary, the task of defining mixed communities is difficult. There are many different types of mix, each of which focus on a particular attribute or attributes and each of which present challenges in measuring and measurement. These types of mix are also closely interconnected, some being used as proxies to represent others (Saville-Smith et al., 2011). The term ‘mixed communities’ is largely used as an umbrella term to represent social, ethnic, income, tenure and other types of mix, which can cause difficulties when cross-comparing research and studies on the topic (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2015; Monk et al., 2011). Furthermore, what constitutes a neighbourhood or community is largely contested, and there is no consensus on defining the boundaries and makeup of this space (Lupton, 2003; Monk et al., 2011). For these reasons further research is required which can effectively address this dissensus, whilst also incorporating sophisticated research design to measure the complexities that exist within a community (please also refer to Lupton, 2003 for further clarification of this point).

Disadvantages of Concentrated Deprivation

Before discussing the benefits of mixed communities it is essential that the disadvantages of concentrated deprivation, which mixed communities seek to lessen or eliminate, are discussed. In their *Briefing for the Incoming Minister* document, HNZ (2013) explain that “high concentrations of state housing in some areas are associated with social deprivation”. This section of the literature review will look at the connection between high concentrations of deprivation (and public housing as it is almost always associated with deprivation) and the influence this might have on inhabitants.

Alan Berube (2005, pp.20-23), senior fellow and deputy director of the Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program and a former policy advisor to the U.S. Treasury Department, in his study on mixed communities in the United States and the United Kingdom, summarised the potential range of influences that deprived areas may have on their inhabitants as the following:

- *Concentrations of deprivation reduce private sector activity and raise prices for the poor*
- *High levels of worklessness limit job networks and employment ambitions*
- *Schools struggle to educate overwhelmingly poor populations*
- *Poor neighbourhoods stimulate higher levels of crime and disorder*
- *Area-based deprivation exacerbates health inequalities*

Berube explains that the above effects are what have lead policy development in the promotion of mixed income communities. These mixed income communities are seen as a way of “tackling deprivation by reducing the additional disadvantages that face families when they are concentrated in poor neighbourhoods” (Berube, 2005 as quoted in Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2006).

Tunstall and Fenton (2006, p.11) counter some of these claims, explaining that some of the above effects are not solely caused by concentrations of low income, and that factors such as “concentrations of people with particular attitudes, resources and behaviours, and from the way those people interact” also contribute as significant influences.

Tunstall and Fenton (2006, p.11) believe that income may be being used as a proxy source for these effects, but acknowledge that there is strong evidence from studies conducted in countries such as the United States where concentrated poverty has been linked with effects on “education, health, crime and attitudes” (Berube, 2005; Smith 2002).

Cheshire (2007b) supports this thinking, explaining that it might seem obvious that deprived neighbourhoods have negative effects on inhabitants, but that this conclusion ignores a number of difficult facts. These include the fact that neighbourhood segregation has existed since the times of ancient Rome and the old English village due to factors such as income, consumption and lifestyles, which largely influence neighbourhood segregation today. Cheshire also discusses the misleading nature of establishing the direction of causation by advocates of mixed communities. He explains that if neighbourhood choice is conditioned by levels of income that neighbourhood segregation exists because we live in an unequal society and that “we may be collectively and individually better off living in neighbourhoods with other similar households, whether we are rich or poor” (Cheshire, 2007b, p.3). However, Cheshire (2007b, pp.2-34), like many others, also supports the popular plausible ideal that “geographically concentrated poverty is a [lesser] social evil than dispersed poverty”, and recommends that further research is conducted on causation and the effects of neighbourhoods before “spending substantial resources to use policy to force neighbourhoods to be mixed”.

In summary, it is a common view amongst the aforementioned academics that neighbourhoods or communities of concentrated deprivation present clear disadvantages to inhabitants, such as higher levels of crime, lower employment rates and health inequalities (Berube, 2005; Tunstall & Fenton, 2006; Smith 2002). However, there is also growing scepticism towards the direction of ‘causation’ in this instance, and some evidence that neighbourhood segregation is inevitable due to the unequal societal framework that persists (Tunstall & Fenton, 2006; Cheshire, 2007b).

Benefits of Mixed Communities

In their *Briefing for the Incoming Minister* document, Housing New Zealand (2013) states that reducing concentrations of state housing and creating mixed communities has been shown to produce better social outcomes. HNZ do not expand on what is meant by “better social outcomes”, but there is strong evidence from many academic studies which promote the benefits of mixed communities. This section of the literature review will critically examine the potential benefits of mixed communities.

Saville-Smith et al. (2015, p.3), through their overview of the relevant literature on social mix, begin by explaining that the outcomes sought through de-concentration of deprivation and the promotion of mixed communities “relate to both area improvement and improved outcomes for individuals”. In *Table 3* below, Saville-Smith et al. identify the “area benefits sought” and “benefits sought for disadvantaged tenants” as a result of social mix from overseas policy and research literature.

Table 3 - Desired Benefits of Mixed Communities (Saville-Smith et al., 2015, p.22).

Area benefits sought	Benefits sought for disadvantaged tenants
Improved housing quality	Reduced fear of crime and victimisation
Improved service density and accessibility	Improved education
Destigmatisation of area	Higher incomes
Less crime	Improved health
Improved environment	Higher employment
Business attracted and increased	Destigmatisation and reduced discrimination
Increased social cohesion, civic participation	Improved inclusion and reduced isolation

Tunstall and Fenton (2006, p.12), in broad terms, explain that the mix of private tenures with that of social and intermediate housing commonly “reduces the concentration of poverty and disadvantage”.

More specifically, Tunstall and Fenton break down the specific beneficial effects of mixed-tenure schemes into the following:

- *facilities and services*
- *schools and educational achievement*
- *employment levels*
- *crime and anti-social behaviour*
- *neighbourhood popularity and reputation*
- *community cohesion*
- *mixed communities and sustainability*
- *mix as a means to deliver new housing*
- *mix for its own sake*
- *the benefits of homogeneity*

Tunstall and Fenton (2006, p.47) conclude that benefits which rely on or are connected to greater income mix within mixed communities, such as “more and varied commercial services”, are well evidenced. They acknowledge, however, that the evidence surrounding benefits of a less measurable nature, such as attitudes, behaviours and interaction among residents, is at present less decisive, and that achieving the right mix along several dimensions simultaneously will be key in achieving successful mixed communities.

Monk et al. (2011) expand upon these perceived benefits, explaining that the overall theory of social mix supports the understanding that mixed populations are beneficial for neighbourhoods and a community. They suggest that social mix results in decreases in societal problems such as poverty and unemployment, “or at least their concentration” (Monk et al., 2011, p.8). Furthermore, social mix is suggested to counteract the stigmatism associated with residents living in a particular neighbourhood. Monk et al. attribute this to the assumption that “space has a deterministic effect on those who live in a specific area” (Monk et al., p.8). They explain that even though empirical research may not reflect this understanding, the perspective of social mix theory and its associated benefits have encouraged its adoption in many political programmes globally.

Lupton (2003), Kearns and Mason (2007) and Silverman, Lupton and Fenton (2006) also discuss the potential benefits of mixed communities, beginning with Lupton who summarises these benefits as being:

- *access to beneficial networks and role models* (Wilson, 1997)
- *sufficient income to support private services*
- *sufficient influence to lobby for better public services*
- *collective efficacy to uphold pro-social norms and regulate crime and anti-social behaviour* (Pitts, 2000; Power, 1997; Sampson, 1999).

Kearns and Mason provide four potential effects of mixed communities, shown in *Table 4* below. These beneficial effects – economic and service impacts, community-level effects, social and behavioural effects, overcoming social exclusion – are supported by Atkinson and Kintrea (2000), Melis et al. (2013) and Holmqvist and Bergsten (2009) who explain that many of these effects can be observed as outputs of social mix policies in countries such as the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Table 4 - The expected benefits to disadvantaged neighbourhoods of greater income mixing (Kearns & Mason, 2007).

<p>Economic & Service Impacts Better quality public services Improved quality & quantity of private services Enhanced local economy Increased rates of employment</p>	<p>Community-Level Effects Increased social interaction Enhanced sense of community and place attachment Reduction in mobility and greater residential stability</p>
<p>Social & Behavioural Effects Reduction in anti-social behaviour Better upkeep of properties and gardens Raised aspirations Enhanced educational outcomes</p>	<p>Overcoming Social Exclusion Reduction in area stigma Increased connectivity with other places Enhanced social networks</p>

Lastly, Silverman et al., whom also provide neighbourhood effects of mixed communities, shown in *Table 5* below. Silverman et al. also include the assumed neighbourhood effects of concentrated poverty, showing the connections of concentration versus mix.

Table 5 - Scope of Neighbourhood Effects (Silverman et al., 2006, p.9).

Assumed neighbourhood effects of concentrated poverty	Assumed benefits of mixed communities
<p>Arising from lack of resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Absence of private sector facilities such as shops and banks • High demands on public services, and poor quality • Poor reputation • High crime and anti-social behaviour 	<p>Arising from availability of resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More money to support facilities • Fewer demands on public services, particularly schools • More cultural and social capital to shape improved provision • Improved reputation • Less motivation for crime and anti-social behaviour
<p>Arising from limited interaction between groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exposure to disaffected peer groups • Isolation from job finding or health providing networks for adults 	<p>Arising from greater interaction between groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exposure to aspirational peer groups • Access to more advantaged and aspirational networks

It is important to note that, there is also current research available which contradicts the claimed potential benefits of mixed communities. Saville-Smith et al. (2015, p.31) begin by determining that the evidence around de-concentration and social mix is weak, and in some cases the associated benefits are “mixed or remain undemonstrated”.

This scepticism towards the promoted benefits of mixed communities is furthered in Cheshire, Gibbons and Gordon (2008). In their critical evaluation of policies for mixed communities they conclude that although mixed communities treat a symptom of inequality, they do not treat its cause. This symptom is spatial disparity, the degree to which a neighbourhood represents individuals of lower, middle and upper class. Cheshire et al. (2008, p.4) elaborate that in a world with “spatially uneven distribution of amenities, substantial income inequalities and varying preferences” the re-sorting of people into distinctly homogeneous neighbourhoods and the de-concentration of those most socially disadvantaged may be a desirable outcome, but for whom is this a desirable outcome? First, creating mixed communities in most cases requires substantial capital investment. According to a study conducted by Monk et al. (2006) on the delivery of mixed affordable housing in the UK through Section 106 agreements - a policy mechanism which makes development proposals, not otherwise acceptable, acceptable in planning terms (Planning Advisory Service, 2015) - suggests that the average costs for these social housing units delivered utilising this policy mechanism were comparatively higher than for units funded in other ways, and that the land acquisition costs were “substantially higher” (Monk et al., 2006, pp.21-22).

Secondly, Cheshire et al. explain that common spatial segregation of where the rich and poor live is due in large part to the current housing market and the locality of amenities and desired neighbourhood characteristics, such as access to green space and 'better' schools (see Cheshire & Sheppard, 2004; Anderson & West, 2006). Housing prices are strongly influenced by location, and this current reality could work to reduce the effectiveness of mixed community mechanisms and initiatives. As Cheshire et al. (2008, p.1) explain concentrated poverty occurs essentially "because living in cheap neighbourhoods costs less (whether in private or social housing)", making this more of a complex policy issue rather than something which can be simply resolved by forward-thinking development. Thirdly, Cheshire et al., like Saville-Smith et al., remain critical of the proposition that a mixed community mechanism will work as an effective formula towards overall improvement, particularly in terms of 'causation'. Cheshire et al. acknowledge the ideal of this mechanism as being firmly established in current policy, but are not convinced that it will solve the underlying issue of poverty, effectively ignoring the real issue (see Joseph, 2006; Crook et al., 2011; Sautkina, Bond & Kearns, 2012).

Joseph, Chaskin and Webber (2007) provide their own assessment of the potential benefits of mixed communities, stating that current mixed-income development theory holds in terms of the assumption that low-income individuals and families benefits residing in a mixed-income context compared to that of concentrated poverty. They support this statement with a comprehensive review of relevant theoretical and empirical studies, focussing on the four theoretical propositions: (1) social networks, (2) social control, (3) behavioural, and (4) political economy of place. They provide practical examples for each of these four propositions, beginning with *social networks*, where it is understood that social interaction in a mixed-income context leads to the development of familiarity and trust. This then leads to the exchange of information and resources resulting in improved outcomes across the individual, family and community levels. Outputs of this relationship and process can be higher levels of employment and greater self-sufficiency. The next proposition, *social control*, flows on from *social networks* where these strengthened interpersonal relationships within a community lead to decreases in crime and an overall increased feeling of safety, directly improving quality of life for those that live within that community. The *behavioural* proposition relies upon improved conduct within a more socio-economic diverse environment.

This improved behaviour creates communities with “a dominant culture of work and social responsibility”, generating outputs such as higher educational achievement, better employment, greater self-sufficiency and reduced illicit activity (Joseph et al., 2007, p.378). The fourth and final proposition, [political] *economy of place*, simply details higher-quality local services and infrastructure through “individual and collective leveraging of external resources” resulting in an improved quality of life for community members.

Furthermore, when discussing the benefits available to low-income members of a mixed community Levy et al. (2010) hypothesize that “instrumental networks” will be made accessible to those members. These networks are thought to provide low-income members of communities with the necessary means to improve their financial situation. Levy et al. (2010, p.8) also support the thinking within Galster (2007), Joseph et al. and Popkin, Buron, Levy and Cunningham (2000) that the benefits from this interaction flow from higher to lower-income families, where “behaviours and lifestyles...are assumed to be better or more productive”.

In summary, this section of the literature review has demonstrated the conflicting research and evidence surrounding the potential benefits of mixed communities. Saville-Smith et al.; Monk et al.; Tunstall and Fenton and other bodies of research presented in this section of the literature review all discuss the significant potential benefits of mixed communities. These benefits range from improved housing quality and reductions in criminal activity to better access to beneficial networks and role models and overall improved quality of life. However, Saville-Smith et al. and Cheshire et al. also discuss the major shortcomings, weaknesses and undemonstrated nature of mixed communities. In the available academic research on mixed communities there is an overall sense of caution in unqualified promotion of de-concentration and mixed communities as the panacea for public housing (and associated) related ills. While it is acknowledged that there are benefits in geographically dispersing those more or less socially disadvantaged than others in itself, there is also scepticism surrounding the real poverty and social issues being overlooked. In saying this, Saville-Smith et al. and Cheshire et al. and others acknowledge the crucial need for further research on this topic, a subsequent section within this literature review.

Gentrification by Stealth

In the previous section of this literature review the potential benefits of mixed communities were discussed, more specifically the unproven nature of these benefits and the need for further research on this matter. If this is true, one could argue that HNZ and the New Zealand Government, like many other governments and government bodies internationally, drive initiatives on a “solution” that has little empirical grounding. As has been previously mentioned, significant capital and investment is required to implement these mixed community developments, as well as substantial disturbance to existing residents’ lives. However, as explained by Bridge, Butler and Lees (2012) the unproven nature of mixed communities may not present the biggest concern, providing another perspective on the potential threat that this mix represents: gentrification.

