Sharing Social Housing
A study of mixed housing in Tonagh, Lisburn

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# Table of contents

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES .................................................................................................................. 3

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY ................................................................................................................................. 4

1. **INTRODUCTION** .................................................................................................................................... 6
   1.1 **BACKGROUND** ................................................................................................................................. 6
   1.2 **RESEARCH OBJECTIVES** .................................................................................................................. 6
   1.3 **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY** ............................................................................................................ 7
   1.4 **TONAGH** ........................................................................................................................................... 7
   1.5 **REPORT STRUCTURE** ....................................................................................................................... 8

2. **POLICY, MIXING AND SOCIAL HOUSING** .......................................................................................... 9
   2.1 **A WIDER CIVIC CONTEXT FOR MIXED HOUSING** ........................................................................ 9
   2.2 **METROPOLITAN SCALE PLANNING** .................................................................................................. 10
   2.3 **MOVING BEYOND SEGREGATION BETWEEN TWO IDENTITIES** .................................................. 11
   2.4 **SOCIAL AND ETHNIC MIXING** .......................................................................................................... 11
   2.5 **A SHARED FUTURE** .......................................................................................................................... 13
   2.6 **DISTRICT HOUSING ANALYSIS** ......................................................................................................... 13
   2.7 **POLICY CONNECTIONS** .................................................................................................................... 14
   2.8 **CONCLUSIONS** ................................................................................................................................... 15

3. **TONAGH IN PROFILE** ............................................................................................................................ 16
   3.1 **DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS** ..................................................................................... 16
   3.2 **RELIGION AND TONAGH** ................................................................................................................. 18
   3.3 **STAKEHOLDER INTERVIEWS** ............................................................................................................. 20
      3.3.1 Housing market change ..................................................................................................................... 20
      3.3.2 Instability and demographic change ................................................................................................ 21
      3.3.3 Mixing and Community Relations .................................................................................................. 21
      3.3.4 Priorities for future stability ............................................................................................................. 22
   3.4 **WAITING LIST SURVEY** .................................................................................................................... 22
   3.5 **CONCLUSION** ..................................................................................................................................... 24

4. **LIFE IN TONAGH** ................................................................................................................................. 25
   4.1 **HOUSING CHOICE AND HISTORY** .................................................................................................... 25
   4.2 **SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE** ......................................................................... 28
   4.3 **COMMUNITY RELATIONS** ................................................................................................................. 31
   4.4 **ATTITUDE TO AREA** .......................................................................................................................... 34
   4.5 **CONCLUSION** ..................................................................................................................................... 37

5. **IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH** .................................................................................................... 38
   5.1 **A STRATEGIC APPROACH** ................................................................................................................ 38
   5.2 **A WIDER DEFINITION OF MIXING** ..................................................................................................... 38
   5.3 **HOUSING PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES** ............................................................... 39
   5.4 **COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT** ......................................................................................................... 39
   5.5 **LEARNING FROM BEST PRACTICE** .................................................................................................... 40
   5.6 **CONCLUSION** ..................................................................................................................................... 40

REFERENCES ..................................................................................................................................................... 41
List of tables and figures

TABLE 1 POLICY OBJECTIVES OF A SHARED FUTURE ................................................................. 13
TABLE 2 SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF TONAGH ......................................................... 16
TABLE 3 RECORDED CRIME IN TONAGH AND COMPARATOR AREAS ......................................................... 17
TABLE 4 NOBLE INDEX OF DEPRIVATION AND TONAGH WARD .......................................................... 17
TABLE 5 ILL-HEALTH AND TONAGH ................................................................................................. 18
TABLE 6 COMMUNITY BACKGROUND IN WARDS CONTIGUOUS TO TONAGH .................................................... 18
TABLE 7 AGE PROFILE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD (%) ............................................................................. 29
TABLE 8 EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD (%) ........................................................ 30
TABLE 9 HOUSEHOLDS IN RECEIPT OF WELFARE BENEFITS (%) ............................................................. 31
TABLE 10 ISSUE A MAJOR PROBLEM IN THE TONAGH ESTATE (%) ...................................................... 35
TABLE 11 ISSUE A MAJOR PROBLEM IN THE TONAGH ESTATE (%) ...................................................... 35