Mixed Communities: Gentrification by Stealth?, edited by Bridge et al. presents the question as to whether and to what extent social mix policies and mixed community developments represent ‘stealth gentrification’. Bridge et al. draw on the international experience of researchers, policy makers, planners and residents of mixed communities in answering this question. The topic of gentrification in relation to mixed communities features frequently within the relevant literature, particularly Bridge et al. This section of the literature review shall discuss these claims.

In the book Bridge et al. (2012, p.1) define gentrification as “the movement of middle-income people into low-income neighbourhoods causing the displacement of all, or many, of the pre-existing low-income residents”. Bridge et al. (2012, p.1) argue that social mix policies included within their research are “rhetorically and discursively disguised as social mixing...promoting and spurring gentrification in a number of different countries” (Lees, 2008). They explain that recent research has argued that social mix represents a “one-sided (government) strategy”, focussed on correcting social homogeneity within deprived neighbourhoods when wealthier neighbourhoods may be equally as socially homogeneous. 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. These claims are supported throughout different case studies and research included as chapters in this book, Ley (2012) and Le Galès (2012) discussed below.

Ley, in his chapter *Social Mixing and the Historical Geography of Gentrification*, examines how ‘social mixing’ has intersected with gentrification, evolving from a progressive, pro-diversity ideal in the 1960s towards a perceived regressive policy, thwart with marginalisation, stigmatisation and displacement in the present neoliberal era. Ley illustrates the above with a historical comparison of two inner-city communities in Vancouver, “False Creek” and “Downtown Eastside”, each having experienced the “success” of social mix to varying degrees. These case studies effectively demonstrate the potential pitfalls associated with ‘social mix’ policy. Ley ultimately argues that contemporary social housing redevelopment schemes seldom reflect the well-being of current residents, and rather personify a larger disciplinary approach by which low-income residents are being made answerable for the conditions of concentrated poverty in which they live.

Le Galès, in his chapter *Social Mix and Urban Policy*, discusses use of the terms gentrification and social mix from the European perspective as being significantly variable from one country to the next, widely influenced by politics. Le Galès (2012, p.32) discusses that through review of French flagship policies it is evident that since it has become difficult to achieve the goals of social mix “one way out for policy makers has been to rely on consensually vague overarching goals”. Le Galès, however, remains firm that social policy is a vitally important element of wider urban social policy during increasingly difficult times for inner-city urban areas.

Bridge et al. (2012, p.239) conclude that the evidence indicates that mix is ineffective in enhancing the welfare of the poor and in some cases is detrimental”. The broad range of settings represented by the case studies included in Bridge et al. together present a strong case against the promises of social mix and mixed communities.

Achieving ‘Effective’ Mixed Communities

There is much research on the planning, implementation and management required to achieve effective mixed communities. This section of the literature review will examine these aspects argued to contribute positively towards effective mixed communities within the relevant research.

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2006, p.11) argues that the delivery of mixed community developments requires “careful thought, design and management”. If the necessary attention is given to these elements research shows that many potential problems can be overcome during the initial planning process. For example, Bailey, Haworth, Manzi, Paranagamage and Roberts (2006) have produced a ‘good practice guide’ for mixed community developments, JRF (2006, p.11) discusses four essential prerequisites to achieving effective mixed communities, which include:

- *a clear assessment of local housing needs and market conditions;*
- *a briefing and masterplanning process which produces a full range of housing types and sizes, located in an attractive environment, with a high quality public realm and well connected to the wider urban context;*
- *a vision promoted and sustained by all stakeholders which is robust but flexible enough to allow for inevitable adjustments and changes arising from local housing conditions; and*
- *an appropriate system of housing and environmental management that is based on a partnership between all stakeholders, includes substantial community involvement, and is locally based.*

JRF recommends the adherence to these prerequisites during the initial planning process as they become increasingly difficult to employ at later stages. Bailey et al. expand upon these prerequisites providing characteristics of public spaces that facilitate social housing in a mixed community setting. These characteristics include: clearly identifiable streets and public spaces; streets designed to encourage pedestrians; connected streets with short, direct routes (*Figure 2*); streets that are attractive and safe to use day and night; continuous frontages with few blank walls (*Figure 2*); fronts of buildings facing the street/public spaces, backs of buildings facing courtyards/private areas; buildings that provide a sense of enclosure to the street (*Figure 2*); well-defined entrances onto the street at frequent intervals (*Figure 2*); streets that encourage safe vehicle use; and, a clear differentiation of fronts and backs of buildings (Bailey et al., 2006, pp.54-55). These design and access characteristics are understood to be significantly important when discussing matters such as ‘pepper-potting’ and tenure-blind integration, which will be discussed further below.



Connected streets with short, direct routes



Continuous frontages with few blank walls



Buildings that provide a sense of enclosure to the street



Well-defined entrances onto the street at frequent intervals

Figure 2 - Characteristics of public spaces that facilitate social housing in a mixed community setting (Bailey et al., 2006, pp.54-55).

Bailey et al. (2006, p.65) conclude on their good practice guide for mixed community developments with the caveat that there is no universal rubric available in terms of strategies for effective mixed communities, but that certain factors should be considered towards encouraging integration. Some factors identified which discourage integration include: no design controls, dominant care use presence, the clustering of tenure types and the stigmatisation of social housing through visual markers.

Some factors which are believed to encourage integration include: attractive landscape and green spaces, consistent external architectural treatment between different tenures, an even mix of housing types and size between different tenures and shared public space. These factors are not an absolute guide towards integration, but provide an insight into what aspects of built form and the design of effective spaces should be considered towards creating an effective mixed community environment.

Saville-Smith et al. (2015) provide some of their own 'lessons learned' following analysis of international attempts to increase social mix and deconcentrate public housing. They begin by discussing the importance of maintaining the physical condition of housing within mixed communities, as declining conditions can exacerbate disengagement of inhabitants. The importance of continued maintenance is also discussed in Monk et al. (2011) and the Cambridge Centre for Housing & Planning Research and University of Sheffield (CCHRP) (2005) where it is acknowledged that through 'pepper-potting' and the Right to Buy scheme (privatisation) maintenance of public housing becomes increasingly difficult, leading to negative outcomes. Saville-Smith et al. go on to discuss the importance of retention policies and the provision of affordable housing alongside public housing to ensure equitable housing accessibility to low-income households. These provisions and policies should be safeguarded within wider regeneration strategy efforts to ensure the long-term effectiveness of mixed community developments. One particular lesson which Saville-Smith et al. explain has particular relevance to the New Zealand context is "[maintained] kinship and other social networks" in relation to the 'breaking-up' of longstanding communities. These longstanding communities represent the character of the area and they should sought to be conserved as much as possible in achieving effective mixed tenure communities. Lastly, Saville-Smith et al. discuss the importance of proper neighbourhood and tenant management within a mixed community development. This to ensure that these communities do not become dominated by anti-social behaviour, as well as to ensure that private rental practices and social tenancy management do not undermine the benefits of re-development.

As has been discussed previously with Bailey et al., the physical layout and design of mixed communities plays a significant part in their effectiveness. Research conducted by Groves, Middleton, Murie and Broughton (2003) and Kearns, McKee, Sautkina, Cox and Bond (2013) supports this thinking, the design of shared spaces particularly having a significant impact on encouraging social interaction, shared experience and a sense of ownership and pride.

An example of this physical layout and design of spaces within mixed communities is shown in *Figure 3* below. As explained by Kearns et al. the figure depicts the main spatial configurations of housing tenures as found in the literature. These configurations include neighbourhoods where housing tenures are divided by soft and/or hard boundaries, as well as the complete absence of boundaries or divisions between tenures in the case of an integrated layout. This integrated layout, also known as ‘pepper-potting’ or tenure-blind, is the placement of owner-occupied or private tenure housing in and amongst social housing. Perfect tenure-blind integration in a visual sense would result in an environment where differentiation between housing tenures is indeterminable. Sautkina et al. (2012) and Harrison (2015) discuss tenure-blind integration or ‘pepper-potting’ as producing the best outcomes in terms of cross-tenure interaction and encouraging a sense of community within a mixed community development, an important topic which will be discussed in a subsequent section of this literature review. Conversely, the segregation or segmentation of tenures within a mixed community development is shown to create a divide between new and existing residents, stigmatising social housing residents (Groves et al., 2003). In some instances, housing tenures are separated in this way as an integrated level of mix is thought to make owner-occupied or private tenure housing within a mixed community development difficult to sell or rent to the market. However, Clarke (2012) and Harrison contradict this thinking, explaining that factors such as quality of design, layout and location are more important in determining saleability of these houses on the open market.

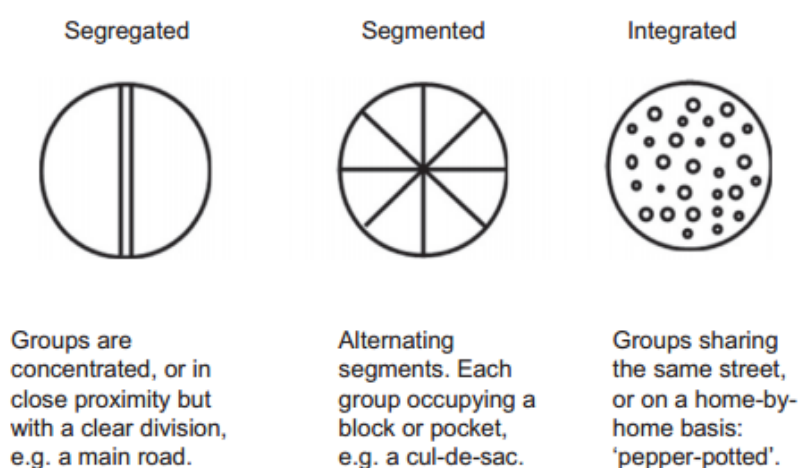


Figure 3 - Typology of spatial configuration of tenures (Kearns et al., 2013, p.398).

Tunstall and Fenton (2006, p.48) conclude this section of the literature review on the keys to achieving effective mixed communities explaining that the “rationales for ensuring that new communities are socially mixed are clear cut”. They acknowledge the need for “realistic goals, high-quality design and assiduous neighbourhood management”, as well as consideration of local and market conditions as matters of “paramount importance” towards the wider effectiveness of mixed community developments (Tunstall & Fenton, 2006, p.47).

In summary, there are many factors which must be considered when planning and developing effective mixed communities. These range from clear assessment of local housing needs and market conditions and buildings that provide a sense of enclosure to the street to attractive landscape and green spaces and consistent external architectural treatment between different tenures. However, there is no universal rubric available in terms of creating effective mixed communities, and particular dynamics should be considered in encouraging effective integration (Bailey et al., 2006). Tenure-blind integration is found to produce the best outcomes for tenants, and can be achieved through careful design of built-form and spaces within a mixed community development, as well as through proper and assiduous neighbourhood management and the implementation of policies which discourage the stigmatisation of social housing tenants (Sautkina et al., 2012; Harrison, 2015; Groves et al., 2003).

Sense of Community

An integral aspect of mixed communities is the social benefits of this mix, more specifically creating a ‘sense of community’. The concept of ‘sense of community’ focusses on experiences shared within a community rather than the physical makeup of a community, such as structure, setting or other features. Sarason (1974, p.157) defines sense of community as “the perception of similarity to others, an acknowledged interdependence with others, a willingness to maintain this interdependence by giving to or doing for others what one expects from them, and the feeling that one is part of a larger dependable and stable structure”. This concept is significant when discussing the topic of mixed communities as it is closely interconnected with some of the sought after benefits of mix, such as increased social interaction and cohesion, and two of Joseph, Chaskin and Webber’s (2007) theoretical propositions of mixed communities, *social networks* and *social control*.

In a study conducted by Allen, Camina, Casey, Coward and Wood (2005), looking at the experiences of mixed tenure communities created in Peterborough, Middlesbrough and Norwich, it was found that the attitudes towards tenure mix were considered to be a “non-issue”. Allen et al. explain that both council renters and owner occupiers living in these mixed communities were able to readily identify with one another, considering themselves broadly similar without any significant differences. Allen et al. (2005, p.30) provides the following comments from a council renter and an owner occupier living within a mixed community context:

I personally would not think that anybody was very different whether they are renting their house off the council or buying, and I really don't know why there is this great big emphasis - Bowthorpe, Tenant

The man who lives in the council houses just across the road here ... he's a smashing bloke, you know, just ordinary people like us, you know. People are people and you get good and bad everywhere, don't you, in all walks of life - Coulby Newham, Owner

As the above comments indicate, renters and owners living in this particular mixed community emphasised the ‘ordinariness’ of their community, and did not largely perceive the difference between the mixing and non-mixing of tenure types within a community. Allen et al. (2005, p.31) also adds that interviewees asked about their attitudes towards mixed tenure “felt ambivalent towards it”, something which interviewees felt neither “strongly about in either a positive or a negative sense”.

These findings are consistent with Morris, Jamieson and Patulny (2012), Van Ham and Manley (2009) and Harrison (2015), beginning with Morris et al. which following reviews of 11 primary studies examining the impact of social mix on public housing estates found that there was mixed success overall. While these examples of social mix were successful in achieving an improvement in the quality of the physical environment, there was less success in achieving social interaction and contact across tenures groups. Van Ham and Manley and Harrison detail similar outcomes, the evidence showing that interaction between tenure groups in mixed communities being uncommon and often on a superficial level.

In some instances it was even found that this interaction led to the stigmatisation of social renters by owner-occupants and private renters, having the perception that poorer households “were ‘inherently bad neighbours’”, further reducing the likelihood of social mixing (Harrison, 2015, p.5; Rowlands, Murie & Tice, 2006; Bretherton & Pleace, 2011). However, it was acknowledged that high tenure transparency played a significant part in this perception, and that poor management was typically the cause of problems within a development (Harrison, 2015). These findings are particularly concerning when a significant proportion of the potential benefits of mixed communities stem from this social connection between private and social housing residents.

In summary many of the potential benefits of mixed communities rely upon successful social mixing, creating networks which ultimately benefit social housing tenants. However, the success of social mixing appears to be largely questionable, and in some instances has led to the stigmatisation of social housing tenants. The rationale for mixed communities is that social mixing should result in increased interaction between tenure groups, fostering the creation of support networks and role-model relationships for social housing tenants, but positive examples are rare.

Summary

There is evidence that social mix and deconcentration of poverty (mixed communities) provide significant economic and welfare benefits for residents. These include benefits such as improved housing quality, reductions in criminal activity, better access to beneficial networks and role models, and overall improved quality of life. However, recognising and achieving these benefits has proven challenging, and in some instances should prove as strong cautionary counsel to planners and policy makers in the risks of gentrification and resultant displacement. While there is no universal rubric available in terms of creating effective mixed communities, particular dynamics and design elements should be considered in encouraging effective integration. The vital importance of this integration and sense of community within mixed neighbourhoods still remains to be comprehensively understood, questioning the rationale behind intervention.

3 International Case Studies & Commentaries on Mixed Communities

Although mixed community developments and social mix policies have been implemented throughout the western world it is widely considered that the significant share of research has focussed on case studies from the United Kingdom, the United States and the Netherlands (Melis et al., 2013; Lees, 2008; Monk et al., 2011). This statement is supported by the below diagram (*Figure 4*), prepared by Melis et al., displaying the shares of studies from each nation included in their housing and social mix international literature review. It is evident that almost 75 per cent of studies were based in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. The United States does not feature in the below diagram as the studies included in Melis et al. primarily focused on the European Union. Melis et al. then compared these policies and interventions from these European Union countries to those within the United States. For this reason these three geographic areas will be the focus of this review on international case studies and commentaries on mixed communities.

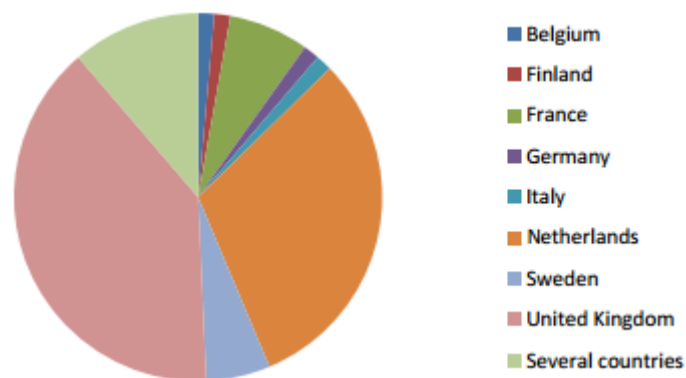


Figure 4 – Countries Included in Melis et al. Study (Melis et al., 2013, p.11).

The purpose of this section is to present the experience shared from other jurisdictions in terms of mixed communities. These experiences offer alternative approaches to the planning, implementation and management of mixed communities which this research can draw upon.

United Kingdom

As explained by Melis et al. the concept of social mix first surfaced in the United Kingdom around the 1800s. Melis et al. (2013, p.16) terms this as the “old style liberalism of utopian experiments” when historical instances of class-based segregation, brought by capitalist urbanisation, was sought to be reversed. The influence behind this shift was that the upper and middle classes would become more sympathetic to the problems of the poor, and the poor would be encouraged to imitate their behaviours. With the turn of the twentieth century and Sir Ebenezer Howard’s garden city movement saw the emergence of the utopian concept of ‘social unity through diversity’. This early version of social mix was understood to be an effective mechanism for granting equal access to adequate housing and quality urban amenities (Rose et al., 2013). Subsequent community cohesion and regeneration policies were implemented, particularly in Britain, which prompted extensive slum clearances between the 1950s and 1970s (Melis et al., 2013). According to Monk et al., more substantive mixed tenure policy emerged in Britain in the late 1980s. An example of these tenure diversification efforts came under Estate Action, a council estate improvement scheme implemented between the 1980s and 1990s (Monk et al., 2011). More recently, British urban policy has sought to increase diversification across deprived neighbourhoods and urban space in attempts to “open up” these underdeveloped areas to new residents, developments and investment (Atkinson, 2008; Koutraikou, 2012; Bailey et al., 2006; Hills, 2007). Examples of these more recent British national policy prescriptions sought to facilitate social mixing and gentrification include:

- the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister’s *Sustainable Communities: People, Places and Prosperity* (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005),
- “use of Section 106 agreements requiring a proportion of affordable housing on private developments ... leading to a new generation of mixed tenure/income developments” (Lees, 2008, p.2645),
- the Market Renewal Pathfinders policy – controversial demolition scheme aimed at replacing low-cost and social housing with owner-occupied (Allen, 2008), and
- The ‘right to buy’ programs where public housing tenants are given the opportunity to purchase at a lower cost creating greater proportions of owner-occupiers (Melis et al., 2013), among others.

Lees (2008) argues that these increased efforts to gentrify and socially mix areas stems from British governments' ethos that reducing socio-spatial segregation is a positive outcome, "[strengthening] the 'social tissue' of deprived neighbourhoods" and creating more sustainable communities.

The emergence of planning legislation aimed at facilitating mixed tenure developments is also evident in Scotland, where Monk et al. (2011, p.6) note that a range of policies and guidance exist, "directly and indirectly [focussed] on the [Government's] commitment to the creation of mixed communities". An example of this commitment can be seen in Scotland's *Homes Fit for the 21st Century* housing strategy. The strategy, via "a radically different and innovative approach" to the provision of housing, includes "encouraging multi-tenure housing developments with developments for private sale or rent cross-subsidising the social rented sector" (Scottish Government, 2011, p.7). The importance of mix in housing is repeated throughout the strategy, where it is explicitly mentioned that projects which incorporate mix, among other aspects, will be awarded with Government funding (Scottish Government, 2011, p.17). The planning framework which encouraged this mix was set out in Scottish Planning Policy (SPP) 3 (revised 2008), which stated that "Scottish Government policy encourages more diverse, attractive and mixed-use residential communities, in terms of tenure, demographic and income" (Scottish Government, 2008, p.20). The 2008 SPP policy also stated that "as far as possible, the tenure of housing should be indiscernible from its design, quality or appearance", effectively encouraging tenure-blind integration in mixed housing developments, discussed previously in this research (Scottish Government, 2008, p.21). However, the SPP policy was replaced in 2010 and 2014 with updated versions where the importance of mix did not feature to any comparable extent.

From the above it is evident that the concept of mix (social mix and tenure mix) has featured strongly in planning policy in parts of the United Kingdom since the early 1950s. The primary influencing factors behind this continued pressure to implement these mix policies have been in attempts to reduce social exclusion and create more "sustainable communities". As explained by Lees (2008), the echo of United States poverty de-concentration policies are "quite apparent" in United Kingdom efforts (see next section).

United States

The presence of mixed communities, specifically those mixed in terms of income, are not a new phenomenon in the United States. According to Schwartz and Tajbakhsh (1997), there are some states and localities which have promoted their implementation since the 1970s. Mechanisms for encouraging mixed-income housing during this time was commonly through land-use regulations and tax-exempt financing. As explained by Schwartz and Tajbakhsh, this has particularly been evident in New York City where mixed-income housing “has long been a way of life” (Schwartz & Tajbakhsh, 1997, p.72). The concept of mixed-income housing has only emerged in national (Federal Government) level United States policy relatively recently, in attempts to revitalise the country’s public housing stock (Schwartz & Tajbakhsh, 1997). These attempts have achieved varying degrees of success, as discussed below.

The consistency of mixed communities (or lack of) in the United States has largely been criticised by public housing policy academics (Berube, 2005; Vale & Shamsuddin, 2015).

The US lacks any consistent policy commitment to the pursuit of mixed communities. Indeed, examples abound of how skilled the US is at creating unmixed communities (Berube, 2005, p.4).

One particular factor which could serve as the basis for this criticism is the significant comparable lack of United States central government involvement in housing. As explained by Melis et al. (2013), for most of the country’s history housing has been the responsibility of the private sector (Veldboer, Kleinhans & Duyvendak, 2002; Burgess, 1998). Consequently, most of the United States housing stock is privately owned, with very limited public housing supply (Melis et al., 2013). Berube partly attributes this criticism to the significant localised planning powers which upper-income neighbourhoods poses in preventing development of affordable housing in their communities. In addition, past instances of gentrification, notably the HOPE VI programme across the United States and Cabrini Green in Chicago, have led to infamous cases of significant low-income displacement (Smith, 2001).

The redevelopment of public housing [in the United States] is a form of ‘exclusive’ development that is designed to exclude the very poor from the revitalised spaces and render them safe for resettlement by the wealthy and affluent (Gotham, 2001, p.437).

This outcome, as noted earlier, equates with gentrification by stealth and has been a significant criticism of mixed communities and their development, particularly in the United States context. However, Berube (2005, p.4) simultaneously contradicts this negative viewpoint, arguing that due to a highly decentralised system of governance in the United States many “practical exceptions to these trends” have emerged. Berube, as compared to other public housing policy academics, is not as critical of the HOPE VI programme, pointing out several significant positive outcomes. According to research conducted by Turbov and Piper (2005) on HOPE neighbourhoods in Atlanta, Louisville and St Louis, there is strong evidence for these positive outcomes. Increases in median outcomes and labour force participation, decreases in crime (particularly violent crime), school improvements, and increased home sale prices in surrounding areas throughout HOPE VI projects in these cities have all been attributed to the programme (Turbov & Piper, 2005):

The changes occurring in HOPE VI neighbourhoods have radically altered the condition and perception of some of the most distressed places in the [United States] (Berube, 2005, p.42).

Furthermore, Berube notes the positive impact of research conducted in the United States on poor neighbourhood effects and prospects for mixed income housing in informing efforts both nationally and internationally, promoting economically integrated communities (Minton, 2002; Katz, 2004). However, Berube acknowledges the contentious policy surrounding the considerably low proportion of original residents of HOPE VI properties which return to the redeveloped sites:

HOPE VI grantees expect only 46 per cent of original residents return to the redeveloped sites (Berube, 2005, p.42).

From the above it is evident that while there have been some positive outcomes in relation to mixed community developments in the United States, particularly those under the HOPE VI programme, and the contribution that large bodies of research have made in informing practice both domestically and abroad, these are frequently overshadowed by considerably large proportions of resultant displacement.

Netherlands

According to Uitermark (2003), the Netherlands displays some of the most ambitious and well-funded social mixing policy internationally (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment, 1997). The idea behind mixed communities emerged in the country shortly following the second world war, where “the idea of the district as a relevant entity for its inhabitants was prominent” (Melis et al., 2013, p.18). The primary focus was on the mixing of functions rather than the mixing of groups which sets the Netherlands approach apart from other nations in terms of mix policy (Melis et al., 2013; Van der Horst, Kullberg & Deben, 2002; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). Melis et al., Van der Horst et al. and Goodchild and Cole (2001), however, acknowledge that there were some underlying notions surrounding the advantages of mixing social classes in Dutch urban policy.

The gradual emergence of social-mix in Dutch urban policy is well documented in Van Kempen and Bolt. As explained, it has now progressed to the point where social-mix has become a major policy and planning goal in the Netherlands (Melis et al., 2013; Musterd & Andersson, 2005). Examples of this explicit goal can be seen in the *Big Cities Policy* and *Urban Restructuring Policy*, initiated in 1994 and 1997 respectively, as shown in the table below. These urban policies not only targeted the physical, built-form and design features of the urban environment, but also had consideration for social and economic measures (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). Van Kempen and Bolt, in the White Paper on Urban Restructuring - published around the time the above policies were initiated, explain that at the time it was understood that a healthy future for cities could only occur with differentiated population composition (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment, 1997). This line of thinking led to the implementation of the Netherlands’ policy of ‘housing redifferentiation’, which has been underway since 1996 (Hulsbergen & Strouten, 2001; Musterd, Priemus & Kempen, 1999; Uitermark, 2003). Housing redifferentiation involves the removal of inexpensive dwellings in low income areas with the replacement of expensive dwellings, “the idea being to create a more socially mixed population in neighbourhoods via gentrification” (Lees, 2008, p.2455). However, research from Boschman, Bolt, Van Kempen and Van Dam (2013) on the effects of urban restructuring and new housing development, suggests that housing redifferentiation policy and the removal of low-income housing is not resulting in the replacement of high-income housing at the scale expected.

Rather, it was found that “the incomes of households moving out of those neighbourhoods are higher than the average income of households who move into those neighbourhoods” (Boschman et al., 2013, pp.240-241), indicating an increase in the concentration of low-income households due to selective mobility patterns. Furthermore, Uitermark, Duyvendak and Kleinhans (2007) note that when an influx of middleclass residents into a disadvantaged neighbourhood occurs this does not always increase social cohesion. Conversely, it is understood that contact between low-income and higher-income households “tend to be superficial at best and downright hostile at worst” (Lees, 2008, p.2456; Uitermark et al., 2007; Aalbers, 2006).

From the above it is evident that the policy action of social mix has featured prominently in Dutch urban policy. Examples of this can be seen in the Big Cities Policies, the Urban Restructuring Policy and most recently in the policy of housing redifferentiation (the removal and replacement of low-income housing with high-income housing in low-income neighbourhoods). However, the resultant social and income mixing sought has not eventuated, even resulting in an increase in the concentration of low-income households in some circumstances (Boschman et al., 2013). Furthermore, instances where an influx of middleclass residents into a disadvantaged neighbourhood has occurred this has not resulted in social cohesion, “[tending] to be superficial at best and downright hostile at worst” (Lees, 2008, p.2456). This has potentially led to Dutch policy-makers taking a step back from attempts to mix income groups in neighbourhoods. While the mixing of income groups is still seen as an important instrument in the revitalisation of Dutch cities, policy-makers “are gradually starting to realize that this ambition is unrealistic” and that mixed housing is decidedly “less decisive for socioeconomic and sociocultural integration than was expected” (Melis et al., 2013, p.19).

Table 6 - Urban policies, social issues and policy actions in the Netherlands (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2008, p.79).

Name of policy	Period	Definition of social issues	Typical policy actions
Creating CBDs	To 1970	None (stronger urban economy)	Demolition of old quarters
Urban renewal	1970–1980	Bad housing	New housing for neighbourhood residents
City renewal	1980–1990	Unemployment/ strength of economy	Improvement of economic climate
Multiple-problem	1985–1990	Disadvantaged in several respects	Moderate social policies, no physical upgrading
Social renewal	1990–1994	Lack of social cohesion	Moderate social policies stimulating participation
Big Cities Policy I	1994–1998	Homogeneous poor neighbourhood (segregated)	Neighbourhood restructuring, attract better-off
Big Cities Policy II	1998–2004	Housing career within neighbourhood	Creating opportunities in the neighbourhood
Big Cities Policy III	2004–2009	Ethnic concentrations/ integration	Neighbourhood restructuring, social mix
Big Cities Policy III+	From 2007	Ethnic and social integration	Neighbourhood restructuring, social mix, housing association involvement

Summary

The review of international case studies and commentary from the United Kingdom, the United States and the Netherlands on mixed communities above presents a mixed bag of experience. While intentions to revitalise public housing stock (United States), strengthen the ‘social tissue’ of deprived neighbourhoods (United Kingdom) and to provide for a healthy (sustainable) future for cities (Netherlands) originated, these have not always worked. Lees (2008), in her paper on the “uneasy cohabitation” between gentrification and social mix which reviewed the same international examples included within this chapter, encapsulates these less than successful efforts effectively below:

Socially mixed urban communities created by the in-movement of middle-class people into poor, marginal areas of the inner city are being posited, under the rubric of urban renaissance, as the desegregating answer to lives that are lived in parallel or in isolation along class, income, ethnic and tenurial fault lines. It is ironic that a process that results in segregation and polarisation—gentrification—is being promoted via social mix policies as the ‘positive’ solution to segregation (Lees, 2008, p.2463).

Although the ideals of mixed communities and the benefits of spatial diversity persist, there has been a change in tone in terms of the priority given to relevant mix policy and mixed housing developments by governments.

4 Background - State Housing in New Zealand

This chapter provides a brief history of central government involvement in housing in New Zealand. The purpose of this section is to provide a brief for those not familiar with housing and the state in New Zealand.

New Zealand has a comparatively long history of state involvement in housing. This history dates back to 1894 when the State Advances Office was formed (Housing New Zealand, 2016d). The State Advances Office, legislated under the Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894, was a central government operated intermediary by which advances on mortgages could be made available “on the security of farm lands and urban and suburban properties” (Centennial Branch, 1940, p.66). Centennial Branch (1940, p.66) explain that prior to this time it was evident that in order to quicken the development of New Zealand as a country it was “necessary to make some additional provision whereby settlers might obtain finance for land development purposes at economic interest rates”. This welfare focus quickly turned from settlers to ‘workers’ where Montgomery (2016) explains that “modest reforms to enable the provision of housing for ‘workers’ had been carried out since the turn of the century”. These reforms included the: Workers Dwellings Act 1905, Government Advances to Workers Act 1906, Workers Dwelling Act 1910, Housing Act 1919 and the State Advances Amendment Act 1923 (Montgomery, 2016). According to Montgomery (2016), these reforms were “largely piecemeal”, aimed at getting workers into affordable private housing (Boyce, 2010).

Following the sudden and devastating collapse of United States stock market prices in 1929 known as the Wall Street Crash or Black Tuesday which marked the start of the Great Depression the Reform Government reacted by immediately cutting public spending (Boyd, 2011, p.27). At the end of 1920s state-funded houses represented nearly half of those being built in New Zealand, which meant this cut on public spending had a significant effect on the building sector, resulting in the overcrowding of urban areas (Boyd, 2011; Schrader, 2005). With the election of the first Labour Government in 1935 came a commitment to address housing shortages in New Zealand.

Up to this point central government had only been involved in the housing market simply as a financier. Now, it intended to enter the market as a developer of large-scale housing programmes, came to be known as ‘state housing’ (Montgomery, 2016).

The first official ‘state house’ in New Zealand, provided for those on the welfare system, was opened in 1937 at 12 Fife Lane, Miramar, Wellington (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014). The image shown below (*Figure 5*) displays former New Zealand Prime Minister, Michael Joseph Savage, carrying a “cumbersome dining table through a cheering throng toward the house's threshold” (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014). Schrader writes: “For the government, the Prime Minister's deed was intended to emphasise that he was the servant of 'the people', not above manual labour. David McGregor, son of the original tenant, wasn't convinced by the gesture. He wryly recalled that Savage dropped the table as soon as he was through the front door. Whatever the motivation, the image endured in the public imagination and became, for many, the defining symbol of the first Labour government's state housing programme” (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014).



Figure 5 - The first state house, 1937 (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014).

The construction of state housing took full force in 1937, the aim being to construct 5,000 houses at a cost of \$3 million New Zealand Dollars (NZD) (\$326 million NZD in 2016) (Montgomery, 2016). According to Schrader (2005), 57 state houses were being constructed weekly by February 1939, which Labour intended to be “houses that weren’t modernistic, or period, or quaint, but faced the sun and suited the climate and didn’t pretend to be anything else but good common-sense houses for New Zealanders to live in” (Schrader, 2000, p. 132).

Following three changes in government and increased efforts to stop the construction of state housing by the first and second National Government’s the general perception towards state housing was largely negative. As explained by Boyd (2011, p.41), throughout the 1960s “negative perceptions and stereotypes of state housing areas became firmly entrenched in the minds of New Zealanders”. Schrader (2006, p.159) discusses the media as largely depicting state housing areas as “riddled with crime, violence and gangs”. Furthermore, in 1950 state houses were made available for sale, which had varying levels of success for the National Government (Schrader, 2005). In 1971, the Commission of Inquiry into Housing, appointed to investigate and report on state housing and housing legislation in New Zealand, recommended that the building of large-scale state housing areas cease (Schrader, 2005). However, in keeping up with demand central government continued to construct state housing, reaching a peak of 70,000 state houses in the early 1990s (Rankine, 2005).

In 2001, the current HNZ Corporation was established. It was an amalgamation of former Housing New Zealand, the Housing Corporation, and part of the Ministry of Social Policy, so that policy and administration for New Zealand’s state housing could be administered by a single agency (Schrader, 2005). On their website HNZ (2016d) explain that “while organisational names have changed over time, the common theme among all Housing New Zealand’s predecessors is a commitment to providing quality, affordable homes for New Zealanders”.

In 2011, HNZ began a new national redevelopment programme aimed at creating more “mixed communities” (Housing New Zealand, 2016b). In the Auckland suburb of Glen Innes (Northern Glen Innes Redevelopment Project) HNZ plans to redevelop 156 properties to create at least 260 new houses, including: 78 owned by HNZ, at least 39 other market-based affordable houses, and, the remainder for private sale (Housing New Zealand, 2016b).

In January 2015, Prime Minister John Key, leader of the Fifth National Government of New Zealand, in his “state of the nation” speech announced plans to reduce central government involvement in the provision of social housing, transferring more responsibility to community housing providers. As part of this plan 2,000 of the country's total 69,000 state houses were planned to be sold by January 2016, and 8,000 by 2017, sparking much controversy (Radio New Zealand, 2015). Policy officials’ advice to the government was that while “access to affordable housing would increase as community providers boosted their capacity” as a result of the policy there are also major risks involved, “including the need to ensure community providers were financial sustainable and that tenants were protected against unfair treatment” (Radio New Zealand, 2015).

In summary, New Zealand’s history of central government involvement in the provision of housing dates back to 1905 with the passing of the Liberal government's Workers' Dwellings Act. In the late 1920s at the height of the Great Depression issues of increasing overcrowding and housing shortages were taking their toll on New Zealand’s urban areas. With the election of the first Labour Government in 1935 came a commitment to address these issues. The first official ‘state house’ was opened in 1937 at 12 Fife Lane, Miramar, Wellington, marking the transition from financier to large-scale developer for central government. However, with the election of subsequent National Government’s came a reorientation of focus towards the sale of state housing in the promotion homeownership and directing the provision of housing towards the poor. Although negative perceptions and stereotypes of state housing were prevalent in the 1960s and a Commission of Inquiry into Housing in 1971 recommended that the building of large-scale state housing areas in New Zealand cease, central government continued its state housing construction programmes in efforts to facilitate growing demand. More recently, HNZ initiated a national redevelopment programme aimed at creating more “mixed communities”, the Northern Glen Innes Redevelopment Project an example, which is of particular relevance to this research.

5 Current Context - Public Housing in New Zealand

This chapter examines the current environment in which mixed communities exist in New Zealand. The purpose of this section is to provide context to those not familiar with housing and welfare circumstances in New Zealand.

Public Housing in the Media

As discussed by Boyd (2011) and Schrader (2006, p.159) state housing in New Zealand has historically been represented negatively in the media, depicted as areas “riddled with crime, violence and gangs”. It can be argued that this negative perception persists today, the below section providing evidence that state housing in the media has become synonymous with issues such as criminal activity, declining housing standards and unjustifiably-long waiting times.

One particular matter which has sparked recent media attention surrounding New Zealand state housing is the increasing presence of drug contamination (Preston, 2016; Newstalk ZB, 2016; Bateson, 2016; Watkins, 2016; Housing New Zealand, 2016e; Lines-Mackenzie, 2016; Collins, 2016a). The HNZ manager of chemical programmes told media that in 2015 the agency had carried out more than 1000 methamphetamine tests, 800 of those returning positive results (Collins, 2016a). According to Preston (2016), HNZ has spent \$5.8 million on the testing and cleaning of state houses contaminated with methamphetamine (P) just this year. The figure was released under the Official Information Act, which also showed that this cost has alarmingly increased from \$2.317 million in 2014/15 and \$711,106 in 2013/14 (Preston, 2016). Then HNZ Minister, Bill English, explained that this increasing prevalence of “P contamination” in state housing “illustrates that challenge of dealing with some of our reckless, irresponsible and criminal tenants” (Newstalk ZB, 2016). A potentially worrying trend when HNZ aims to deliver 7,500 additional social housing units over the next 10 to 15 years via government programmes in the Auckland region alone (Newstalk ZB, 2016).

Gayle Petch, a ‘Keep Victory Safe’ community developer, also discusses the findings of a high prevalence of domestic violence in New Zealand state housing, which emerged following targeted workshops and Statistics New Zealand data (Redmond, 2016).

Although government has responded with state housing policy targeted at law breaking tenants, such as shown in Stuff News (2011) and Slater (2014), they have yet to have a noticeable impact (Redmond, 2016).

Another “apparently damning” media headline trend, and a topic which has dominated public discussion in recent years, is the poor “state” of state housing in New Zealand. In an opinion article on Stuff News, David Armstrong (2014) describes the “once-proud state housing areas [becoming] graffiti-filled slums, resembling the very places they had been built to eliminate”. Maori Party co-leader, Marama Fox, also slammed government on the topic of state housing, calling government the country’s biggest slumlord (Gulliver, 2015a):

More needs to be done – the Government says it is moving towards doing that, but until that happens to a good quality, to a good standard, then they are essentially the biggest slumlords of this country, and they need to be doing something about that (Marama Fox as quoted in Gulliver, 2015a).

According to a study conducted on state houses, Marama explains that 95 percent of homes failed the “warrant of fitness trial” (as quoted in Gulliver, 2015a). Between January and November in 2015 HNZ received 26,587 maintenance related complaints (Stuff News, 2015). These complaints related to approximately 69,000 properties which HNZ is responsible for, of which over the same time period there were 440,317 requests for maintenance (Stuff News, 2015). In 2015 the poor living conditions within New Zealand’s state housing were in the news headlines again, being attributed to the deaths of Soesa Tovo and Emma-Lita Bourne (Robins, 2015; Walters, Fagan & Small, 2015). Green Party co-leader, Metiria Turei, in response to the coroner's report into the death of Emma-Lita highlighted the importance of immediate action by Government in putting in place a warrant of fitness for all state houses (Walters et al., 2015). Turei explained that the common deferred maintenance on state housing was partially responsible for a “state housing stock in such poor condition that children's health and ultimately their lives are being put at risk” (Walters et al., 2015).

The remaining headline trend which has become synonymous with state housing in the media is the unjustifiably-long waiting times which individuals and families are not able to be placed in permanent housing (Fox, 2014; Collins, 2016b; Fallon, 2016; Ministry of Social Development, 2016b; Gulliver, 2015b).

According to the Ministry of Social Development (2016b), which is responsible for managing applications for social housing, as at 30 September 2016 there were 5,770 applications on the Housing Register and the Transfer Register, an increase of 29.2 per cent compared to the year previous. Fallon (2016) reports that across New Zealand while 2,486 social housing properties lie vacant, 5,012 would-be tenants crowd the waiting list. While Fallon acknowledges that some of this vacancy is the result of earthquake strengthening, methamphetamine contamination and “pending sales”, these circumstances are “convenient” and are being “used as a guise to let houses sit empty”. Labour housing spokesman, Phil Twyford, was quoted as saying that “it's incompetent and callous to allow so many state houses to lie empty when there are so many families desperate for a roof over their heads” (Fallon, 2016).

In summary, there is an argument that continuation of historical negativity towards state housing in the media persists today. These arguments are centred around issues of criminal activity, declining housing standards and unjustifiably-long waiting times.

Public Housing System Structure

As mentioned previously, HNZ is the Crown agency (under the Crown Entities Act 2004) responsible for the provision of housing services for people in need in New Zealand. As per their website, HNZ is a statutory corporation set up under the Housing Corporation Act 1974 (Housing Corporation Amendment Act 2001) (Housing New Zealand, 2016c). HNZ is administered by a board which link the corporation and its functions and operation with Government. There are three Ministers responsible for HNZ. These currently include:

- Bill English - Minister Responsible for HNZ and Minister of Finance
- Paula Bennett - Minister for Social Housing
- Nick Smith - Minister for Building and Housing.

The responsibility of the above Ministers in relation to HNZ and its operation are as follows (Housing New Zealand, 2016c). The Minister Responsible for HNZ has direct responsibility for HNZ, tabling the corporation’s Statement of Intent and Statement of Performance Expectations - documents which outline the objectives and annual plan for the corporation, also mechanisms for measuring operational and financial performance - in Parliament. In addition, along with the Minister of Social Housing, the Minister conveys Government’s expectations and monitors the performance of the corporation.

The Minister for Social Housing also has the responsibility for Government's social housing functions and the resultant relationship with the wider social housing sector. Lastly, the Minister for Building and Housing has a focus on issues relating to housing affordability and construction.

Under the Social Housing Reform (Housing Restructuring and Tenancy Matters Amendment) Act (SHRA) 2013 organisations referred to as community housing providers (CHPs) can also deliver subsidised rental housing or community housing. Within Section 19 of the SHRA the following interpretation is provided:

***social housing** means HNZ housing or community housing.*

***community housing** means any premises that are let or to be let by or on behalf of a registered community housing provider for occupation by any person as a place of residence (whether or not the premises are owned by the provider or any other person)*

***community housing provider** means a housing provider (other than HNZ or the Corporation) that has, as 1 of its objects, the provision of one or both of the following types of housing:*

(a) social rental housing;

(b) affordable rental housing

According to the Ministry of Social Development (2016a), “to become a provider of social housing receiving the income-related rent subsidy, you would need to be eligible and achieve registration with the Community Housing Regulatory Authority (CHRA) first ... once registered with CHRA, you would then enter a contract with the Ministry of Social Development for the tenancy services you intend to provide and receive the income-related rent subsidy for”. The CHRA, legislated under the SHRA, “provide an assurance to Government that registered [CHPs] are well governed, remain viable, and deliver appropriate housing services to their client group” (Community Housing Regulatory Authority, 2016). According to the CHRA (2016) website, as of the 20th of October, 2016, there were 49 total registered CHPs throughout New Zealand.

Local councils also provide a range of rental housing, often bundled under the term “social housing” along with government-subsidised housing (Community Law, 2016). This housing is, however, outside and separate from Government's subsidised rental housing system.

In short, the New Zealand government provides subsidised rental housing through HNZ (which manages state-owned housing) and through CHPs under the CHRA and the SHRA. HNZ is administered by a board and is the responsibility of the Minister Responsible for HNZ and Minister of Finance, the Minister for Social Housing and the Minister for Building and Housing. Local councils also provide rental housing which is separate from Government's subsidised rental housing system.

Mixed Community Initiatives - New Zealand

As mentioned earlier, there are very few mixed community developments carried out to date which are labelled as such. The experiences of practitioners has tended to be limited to one or two initiatives, some of which will be discussed below. This is reflected in the interview results in the following chapter.

The **Northern Glen Innes Redevelopment Project**, as discussed previously, is part of a national HNZ redevelopment programme aimed at creating mixed communities. The project includes the redevelopment of 156 properties to create at least 260 new houses, including: 78 owned by HNZ, at least 39 other market-based affordable houses, and, the remainder for private sale (Housing New Zealand, 2016b). The redevelopment project has drawn significant media attention over the controversial nature of the development (Carnegie, 2015; Priestley, 2014, 2015; Grieveson, 2015). 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 (Forbes, 2013; Chisholm, 2014). This is reminiscent of the concept of ‘gentrification by stealth’ discussed earlier by Bridge et al. (2012). The redevelopment project has also faced criticism over slow progress and resultant displacement of state housing tenants (Priestley, 2014; Grieveson, 2015). Cole (2015) researched the Northern Glen Innes Redevelopment Project, particularly the physical displacement of tenants and the vague terms used to frame the project by developers and policy makers. Cole found that mixed communities ultimately involve the displacement of the current tenants, quoted as saying “*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*” (Cole quoted in Carnegie, 2015). Cole also explained that through her research it became evident that goals of social harmony, affordable housing and a reduction of anti-social behaviour which the Government hoped to achieve through these developments were not being realised.

399 Manchester Street, shown in *Figure 6* and *Figure 7* below, is what could be termed as a “pure mixed-tenure” development (this term discussed later) situated in central Christchurch. The site was developed by Manchester Street Trustees Limited on behalf of the HNZ Corporation (owner). In publicity materials HNZ (2016a) promote the development as “a successful example of mixed tenure living”, all of the units being “fully double glazed and insulated with efficient panel heating, off-street parking, communal areas and right in the heart of the newlook Christchurch CBD”. Furthermore, according to HNZ (2016a), the site originally sited six three-bedroomed houses. Now it comprises 18 two-bedroomed houses and a further eight one bedroom properties.

Legacy Property, a private property development company involved with the 399 Manchester development, describe the project as being “an innovative development solution, providing [New Zealand’s] first mixed-tenure housing option” (Legacy Property, 2016). Legacy Property (2016) further describe the development as being “built to the latest design specifications, highlighting quality and sustainability”, including: open plan interior spaces; courtyards and balconies for ground floor and upper floor units respectively; fixtures and fittings chosen with durability, quality, and style in mind; skylights; bike parking; communal vegetable gardens; rainwater tanks, roof solar panels, and a 6-star home rating.

A news article on the development’s pre-construction and resource consenting processes was included in *The Press* in 2013 (The Press, 2013). Comments from HNZ’s asset development general manager Sean Bignell were included in the article. Bignell described the concept of mixed-tenure apartments as being “internationally recognised as a positive way of providing both social and affordable housing in environments that are safe, environmentally attractive and enable better community living” (The Press, 2013). Bignell also claimed that the development was planned as part of HNZ’s programme to build 700 homes over the next three years, and would be the “benchmark” for similar projects throughout New Zealand, particularly Auckland.



Figure 6 - 399 Manchester Street - Concept Drawings (NovoGroup, 2016; Housing New Zealand, 2016a).



Figure 7 - 399 Manchester Street - Completed Development (Open2View, 2016).

Three other examples of mixed-tenure developments in Christchurch discussed within the interview results chapter include **111-113 Elizabeth Street** and **10-18 Rex Street**, **64-74 Vanguard Drive** and **Carey Street**. Aerial photographs and concept drawings for these applications are included in **Appendix B**. It is noted that these applications are at different stages of the development process, some having recently been granted consent and others partially through the construction process.

111-113 Elizabeth Street and 10-18 Rex Street is another example of a site developed by Manchester Street Trustees Limited on behalf of the HNZ Corporation (owner). 64-74 Vanguard Drive is a joint venture between Enterprise Homes Ltd, a private land development and residential housing company, and HNZ. Carey Street is different in that it is an application which has been applied for and will be delivered by the Christchurch City Council, replacing existing social housing on site.

6 Interview Results

The following interview results are presented in the format that questions were asked of each participant.

Involvement in Mixed Communities

Between the interview participants there was a wide range of direct and indirect involvement in mixed community developments. As mentioned previously, the concept of mixed communities is relatively new to New Zealand, and for this reason the majority of participants could only share experiences from the past five or so years. An exception to this was Tim Church, Senior Principal and Urban Designer for Boffa Miskell, who during time overseas in the United Kingdom working in both the public and private sectors had been involved with housing regeneration projects, and more generally housing, equating to a combined experience of over 20 years, which included intermittent exposure to mixed communities research and development. The experience of the remaining participants, in relation to mixed communities, is included below.

Tim Allan, Development Strategist for HNZ in Christchurch, has been involved with the repair and replacement of 5,000 and 700 social housing units respectively in Christchurch following the September 2010 and February 2011 Canterbury earthquakes. 399 Manchester Street is an example of a completed mixed tenure development which was part of the HNZ Earthquake recovery effort.

Ruth Markham-Short, Planner at the Christchurch City Council, has been involved with the preparation and processing of resource consent applications, working in both the public and private sectors, for primarily residential developments. Through this, Ms. Markham Short has processed a number of resource consent applications that were lodged by either HNZ or development partners of HNZ considered mixed tenure developments, including Rex and Elizabeth, 64-72 Vanguard and 399 Manchester.

Lee Sampson, Senior Project Manager with the Christchurch City Council, got involved in the housing sphere “three or four years ago” at a time when the Council’s social housing stock experienced significant damage as a result of the Canterbury earthquakes. Since then Mr. Sampson has been involved with the project management of replacing 61 social housing units and repairing approximately 250. Andrews Crescent and Carey Street are two proposed developments which Mr. Sampson has been involved with which include a mixture of market, affordable and/or social tenures.

Rose Lythe, Social Worker with the Catholic Social Services in Auckland, has worked within the boundaries of the Catholic Diocese in Auckland for the past 30 years. This has included representing clients in and around Tamaki and Glen Innes, and more specifically those which have been involved with the Northern Glen Innes Redevelopment Project, a comparatively large HNZ mixed community initiative.

Paul Cottam, Principal Advisor of Social Policy for the Christchurch City Council, has been involved with mixed community and mixed tenure developments overseeing the formation of the Council’s most recent housing policy which supports mixed tenure developments particularly by community housing providers.

Defining Mixed Communities

Mr. Allan, defined mixed communities, more specifically mixed tenure, as these where social housing tenants are not “pigeon holed” or concentrated in a single area. Mr. Allan explained that experiences in Europe have taught that concentrations of 30 per cent or more of social housing within an area are not desirable as the community is not resilient enough to absorb that impact, having a negative effect on the wider community. Concentrations of 15 to 20 per cent were considered more appropriate, depending on the particular context, where issues such as facilities management and the concept of the ‘tragedy of the commons’ could largely be mitigated. Mr. Sampson also supported these concentrations, stating that he would be “suspicious of any ratios over 30 per cent”, noting that establishing appropriate ratios within each development depends on the local context of the application site.

“...if you’re going to put that social element too high you’re actually going to affect the marketability of the market housing”

(Sampson, pers. comm)

Mr. Allan built upon the above notion, stating the risks involved, particularly in relation to the risk that the developer faces in the marketability of the private units, and explained that HNZ preferred “more dispersed development”.

“...they’re then taking a market risk of the balance of the units and I would suggest their ability to realise their true price on those is degraded by having Housing New Zealand units in the development”

(Allan, pers. comm)

It is noted that these concentrations mentioned above were considered ‘rules of thumb’ and do not apply in every circumstance.

Mr. Church defined mixed tenure as achieving the three predominant types of tenure which comprise the housing continuum (private, affordable and social) within a traditional community. The housing continuum, as demonstrated by the Christchurch City Council in their draft housing policy (adopted November 2nd, 2016) and Boffa Miskell in their “focus housing” special feature, is displayed in *Figure 8* and *Figure 9* below. Mr. Cottam also supported this configuration of mix, stating that mixed communities “get away from gated communities at the high end” while also “[getting] away from ghettoised communities at the other end”. Mr. Church explained that there are various ways and various grains that mixed tenure can be achieved, with the example of pepper potting, and that the appropriate level of mix must be achieved before the benefits of mixed tenure can be realised.

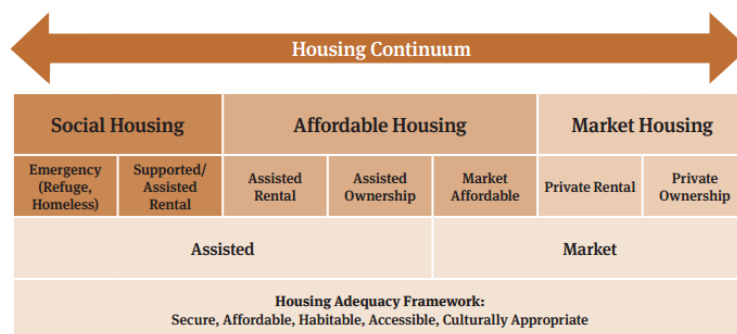


Figure 8 - Housing Continuum (Christchurch City Council, 2016, p.4).

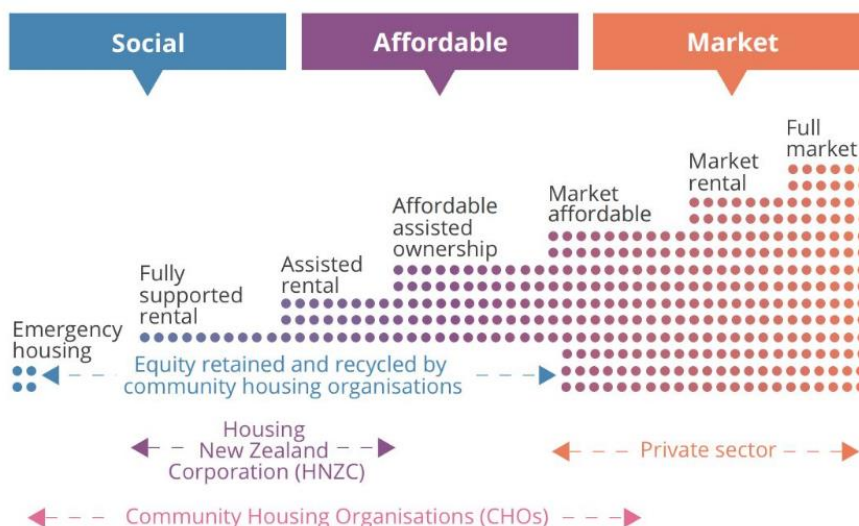


Figure 9 - Housing Continuum (Community Housing Aotearoa, 2016).

The Benefits and Weaknesses

Mr. Allan discussed the primary benefits of mixed communities as creating a more resilient and supportive local community, and that this could “only help [Housing New Zealand’s] tenants potentially make a step up into private rentals themselves”. This notion was built upon by Mr. Church, explaining that mix within a community develops a more tolerant community, representing the broad spectrum of people within society. It was understood that this broad spectrum should not only incorporate differences in income, but also differences in ability, such as individuals or groups of people with mental and/or physical disabilities. Mr. Cottam added that creating a diverse mix of people living within an area makes that community more socially sustainable, and noted that a mix of market, affordable and social housing enabled people from all walks of life to live and stay within a community.

With a more economic focus, Mr. Church and Ms. Markham-Short, explained that as a developer having a guaranteed purchaser, which in the case of mixed community developments may be the respective central or local government, provides financial security and helps with bank lending, profit margins and so on. The leveraging of risk associated with mixed community developments was also discussed by Mr. Sampson, which in the case of the Carey Street application and the financial model that was proposed to be used, gave Council the opportunity and the capital to go ahead with such a project.

“A lack of capital forces innovation!”

(Sampson, pers. comm)

Mr. Church discussed another benefit of mixed tenure developments which was the “rub off” benefits which are experienced as a result of having market and affordable/social housing types within a single development. What Mr. Church meant by this was that some of the typical qualities which are developed for the market properties, such as landscape amenity, and affordable/social properties, such as community facilities, can be enjoyed by all tenure types. Mr. Church explained that he witnessed these “rub off” benefits overseas and to a certain extent in Christchurch, where mixed tenure helped the whole community rather than just one particular subset of that community.

Ms. Markham-Short discussed the primary risk associated with such developments as being the management of tenants within a mixed context from the perspective of a housing provider (e.g. Housing New Zealand). Ensuring that tenants are able to integrate successfully across the different tenure types was understood to be crucial in achieving the benefits of mixed communities. Mr. Sampson and Mr. Cottam also discussed the crucial nature of integration across tenures, and believed that achieving the ideal concentration of mix between the market, affordable and social units would pay dividends in terms of the long-term sustainability of that community.

Ms. Lythe was particularly critical of the risks associated with the concept of ‘gentrification by stealth’, discussed previously within this research. It is noted that Mr. Cottam also recognised the potential risk associated with gentrification and subsequent displacement of inhabitants within mixed community developments. Ms. Lythe believed the Glen Innes Redevelopment Project to be a “takeover” by Government to acquire land within a “very sought after area”.

“I actually think this is a bit of a takeover of those communities to be honest”

“...at some point it’ll be said that it’s not working and they’ll just sell the lot and then they’ve got the neighbourhood which they’ve wanted forever and that land and that neighbourhood so for me it’s just a step to take it over”

“...send the poor out and we’ll take over the nicer part”

(Lythe, pers. comm)

Difficulties Faced

Mr. Allan discussed one of the difficulties HNZ has faced in owning social housing units within mixed-tenure developments as the different relationship they have with a tenant as compared to the private market and a body corporate. Mr. Allan used the example of a tenant creating a nuisance, explaining that in the case of a private market tenant this would most likely result in the body corporate issuing a couple of warnings and then potentially terminating the tenancy, whereas in the case of a social housing tenant they would most likely remain, depending on the extent of that nuisance activity.

“So our tenants have a stronger tenure in a rental situation than a private sector tenant, which is an interesting way of looking at it”

(Allan, pers. comm)

Mr. Allan explained the strain that this circumstance puts on the relationship between HNZ and body corporates, and noted that this may demonstrate “a lack of maturity on all sides, but that’s what happens”.

Ms. Markham-Short noted the difficulties that she had faced in relation to assessing applications for mixed tenure developments as a planner for a consenting authority (Christchurch City Council). Ms. Markham-Short mentioned that “there wasn’t really anything in the Plan that you could hang your hat on in terms of assessing these developments”, and that they were generally assessed as ‘normal’ residential developments. Mr. Allan shared this opinion, commenting that rules relating to community housing were “only very recently” implemented, and prior to that HNZ’s applications were, again, generally assessed as ‘normal’ residential developments. However, Mr. Allan did acknowledge that to assess mixed community developments as something fundamentally different from ‘normal’ residential developments “[worked] against the grain of mixed tenure by definition”, particularly in terms of tenure-blind integration, explained previously within this research.

Lastly, Mr. Church discussed the difficulties associated with stand-alone social housing units within a mixed tenure development, particularly in terms of maintenance. It was acknowledged that from experience having social housing units clustered within these developments was beneficial for all parties involved.

However, these clusters should be relatively small as to not negatively impact tenure-blind integration and/or replicate the negative effects associated with concentrated deprivation, discussed previously within this research.

Recommendations for Future Processes

Mr. Allan used the 399 Manchester Street development to explain the great lengths that HNZ had gone through to get the development under contract.

“...the documentation was a good four inches thick and I think it took a year to put together, so gives you an idea... it’s actually quite complex where the risks lie and how they are allocated”

(Allan, pers. comm)

Mr. Allan noted that the process usually involved HNZ selling the land to a private developer, who would then develop the site and sell a portion of the units back to HNZ. As discussed previously, this process can create risks for the developer in terms of the marketability of the private units within a mixed community development. Mr. Allan proposed that a solution to this would involve HNZ simply purchasing a cluster of units within a comprehensive development, effectively removing the risks involved with selling units to the private market under the assumption that social housing units would be situated next door. Ultimately, Mr. Allan believed the entire process could be further streamlined and simplified, “[achieving] the same outcomes without all of the complexities”.

Mr. Allan also recommended, using the example of 64-74 Vanguard Drive, that social housing units within a comprehensive or subdivision development be placed equitably within the site. This means that social housing units should not only be placed in areas deemed ‘less desirable’ within a mixed community development. With reference to 64-74 Vanguard Drive, this ‘less desirable’ characteristic of the development included proximity to powerlines which ran through the adjoining Broomfield Common, as shown in **Appendix B**. It was understood that the social housing units located within 64-74 Vanguard Drive were to be dispersed in clusters throughout the development, a positive outcome in terms of equitable siting. Mr. Church also supported the equitable placement of social and/or affordable units within a mixed tenure development.

“with mixed tenure the social rented or the affordable more often than not get the worst part of the site, get shoved in the corner...and some might not have the best amenity, they might be put next to a highway or could be used as a buffer or they could be in the least valued land...if you are going to follow a mixed tenure development you’ve got to be quite human about it”

(Church, pers. comm)

Along with equitable placement, Mr. Church endorsed the high quality finish that must be achieved in social housing units within a mixed community development. The rationale was that social housing units, which typically face more intensive use and higher occupancies, have to be robust as to stand the test of time. These sustainable elements included “good quality architecture, good quality design [and] good quality landscaping”, positively contributing to the overall resilience of the community.

Ms. Markham-Short recommended that restrictions could be placed on those who can purchase private market units within a mixed community development. The reasoning behind this was that rental units do not provide the same positive effects as owner/occupier units in terms of the relationship between different tenure types. Ms. Markham-Short believed rental units to be “too transient”, not providing for the established relationships by which social housing tenants can effectively benefit from.

Ms. Markham-Short and Mr. Cottam also recommended that these developments be placed in close proximity to appropriate services and infrastructure to ensure that social housing tenants are not just left to their own devices. This included improved access to mobility, healthcare and amenities as compared to the general public, creating a more “holistic development”.

“If you’re going to put social housing tenants in with everyone else you’ve got to give them the support as well otherwise you just kind of dump them and hope that the market will save them”

(Anonymous, pers. comm)

Lastly, Mr. Cottam recommended that there be an “appropriate mix of size” and consideration of diversity in these developments. This meant that social housing units within mixed community developments should cater for families of all different sizes and needs (e.g. one bedroom to four bedroom homes). This comes back to the notion of ‘holistic development’, discussed above, but in the sense of accounting for the demographic in an area.

The ‘Enduring’ Characteristics

Mr. Allan discussed the most significant enduring characteristic of mixed community developments as being successful tenure-blind integration within a supportive community. It was believed that this support could allow tenants to achieve independent housing within 5 years.

“The test of time is if you in return in 10 years, can you pick out the social houses?”

(Allan, pers. comm)

Mr. Church, Mr. Sampson and Mr. Cottam also supported tenure-blind or tenure-neutral integration as being the most significant enduring characteristic of mixed community developments.

“...ultimately within these complexes the idea is to achieve tenure-blind. In other words, when you look at the house you’re building from the outside you can’t tell who is in it or whether it’s social, affordable or market”

(Cottam, pers. comm)

Although, Ms. Markham-Short did acknowledge that achieving complete tenure-blind integration, in terms of design and layout, is not always possible. Ms. Markham-Short explained that social housing tenants have different needs to that of typical owner/occupiers or private renters, and that this need must be reflected in the ‘spec’ of the dwellings (e.g. more or less durable paint, carpet, furniture etc.).

Mr. Cottam concluded by reiterating that consideration of diversity, “a good healthy mix of social, affordable and market” and access to services and infrastructure, would all contribute to the sustainability and effectiveness of mixed community developments.

Other Comments

Mr. Allan believed that while mixed communities do provide some significant benefits to inhabitants and the communities they live in, the focus should be on building high quality homes for those most in need. It was understood that mixed tenure developments may be best suited for countries which have significant population pressures, and that New Zealand “is a long way away from high density”.

Reinforcing the point she made earlier, Ms. Markham-Short believed mixed community developments should make a concerted effort to avoid transient tenant populations as to ensure that social housing tenants can benefit from established relationships. It was understood that this sense of ownership encouraged inhabitants to have pride and respect for the space they called home, particularly shared space. Ms. Markham-Short noted that the above was an important consideration in Crime Prevention through Environmental Design or CPTED analysis and urban design analysis.

Ms. Lythe commented that while the mixing of communities, particularly in Auckland, was a good idea, “a commitment to building a lot more [public housing]” should remain as the primary focus. It was understood that Auckland’s state housing was historically dispersed throughout the city, and that this led to positive outcomes for inhabitants and communities alike. However, Ms. Lythe repeatedly reinforced throughout the interview that Auckland, much like wider New Zealand, was critically short of space to house its most vulnerable, and that changes must be made before we can begin to think about the mixing of these populations.

“...a mixed community might be great but we haven’t got enough houses for people that really need them”

(Lythe, pers. comm)

Ms. Lythe also explained that she was not convinced that a lot of the Glenn Innes public housing units were past their used by date, which she understood to be one of the primary reasons for the redevelopment project. Ms. Lythe acknowledged that while some of the units were outdated and required a lot of deferred maintenance that there was no need to demolish them, especially considering the shortages of public housing which currently persist.

Lastly, Mr. Church highlighted that “this is the perfect time in the market” to be achieving mixed communities. It was understood that the housing market is currently strong and when demand for housing is high, people’s housing location criteria can become more tolerant of social mixing. Mr. Church believed that as mixed tenure and mixed communities are relatively new concepts in New Zealand, people, particularly developers, have a perception that these developments create significant issues, and that a change in perception was required to achieve the benefits of a more spatially diverse population.

“...as long as it provides the right level of amenity, the right accessibility, what they’re looking for in a home, in reality they don’t mind if they’re down the road from a social rented property”

(Church, pers. comm)

Summary

In summary, between interviewees there was much positivity towards the potential of mixed communities in New Zealand. It was understood that mixed communities should house those across the spectrum, and that while achieving the correct proportion of mix would pay dividends in terms of the long-term sustainability of neighbourhoods what these proportions should be or how to determine them was less clear. There was consensus that a tenure-blind approach was crucial to overall integration and a sense of community. However, there was also scepticism towards the market feasibility of mixed community developments and the underlying interests of Government and developers in gentrifying sought after neighbourhoods. Overall, it was anticipated that mixed community developments would only continue to grow in number in New Zealand, and that the process for planning, implementing and managing these developments must mature alongside this growth.

7 Discussion

The below discussion is intended to bring together the information and analysis presented in Chapters 2 through 6 and the implications of this on the initial objectives of this research (presented below).

- Have mixed community developments in New Zealand been informed from lessons learned internationally?
- If they have not been informed is this problematic?
- If it is problematic what improvements can and should be made best on international best practice?

Evidence of Ad Hoc Approach

As detailed in the literature review of this research, Saville-Smith et al. (2015, p.31), among others, conclude that the evidence surrounding de-concentration and social mix, both crucial elements of mixed communities, is weak, and in some cases the associated benefits are “mixed or remain undemonstrated”. The research conducted by Saville-Smith et al. was commissioned by the Families Commission, which operate under the name Superu (Social Policy Research and Evaluation Unit). Superu, a New Zealand crown entity, was established by the Families Commission Act 2003, with the purpose of “[increasing] the use of evidence by people across the social sector so that they can make better decisions and so improve the lives of New Zealanders, New Zealand’s communities, families and whanau” (Superu, 2016). According to Saville-Smith et al. the Minister of Social Housing, Paula Bennett, requested from Superu a review of the available evidence on the following specific research question:

What does the evidence show about the proportion of social housing in an area and outcomes for social housing tenants, and what factors mitigate possible negative outcomes?

In response, Saville-Smith et al. under Superu provided the following research which, again, concluded that the available evidence on de-concentration and social mix is mixed and undemonstrated.

For this reason one could reasonably assume that HNZ Zealand and the relevant Ministers (Minister Responsible for HNZ, Minister for Social Housing, and Minister for Building and Housing) would rely upon additional research demonstrating the more proven nature of mixed communities before undertaking any such developments. However, this has not been the case. To confirm this, a request under the Official Information Act 1982 for available information from the New Zealand Government on mixed communities research was made. The Minister of Social Housing, Paula Bennett, responded. This response, included in **Appendix C** below, referred back to Saville-Smith et al. as the leading body of research which the New Zealand government and consequently HNZ has relied upon. Furthermore, during interviews conducted as part of this research it became all the more apparent that those directly responsible for the planning, implementation and management of mixed community developments in New Zealand were following a similar ad hoc approach.

Risk of Ad Hoc Approach

As explained by Tunstall and Fenton (2006), the creation of mixed communities has significant repercussions for the surrounding and wider environments, meaning planners and policy makers will want to be all the more certain that these developments are being planned, implemented and managed effectively. In support of the above Cheshire (2007a, p.3) highlights that creating mixed communities “costs substantial resources that could be used directly to relieve poverty”, stating that the ‘onus of proof’ should be on the advocates of mixed communities in demonstrating their positive effect on social mix and deconcentration of poverty. Lastly, as discussed several times in this research, mixed communities in some instances have actually been found to have detrimental effects on residents and the surrounding environment which should prove as strong cautionary counsel to planners and policy makers, particularly in relation to the risks of gentrification and resultant displacement (Gotham, 2001; Lees, 2008; Uitermark et al., 2007; Bridge et al., 2012).

Steps Toward A Framework

During interviews conducted as part of this research, interviewees Ms. Markham-Short and Mr. Cottam discussed the absence of relevant assessment criteria against which relevant applications could be tested. As has been alluded to throughout this research, New Zealand, in terms of mixed communities, is essentially operating within a vacuum, relying upon self-reporting on a process which does not have a clear pedigree. This does not condemn existing mixed community developments thus far, but does strengthen the suggestion that New Zealand read against more aggregated knowledge gathered elsewhere.

It is acknowledged that HNZ's (2015, p.1) *urban design and development toolkit*, developed by the Ministry for the Environment, aimed at being a "starting point for a whole new approach to creating healthy mixed communities", presents a guide to the development of mixed communities in New Zealand. However, this toolkit is not currently a statutory document, meaning that it has no legal weighting, nor does it present any evidence which supports the claims within the document. Rather, it is intended to shape the underlying processes and discussions HNZ has with local authority planning teams and other key stakeholders. This research is not proposed to critique the content within this toolkit, but rather further generate discussion on the topic of mixed communities, particularly their effective implementation in New Zealand.

Assessment Criteria

In the absence of a formal commitment to using existing sources of guidance as the process continues a set of assessment criteria is perhaps the most efficient interim solution. This is set out as follows:

Table 7 - Assessment Criteria - Proposed Mixed Community Developments in New Zealand.

Assessment Matters	Rationale	Source
<p>Prerequisites to Development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assessment • Planning • Vision • Management 	<p>Implementation of the proper prerequisites during the initial planning processes is understood to produce an environment where mixed communities can thrive.</p>	<p>Bailey, Haworth, Manzi, Paranagamage and Roberts (2006); Tunstall and Fenton (2006); JRF (2006). Interviewee(s): Lee Sampson.</p>

<p>Layout of Development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blind-Tenure Integration • Concentration of Tenures • Equitable Consideration • Ease of Maintenance 	<p>Consideration of matters which relate to the spatial layout of developments such as tenure-blind integration or ‘pepper-potting’, concentration of tenures, equitable consideration towards non-market housing, and the (small) clustering of social housing units in ease of maintenance, has been demonstrated to pay dividends in terms of the long-term sustainability of mixed communities.</p>	<p>Housing New Zealand (2013); Galster (2010); Tunstall and Fenton (2006); Saville-Smith, Saville-Smith & James (2015); Monk, Clarke and Tang (2011); CCHRP (2005); Kearns, McKee, Sautkina, Cox and Bond (2013); Bailey et al. (2006); Groves, Middleton, Murie and Broughton (2003).</p> <p>‘Right to Buy’ scheme – United Kingdom.</p> <p>Interviewee(s): Tim Allan; Tim Church; Lee Sampson; Paul Cottam.</p>
<p>Connectivity and Access</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Services and Infrastructure 	<p>Ensuring that social housing tenants are able to maintain key social and health networks is also considered fundamental to the sustainability of mixed communities.</p>	<p>Saville-Smith et al. (2015).</p> <p>Interviewee(s): Ruth Markham-Short; Paul Cottam.</p>
<p>Design of Dwellings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blind-Tenure Integration • Responsive Design • Sustainable Spec 	<p>Social housing units within a mixed community context primarily face more intensive use and higher occupancies as well as stigmatisation from private market residents. It is recommended that a tenure blind approach as well as responsive design (incorporating sustainable spec) be implemented within these developments and surrounding processes to ensure effectiveness.</p>	<p>Sautkina, Bond and Kearns (2012); Harrison (2015); Tunstall and Fenton (2006); Clarke (2012); Williams (2009).</p> <p>Scottish Government 2008 SPP Policy – United Kingdom.</p> <p>Interviewee(s): Tim Allan; Tim Church; Lee Sampson; Paul Cottam.</p>
<p>Design of Shared Space</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban and Landscape Design 	<p>Design of shared space in terms of urban and landscape design is understood to be central to the benefits of mixed communities (i.e. integration). It is recommended that in the planning stage of relevant developments that the appropriate expertise is sought to ensure that shared space is designed in a way as to facilitate these benefits.</p>	<p>Bailey et al. (2006); Groves et al. (2003); Kearns et al. (2013); Tunstall and Fenton (2006); Rowlands, Murie and Tice (2006); Roberts (2007).</p> <p>Interviewee(s): Ruth Markham-Short.</p>

Retention Mechanisms	The risks of gentrification and subsequent displacement of vulnerable or low-income residents is recognised as a significant negative outcome of mixed community (social mix) developments. Therefore ‘retention mechanisms’ protecting the habitation of these residents is recognised as being essential.	Saville-Smith et al. (2015); Bridge, Butler and Lees (2012); Lees (2008). HOPE VI and Cabrini Green – United States. Interviewee(s): Rose Lythe; Paul Cottam.
Participatory Planning Approach <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-design • Community Empowerment 	The ideals of a participatory planning approach have been demonstrated to positively impact decision-making processes, adding legitimacy to a decision which has been made on a sound basis.	Smith (1973); IAP2 (2007, 2016); Arnstein (1969); Community Tool Box (2016); Montgomery (2016).

Note: The above has been formulated as an assessment criteria for comprehensive (masterplanned) mixed community developments with a focus on tenure mix. This is because this type of mix and development creation type are the most common currently found in New Zealand. In saying this, the above criteria can also be applied to other types of mix (e.g. income, generational) as well as different development creation types (e.g. through the evolution of older housing areas or the intentional alteration of existing social renting areas) to certain extents.

Prerequisites to Development

As discussed previously by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2006), four different creation types of mixed communities exist, including: (1) through the evolution of older housing areas, (2) as a by-product of mainstream housing development, (3) the overall masterplanning of new or large-scale renewal areas, and (4) the intentional alteration of existing social renting areas. While these creation types are all sought to create environments resulting in further mix, they each contain their own unique characteristics, which each present different strengths and weaknesses. The prerequisites discussed below will apply to varying degrees between these four creation types.

Furthermore, JRF (2006), through Bailey et al. (2006) and their ‘good practice guide’ for mixed community developments, recommend four essential prerequisites to achieving effective mixed communities. These include: clear *assessment* of local housing and market conditions; briefing and *masterplanning* processes which produce a diverse range of housing within an attractive environment, all effectively connected to the wider urban context; a *vision* which has wide stakeholder acceptance and which is adaptable; and, a system which provides for inclusive housing and environmental *management*. It is noted that the JRF recommends these prerequisites be implemented during the initial planning process as they become increasingly difficult to employ at later stages. Together these are expected to produce an environment in which mixed communities can thrive.

Tunstall and Fenton (2006) support the above, explaining that while the implementation and longer-term maintenance of mixed community developments may be “more complex”, elements such as realistic goal setting and attention towards local conditions and markets remain paramount to the effectiveness of these developments.

Interviewee Mr. Sampson also supported careful consideration of the surrounding and wider environments during the initial planning processes, and that elements such as the concentrations and location of tenure types were determinant on these existing and changing conditions.

Assessment of some of these prerequisites, particularly *assessment*, *planning* and *management* prerequisites indicated above, are requirements within the Resource Management Act 1991 resource consenting process. In accordance with Schedule 4 (information required in application for resource consent) of the RMA, an application for a resource consent must include assessment of the activity against the matters set out in Part 2 (purpose and principles) and any relevant provisions in documents referred to in Section 104(1)(b), which include national environmental standards, national and regional policy statements, regional and district plans, among others. Within Schedule 4 of the RMA there is also a requirement to prepare an assessment of the activity’s effects on the environment, also known as an AEE. The AEE is to address any actual or potential effects, alternatives, mitigation and affected persons associated with the proposed activity. These requirements set out in Schedule 4 are considered adequate and necessary in terms of Bailey et al.’s *assessment*, *planning* and *management* prerequisites for mixed community developments and their implementation in New Zealand.

In terms of a particular *vision* guiding the development of mixed communities in New Zealand, HNZ's (2015, p.5) *urban design and development toolkit* does to a degree provide for this vision.

Our vision is to transform our portfolio - to redevelop, regenerate and intensify our landholdings to achieve attractive, liveable and enduring results: world-class, healthy, vibrant, sustainable, mixed-use communities into which quality state housing solutions are seamlessly-integrated. In simple terms, we are writing the next chapter of the history of social housing in New Zealand.

Though this vision incorporates mixed-use communities more broadly (which includes a mix of activities and functions), it does provide for consideration of the diversity of the population, the driving force behind the creation of mixed communities, as discussed throughout this research. In saying this, there is no indication of who has been involved in the formulation of this vision, nor does it have any legal weighting. For this reason it is recommended that representatives from HNZ (among other community housing providers) and local government representatives come together to articulate a sustainable and resilient vision for the future of mixed community developments in New Zealand within a statutory document. As explained by the JRF, 'place-making' rather than simply 'house building' must be incorporated within this vision.

Layout of Development

Within the literature review of this research Bailey et al. (2006), Kearns et al. (2013), among others, discuss the significant part that the physical layout of mixed community developments play in their overall effectiveness. Examples of these basic spatial configurations were presented in *Figure 3* previously, where it was explained that neighbourhoods which display imperceptible boundaries or divisions between tenures compared to more transparent soft and/or hard boundaries produced better outcomes (Kearns et al., 2013; Groves et al., 2003). Sautkina et al. (2012) and Harrison (2015) took this a step further, explaining that tenure-blind integration or 'pepper-potting', the practice of making social and/or affordable housing not visually different from that of market housing within a community, as producing the best outcomes in terms of cross-tenure interaction and encouraging a sense of community within a mixed community development. Tenure-blind integration will be discussed further in subsequent assessment criteria.

Additionally, as touched upon previously, representation of the diversity of the population within a community is the principal driving force behind creation of mixed community developments. In achieving this diversity it is common practice to mandate the concentration of social, market and/or affordable housing, so as to ensure that the appropriate level of mix is realised. However, research into the ideal concentration of tenure types within a community has achieved anything but a consensus. Tunstall and Fenton (2006, p.25) in explaining the “multidimensionality of mix” discuss that the many benefits of mixed communities, such as increased employment levels and improved community cohesion, “depend on getting the mix right across several dimensions at once”.

Interviewees Mr. Allan, Mr. Sampson and Mr. Cottam supported the above, believing that achieving the ideal concentration of mix between the market, affordable and social housing units would pay dividends in terms of the long-term sustainability of that community. Concentrations of 15 to 20 per cent social housing within a community were considered appropriate, depending on the particular context, where issues such as maintenance and the concept of the ‘tragedy of the commons’ could largely be mitigated. It is noted that these concentrations were considered ‘rules of thumb’ and do not apply in every circumstance.

For these reasons it is recommended that mixed community developments follow a tenure-blind integration or ‘pepper-potting’ approach, ensuring that social and/or affordable housing units are not largely visually different as compared to their market counterparts. It is also recommended that careful consideration be given to the concentrations of tenures within any given development, giving particular attention to local conditions in this decision.

The issue of maintenance in mixed community developments cropped up several times within this research. Saville-Smith et al. (2015), Monk et al. (2011), CCHRP (2005) as well as the ‘Right to Buy’ scheme in the United Kingdom demonstrated the significance of effective maintenance processes in terms of the sustainability of mixed communities. Interviewees Mr. Allan and Mr. Church suggested that the clustering of social housing units within a development would positively contribute towards the ease of maintenance. It is noted that these clusters should be kept relatively small as to not negatively impact tenure-blind integration and/or replicate the negative effects associated with concentrated deprivation.

The remaining matter of importance in relation to the layout of mixed community developments presented within this research is what could be termed as ‘equitable consideration’ of non-market (social and/or affordable) housing. Essentially this requires those responsible for planning and delivering these developments to locate different tenure housing without bias. The example referenced above looked at 64-74 Vanguard Drive where social housing units were not placed in close proximity to powerlines which ran through the adjoining Broomfield Common, an area deemed ‘less desirable’ in terms of visual aesthetic and outlook. Interviewees Mr. Allan and Mr. Church supported this thinking, explaining that more often than not social housing units get the worst part of the site and that when following a mix tenure development “you’ve got to be quite human about it”.

Connectivity and Access

Another important matter for consideration which surfaced during interviews conducted as part of this research was the vital nature of effective connectivity and access in relation to mixed community developments. Interviewees Ms. Markham-Short and Mr. Cottam recommended that these developments be placed in close proximity to appropriate services and infrastructure to ensure that social housing tenants, generally considered more vulnerable, are not removed from essential networks. Saville-Smith et al. (2015) reinforces this notion, explaining that research has shown that intervention based social mix presents problems when there is reduced access to targeted services and supports. An example of this can be seen in evaluation of the Belmont Heights Estate (part HOPE VI programme) where it was found that only a small proportion of social housing residents were accessing the health or social services they required (Vogel, Smith & Williamson, 2007 in Saville-Smith et al., 2015). For these reasons it is recommended that service and infrastructure capacity analysis be performed on potential development sites to ensure that future social housing tenants are given access to the necessary networks for their everyday needs, creating a more holistic and sustainable development.

Design of Dwellings

Careful consideration of the design of dwellings within a mixed community context surfaced several times throughout this research. The concept of tenure-blind integration, presented above, featured frequently, considered central to the overall effectiveness and longevity of mixed communities.

Sautkina et al. (2012) explained that the sense of community within mixed community developments could be negatively impacted by high tenure transparency. Bailey et al. (2006) identified one of the factors understood to discourage integration within mixed communities as being the stigmatisation of social housing through visual markers and believed that different tenures should be treated with consistent external architectural. Harrison (2015, p.4) found a 'tenure blind' approach to be a crucial element in the effectiveness of these developments, stating that developers and registered social landlords favoured utilisation of this approach in "[eliminating the] visible identification of tenures and to avoid the stigmatisation of social housing". The 2008 Scottish Planning Policy 'Planning for Homes' required blind-tenure integration in design, stating that "as far as possible, the tenure of housing should be indiscernible from its design, quality or appearance" (Scottish Government, 2008, p.21). Interviewees Mr. Allan, Mr. Church, Mr. Sampson and Mr. Cottam believed tenure-blind integration to be the most significant enduring characteristic of mixed community developments, recommending its implementation throughout New Zealand and internationally. It is noted that interviewee Ms. Markham-Short believed achievement of complete tenure-blind integration to not always be possible, explaining that social housing tenants have different needs to that of typical owner/occupiers or private renters, and that this need must be reflected in the 'spec' of the dwellings. These different needs and resultant consideration of dwelling design are discussed further below. In any case, it is recommended that mixed community developments apply a tenure blind approach in the design, quality and appearance of social housing dwellings, as compared to their private market counterparts.

Another important consideration in the design of dwellings within a mixed community context which emerged within this research was the need for responsive dwelling design. The needs of social housing tenants, discussed above, are understood to be comparatively different to that of private market tenants. Whether it be the makeup of families or the use of space the design of social housing dwellings needs to respond to these differences, catering more appropriately to the needs of its users. This responsive dwelling design also needs to incorporate consideration of different cultural values, particularly that of Māori and Pacific people in New Zealand understood to comprise a significant proportion of those which reside in social housing (Statistics New Zealand, 2016; Flynn, Carne, Soa-Lafoa'i, 2010). Interviewee Mr. Cottam supported consideration of responsive dwelling design, recommending an "appropriate mix of size" and consideration of diversity be realised in mixed communities towards more "holistic [developments]".

Accordingly, it is recommended that the design of social housing dwellings within mixed community developments consider and respond to the needs of its users appropriately.

Conversely, interviewee Mr. Church highlights the importance of a “high-quality finish” in dwelling design above everything else. The rationale behind this is that social housing units, which typically face more intensive use and higher occupancies, have to be robust as to stand the test of time. These sustainable elements included “good quality architecture, good quality design [and] good quality landscaping”, positively contributing to the overall resilience of the community. Tunstall and Fenton (2006), Clarke (2012), Harrison (2015) and Williams (2009) support this perception, explaining that as cited in the literature quality of design and build of homes are understood to be the most crucial aspects in effective execution of mixed tenure developments. Williams (2009) goes on further to say that “experience from elsewhere [in this process] is undoubtedly valuable, though ‘off the shelf’ estate design is not necessarily to be relied upon and may be seen to ignore input from the local community”. The importance of local community input and the merits of wider participating planning shall be discussed further in subsequent assessment criteria. Nevertheless, it is recommended that social housing units within mixed community developments be designed sustainably and to an appropriate ‘spec’ as to withstand anticipated intensive use and higher occupancies.

Design of Shared Space

Shared space within mixed communities is understood to play a significant part in their overall effectiveness. As explained by Roberts (2007, p.187), overall, more recent studies such as Tunstall and Fenton (2006), and Rowlands et al. (2006) “reinforce Groves et al.’s earlier observation that...the quality of [the] public realm and shared facilities [within mixed income communities]” is understood to be “crucially important”. Groves et al. (2003) as well as Kearns et al. (2013) build upon this thinking, the design of shared space having a particularly significant impact on encouraging social interaction, shared experience and a sense of ownership and pride. Bailey et al. (2006) in their good practice guide to creating and sustaining mixed income communities provide characteristics of public spaces believed to facilitate social housing within a mixed community setting. As shown in *Figure 2* previously, some of these characteristics include: connected streets with short and direct routes, continuous building frontages with few blank walls and well-defined entrances onto the street at frequent intervals, among others.

Bailey et al., in relation to integration within mixed communities more generally, encouraged the employment of attractive landscape and green spaces. Roberts also noted the importance of effective community involvement throughout the process of designing shared space, which, again, will be discussed further in subsequent assessment criteria.

Interviewee Ms. Markham-Short, on the topic of shared space, acknowledged the importance of CPTED analysis and urban design analysis in shared space design within mixed tenure developments. These and similar analysis tools are used widely throughout New Zealand, recommended and enforced commonly by consenting authorities (e.g. urban design panels) in the planning and formation of comprehensive developments. The New Zealand Urban Design Protocol (NZUDP) launched in 2007 demonstrates this increased attention towards matters of urban design, “[providing] a platform to make New Zealand towns and cities more successful through quality urban design” (Ministry for the Environment, 2005a). The NZUDP is “a voluntary commitment to specific urban design initiatives by signatory organisations”, including: central and local government, the property sector, design professionals, professional institutes and other groups (Ministry for the Environment, 2014). Further information on the NZUDP is available in the document itself (Ministry for the Environment, 2005b).

From the above it is recommended that mixed community developments in New Zealand incorporate the analysis tools detailed above to encourage proper shared space design as well as integration and other important aspects which are central to the associated benefits of these communities. Furthermore, it is recommended that, depending on the size of the development, involvement from an accredited landscape architect or consultancy be encouraged to ensure that the benefits from “attractive landscape and green spaces” are realised. In New Zealand, a list of accredited landscape architects and consultancies is available at the New Zealand Institute of Landscape Architects website (New Zealand Institute of Landscape Architects, 2016).

Retention Mechanisms

The importance of addressing risks associated with the gentrification of poorer neighbourhoods through social mix and subsequent displacement of poorer residents emerged several times throughout this research. Bridge et al. (2012, p.1) argue that social mix policies are “rhetorically and discursively disguised as social mixing...promoting and spurring gentrification in a number of different countries”. They explain social mix represents a “one-sided (government) strategy”, pitched as a heterogeneous remedy with clear bias towards deprived neighbourhoods. ‘Social mix’ being nothing more than a transitory phenomenon towards complete gentrification. Lees (2008) supports these statements, discussing the irony of a process that results in gentrification (segregation and polarisation) being promoted via social mix policies. Experiences from the HOPE VI programme in the United States, targeted at revitalising the worst public housing projects into mixed-income developments, display the considerably low proportion of original residents of HOPE VI properties which return to the redeveloped sites (Berube, 2005). Lastly, interviewees Ms. Lythe and Mr. Cottam also warned of the resultant displacement of existing low-income residents as a result of mixed community developments. Ms. Lythe being particularly wary of the underlying interests of Government and developers in gentrifying sought after neighbourhoods.

For these reasons it is recommended that mixed community developments provide for the retention of vulnerable (e.g. low-income) residents, whether existing or new, as to ensure that gentrification processes do not prevail. A potential ‘retention mechanism’ which could be used to protect vulnerable residents from displacement includes placing ownership of land titles in the hands of community land trusts (CLTs). According to Community Wealth (n.d.), CLTs “are non-profit, community-based organisations designed to ensure community stewardship of land...primarily used to ensure long-term housing affordability”. CLTs would allow for land to be leased out exclusively to public housing providers (and transferred if necessary), ensuring that users of public housing are not displaced from mixed communities. Another potential ‘retention mechanism’ could be the use of land covenants on titles.

According to Inder Lynch (2016), land covenants are provision(s) registered on the Certificate of Title to a piece of land which places certain limits or restrictions on the use of that land. Land covenants could be placed on units outlined for public housing use in mixed community developments requiring use of those units be retained for public housing purposes.

Participatory Planning Approach

One particular planning paradigm largely considered central to planning practice and planning ethos internationally which was largely absent from the literature review and lessons learned internationally chapters within this research was that of participatory planning in the process of creating mixed communities. For this reason, participatory planning and its role in mixed community developments shall be discussed further.

As discussed by Smith (1973, p.275), historically, public participation has been forced out of the conventional planning process as the result of a hierarchical structure which discouraged the “natural, positive inclusion of citizen inputs”. Smith believes these early models of planning were overly centralized and comprehensive, essentially hierarchical in nature. It is recommended that a “theoretical reorientation away from the conventional hierarchical decision-making models” occur toward a reticular structure “[allowing] the continuous inclusion of substantive citizen input”, as displayed in *Figure 10* below.

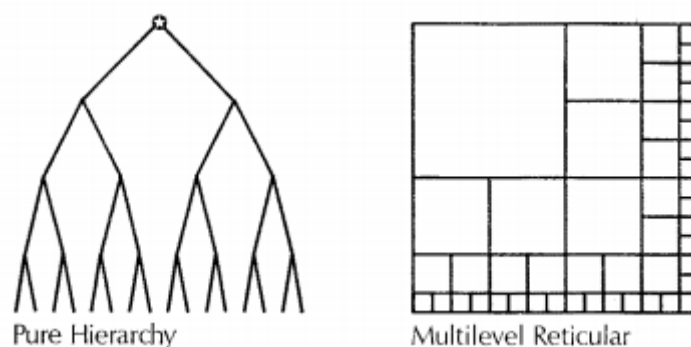


Figure 10 - Organisational Forms (Smith, 1973, p.276).

The International Association of Public Participation (IAP2), the “preeminent international organization advancing the practice of public participation”, define participatory planning or public participation as the “[involvement] of those who are affected by a decision in the decision-making process” (International Association of Public Participation, 2016). As shown in the below image (*Figure 11*), IAP2 provide a spectrum of public participation. Within the spectrum it is evident that public participation goals range from inform to empower, corresponding to varying degrees of “promises” to the public. The IAP2 recognise public participation as being important as it promotes sustainable decision-making through provision of information, enabling meaningful involvement from participants and an understanding of how participation impacts the end decision.

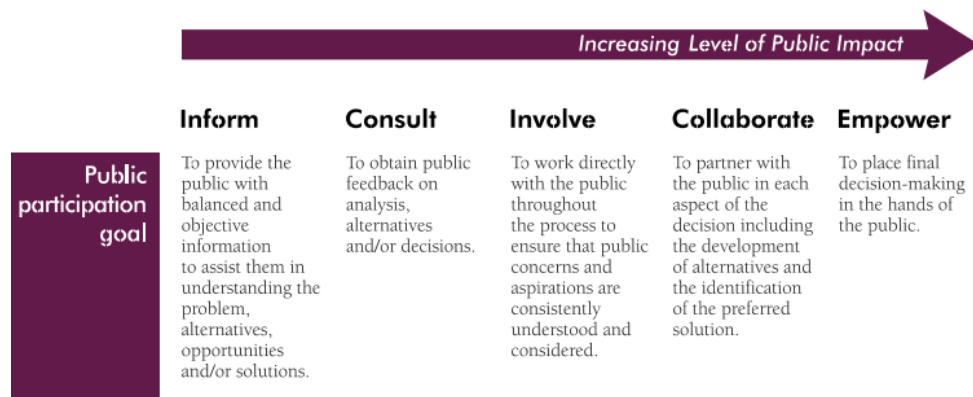


Figure 11 - IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation (International Association of Public Participation, 2007).

Arnstein (1969), considered to be one of – if not the – foundational pieces of research in relation to community engagement, discusses the *confused issue* of citizen participation. Arnstein explains that “understated euphemisms” and “exacerbated rhetoric” have led to confusion and a sense of bewilderment by scholars and the general public alike in understanding citizen participation. Arnstein’s answer to the critical *what* question is that citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power, defining citizen participation as “...the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future...it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society” (Arnstein, 1969, p.216).

In further answering the critical *what* question Arnstein presents a spectrum or typology of eight levels of participation. The typology is arranged in a ladder pattern, as shown in *Figure 12* below, “each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens’ power in determining the end product” (Arnstein, 1969, p.216). The levels of participation are as follows:

- **Citizen Power** Citizen Control, Delegated Power, Partnership.
- **Tokenism** Placation, Consultation, Informing.
- **Non-participation** Therapy, Manipulation.

It is acknowledged that the below eight-rung ladder is a simplification and that the typology does not include analysis of barriers to achieving genuine participation. However, similar to IAP2’s spectrum of public participation, Arnstein’s Ladder assists in illustrating the point that significant gradations of citizen participation exist, and that participatory planning must recognise and account for this towards achieving sustainable decision-making and public empowerment.

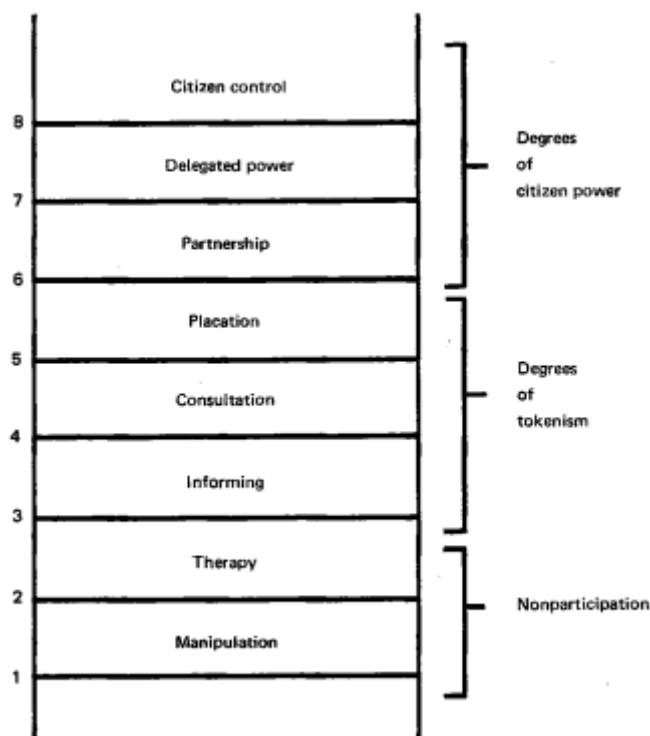


Figure 12 - Arnstein’s Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein, 1969, p.217).

Community Tool Box (2016), a public service of the Work Group for Community Health and Development at the University of Kansas, discusses the benefits and weaknesses of a participatory planning approach. Beginning with the benefits, it is understood that participation establishes feelings of ownership, building a strong base for the success of the intervention within the community. This is because if people are made integral to the planning of a community intervention they have a certain degree of buy-in in that intervention, encouraging them to “do what they can to see their work succeed” (Community Tool Box, 2016). Participation also ensures that the intervention has a high level of credibility among all of the segments within a community, provided people are given the chance to have meaningful input into the decision-making process. Other benefits of a participatory planning approach include: access to a broader range of perspectives and ideas, ability for often-marginalised groups to be heard, builds trust and implies respect for those living within a community, among other benefits. The disadvantages of a participatory planning approach are understood to include: longer time frames in decision-making and resultant increased expenses, dissensus between the community and the “experts”, and the difficulties associated with “getting everyone to the table”, among other disadvantages. Understanding and accounting for these disadvantages in the decision-making process is crucial to making a participatory planning approach work (Community Tool Box, 2016).

In New Zealand policy, the principles of a participatory planning approach are embedded (arguably) within the Local Government Act (LGA) 2002 and the Resource Management Act (RMA) 1991. Parts 2 and 6 in the LGA provide the principles and requirements for local authorities intended to facilitate participation by Māori and the wider public in decision-making processes. Similarly, in Part 2 of the RMA are the purpose and principles of the Act, the substantive guidance for decisions made by local authorities and the Environment Court. These decisions include the formation of plans and policy statements under the Act, as well as decisions in relation to the granting of exceptions to the plan rules (resource consents). These decisions also include appeals made to the Environment Court in relation to challenges to planning and resource consent decisions. However, Dawson (2013, p.32) argues that the ability for public participation under the Act is currently questionable and that many of the recent proposed reforms to the Act effectively “[reduce] the degree to which the public can engage with and influence decisions”. This in contrast to the agreement that a key principle of the legislation at the time of the Act’s creation would be that of public participation in decisions made under the Act (Palmer, 1995).

From the above it is evident that a participatory planning approach, if followed correctly, results in added legitimacy to a decision and a decision which has been made on a sound basis. However, the degree to which effective public participation features within New Zealand planning policy has been put to question (Dawson, 2013), and the ideals of public “empowerment” in decision-making (IAP2, 2007; Arnstein, 1969) and the necessary transition towards a reticular structure model of decision-making (Smith, 1973) could be further compromised in proposed changes. It is for these reasons that mixed community development processes need to recognise the necessity and value of high-level public participation in decision-making. However, how this might be distinct from mandated public participation processes under the RMA is less clear.

One insight may come from Montgomery (2016) which discusses the role of the Aranui Community Trust Incorporated Society (ACTIS) in the Christchurch suburbs of Aranui and Wainoni. Through ACTIS Aranui and Wainoni residents were given a voice, able to give feedback on community preferences for redevelopment and investment through consultative needs analyses and resident surveys. More specifically, post-earthquake projects for new Christchurch City Council social housing and HNZ rental properties have been approved and building works begun in Aranui and Wainoni. ACTIS has played an important intermediating role in the process (Montgomery, 2016) which would infer that residents had some degree of meaningful input in decision-making. While further research would need to investigate these claims and whether they produced effective outcomes for the Aranui and Wainoni community, it does provide a potential case study for future mixed community development participatory planning processes in New Zealand.

Practical Application of Assessment Criteria

The question now becomes, how is the above assessment criteria going to be given effect in mixed community development processes in New Zealand?

One potential option is in a voluntary, non-statutory document format, such as HNZ’s *urban design and development toolkit*, discussed previously. As explained by HNZ (2015, pp.1-4) the guide is not intended to be prescriptive and rather “should be seen as a basis for inspiring imaginative and practical solutions... setting high, ambitious and challenging expectations”.

The assessment criteria could then be used to facilitate discussion during the planning stages of a development, ensuring that developers are aware of existing sources of guidance in decision-making.

Another option would be to legally mandate consideration of the above assessment criteria alongside planning provisions which facilitate mixed community (mixed-tenure) developments in plans. An example of this could be the Community Housing Redevelopment Mechanism (CHRM) in the Land Use Recovery Plan (LURP). The LURP is a statutory document prepared under the Christchurch Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 (CER Act) for the purpose of “[providing] for residential and business land use to support recovery and rebuilding over the next 10 to 15 years” (Environment Canterbury, n.d.). The CHRM are intensification provisions in the LURP which allow for medium density redevelopment in areas containing a mix of community housing (public housing) and privately owned dwellings. Coupling the above assessment criteria with housing intensification provisions such as the CHRM would allow for consideration of existing sources of guidance on mixed communities research effectively in decision-making.

8 Conclusion

What mixed communities constitute and how they should be achieved is still yet to be fully understood. While house type and tenure are the aspects of mix understood to be the most easily influenced by policy, the benefits of mixed communities are more often thought to be achieved through the mix of people and households with different social characteristics (Tunstall & Fenton, 2006). In addition, whether mixed communities produce better social outcomes or whether they represent the underlying processes of gentrification and displacement is still largely debated. Case studies such as the HOPE VI programme in the United States serve as a model example. While research from HOPE neighbourhoods in Atlanta, Louisville and St Louis indicate positive outcomes for residents (Turbov & Piper, 2005; Berube, 2005), these findings are largely overshadowed by reports of significant displacement of original residents (Berube, 2005; Gotham, 2001), representative of Lees (2008) perception of mixed communities and the gentrification processes they blanket.

The main aim of this research was to better understand the claims that mixed community schemes are viable alternatives to existing public housing models in New Zealand. Historically, central government involvement in housing has been in response to overcrowding and housing shortages, which then transitioned to the provision of subsidised rental housing for vulnerable populations. Recently, HNZ have made a commitment to develop mixed communities through their national redevelopment programme, the controversial Glen Innes redevelopment the corporation's flagship project.

Whether or not mixed community development processes in New Zealand have been informed from lessons learned internationally was a key question of this research. Evidence has shown that it could be argued that New Zealand has largely followed an ad hoc approach to the planning, implementation and management of mixed community developments. As explained, this does not condemn the reputation of mixed community processes thus far, but does strengthen the suggestion that New Zealand read against more aggregated knowledge gathered elsewhere.

Furthermore, the risks of continuing this ad hoc approach have been demonstrated throughout this research, some mixed communities being found to have detrimental effects on residents and the surrounding environment, which should prove as strong cautionary counsel to planners and policy makers (Cheshire, 2007a; Lees, 2008; Bridge, Butler & Lees, 2012).

In the absence of a formal commitment to using existing sources of guidance as the process continues it was decided that perhaps the most efficient interim solution would be to create a set of assessment criteria. The assessment criteria formulated as part of this research recommended the following:

- implementation of the proper prerequisites during the initial planning processes,
- equitable consideration of matters which relate to the spatial layout of developments,
- facilitation of social housing residents connectivity and access to key social and welfare networks,
- effective design of dwellings and shared space which encourage integration,
- enforcement of retention mechanisms which protecting the habitation of social housing residents, and
- overall, a participatory planning approach which embodies the ideals of community empowerment in decision-making.

It was determined that the above assessment criteria could be implemented either in a voluntary, less prescriptive format such as HNZ's urban design and development toolkit, or legislatively alongside provisions which facilitate mixed community developments such as the CHRM in the LURP.

Further Research

The topic of mixed communities is a rapidly developing area. As has been shown in this research, there appears to be questions remaining in relation to many aspects of social mix theory and achieving effective mixed communities. Particularly, the breadth of longitudinal research. It is recommended that further research investigate the claims that mixed communities are viable alternatives to existing public housing models, both empirically and theoretically.

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10 Appendices

Appendix A

Interview consent form (adapted from Jowett, 2015, p.70).

Interviewee Consent Form

I _____ have read and understood the research description above and agree to participate as a subject in this research project.

I consent to the publication of the results recorded during this interview (based on anonymity option preference selected below).

I understand that I, and any information I have provided, may withdraw from this research project at any stage.

Anonymity options (please indicate preference):

- A. My name, job title and identifying characteristics will be kept confidential and my anonymity will be preserved. I will be identified as an 'interviewee'.
- B. My name and job description will be attributed to all quotes and information provided in this interview.
- C. I will view any information or quotes that are proposed to be used and attributed to me. I may decide which quotes will be attributed to my name, and which will be used anonymously.

Name: _____

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix B

Images of 111-113 Elizabeth Street and 10-18 Rex Street, 64-74 Vanguard Drive and Carey Street – Christchurch Mixed-Tenure Developments.



Figure 13 - 111-113 Elizabeth Street and 10-18 Rex Street (Google, 2016a).



Figure 14 - Carey Street (Google, 2016b; Boffa Miskell, 2016a).



Figure 15 - 64-74 Vanguard Drive (Google, 2016c; Boffa Miskell, 2016b).

Appendix C

Official Information Act request response from Minister for Social Housing (Paula Bennett).



Office of Hon Paula Bennett

MP for Upper Harbour

Minister for Climate Change Issues

Minister for Social Housing

Minister of State Services

Associate Minister of Finance

Associate Minister of Tourism

Mr Matthew Klomp
fyi-request-4004-0102c71d@requests.fyi.org.nz

30 JUN 2016

Dear Mr Klomp

On 16 May 2016 you emailed my office requesting, under the Official Information Act 1982, the following information:

- *All formal research and information on mixed community housing initiatives within New Zealand. This includes cabinet papers, briefings, and aid memoirs, excluding emails.*

Firstly I would like to express my apologies for the delay in my response to your request.

I attach a link to the Neighbourhood Social Mix and Outcomes for Social Housing Tenants: Rapid Review report, which is publicly available on the Superu website. This report was commissioned to provide a review of the New Zealand and International literature for available evidence on the outcomes for social housing and the factors that mitigate possible negative outcomes for social housing tenants.

<http://www.superu.govt.nz/sites/default/files/Social%20Housing%20Rapid%20Review%20Report.pdf>

You have the right to seek an investigation and review of my response by the Ombudsman, whose address for contact purposes is:

The Ombudsman
Office of the Ombudsman
PO Box 10-152
WELLINGTON 6143

Yours sincerely

Hon Paula Bennett
Minister for Social Housing