FIGURE 1 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY ............................................................................. 7
FIGURE 2 TONAGH ESTATE IN LISBURN ................................................................................................. 8
FIGURE 3 DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANTS IN TONAGH WARD .......................................................... 19
FIGURE 4 ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN TONAGH AND CONTIGUOUS WARDS (%) ........................................... 20
FIGURE 5 RELIGIOUS MIX OF THE WAITING LIST FOR TONAGH AND THE ESTATE (%) .............................. 23
FIGURE 6 GROSS WEEKLY INCOME OF WAITING LIST APPLICANTS FOR TONAGH (%) .......................... 24
FIGURE 7 RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN TONAGH (%) ................................................ 25
FIGURE 8 LENGTH OF TIME IN DWELLING BY COMMUNITY BACKGROUND (%) ..................................... 26
FIGURE 9 PREVIOUS ADDRESS BEFORE MOVING TO TONAGH (%) ........................................................ 26
FIGURE 10 TENURE BY RELIGION ON TONAGH (%) ................................................................................ 27
FIGURE 11 MAIN REASONS FOR LIVING IN TONAGH (%) ..................................................................... 28
FIGURE 12 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TONAGH (%) ............................................................................. 28
FIGURE 13 GROSS ANNUAL INCOME IN TONAGH, BALLYNAFEIGH AND NORTHERN IRELAND (%) .......... 29
FIGURE 14 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD IN FULL TIME WORK (%) ................. 30
FIGURE 15 HOUSEHOLDS WITH NO CAR (%) ......................................................................................... 31
FIGURE 16 LEVEL OF CONCERN ABOUT COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN TONAGH AND NORTHERN IRELAND (%) 32
FIGURE 17 HOW HAVE COMMUNITY RELATIONS CHANGED IN TONAGH IN THE LAST 5 YEARS (%) ........ 32
FIGURE 18 CHANGING COMPOSITION OF TONAGH (%) ......................................................................... 33
FIGURE 19 INITIATIVES TO HELP TO PROMOTE GOOD RELATIONS IN TONAGH (%) ............................ 34
FIGURE 20 ATTITUDE TO AREA (%) ........................................................................................................ 34
FIGURE 21 SATISFACTION WITH ESTATE BASED SERVICES (%) .............................................................. 36
FIGURE 22 FEELING OF SAFETY IN TONAGH (%) ................................................................................ 37
Executive summary

- This report sets out the results of a programme of research into integrated housing in the Tonagh estate in Lisburn. The Housing Executive launched a Community Cohesion strategy in 2005, which included a commitment to developing the stock of mixed housing in the region. That policy objective has been underpinned by research into the distribution of integrated housing and area profiles, such as the recently published study into the Ballynafeigh area of south Belfast. This case study looks at the dynamics of mixing, primarily within the social rented and affordable housing sectors in Northern Ireland.

- The research consisted of a household survey of residents (n=248), people on the Waiting List for the Tonagh allocation area (n=112) and semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 20 key actors in both the community and housing policy system. The analysis also included desk research of District Housing Plans and neighbourhood statistics on Tonagh and the wider Lisburn housing market.

- The study located the empirical research in a wider debate about integrated housing. In particular, it highlighted the need for a strategic planning framework to develop more open urban systems and integrated housing markets, which includes the need for action on the public realm, neutral spaces and transportation. There are dangers in seeing integrated communities as an issue for the housing authorities alone as here, there are limits to the application of housing instruments to deconstruct structural ethnic and social problems. The analysis also highlighted the value of a wider definition of mixing, especially where there is a connection between economic and ethno-religious segregation.

- The review is conscious of the policy thrust of A Shared Future and in particular tackling residential segregation and the importance of the Community Cohesion strategy in reflecting these strategic aims. The research showed that many of the District Housing Plans were referring to actions under Community Cohesion but that there needs to be stronger policy integration between housing, planning and urban regeneration to manage the comprehensive delivery of mixed social housing in Northern Ireland.

- Tonagh has a distinctive socio-economic and demographic profile. It has a high proportion of older and benefit dependent households and a lower economic activity rate than the rest of Lisburn or Northern Ireland. Although the area is not high on the deprivation index, it does have a very high crime rate, especially for theft, offences against the person and criminal damage.

- The qualitative interviews showed that the Lisburn housing market has witnessed a period of sustained growth and that Tonagh is still a stable and comparatively popular area. The proximity to the city centre, good services and facilities and a strong network of schools and churches (including an integrated primary school) help to explain its attractiveness as a mixed housing space. However, the key informants suggested that recent allocations and the rise of the private rented sector have created some demographic churning on the estate. The last three years have seen a rise in young single people, anti-social behaviour and vandalism in the area.

- The Waiting List survey highlighted the importance of Tonagh as a mixed housing destination for applicants. Most Waiting List applicants are Protestant (57%) compared to Catholics (21%) or Mixed religion households (9%), which is interesting given that
the area has become progressively more Catholic in the last five years. However, the List is also characterised by higher proportions of young single households and people on low incomes, which may accelerate residualisation on the estate. Tenure diversification, especially with private housing opportunities was considered by residents and the key informants as important in enhancing the stability of Tonagh.

- The household survey showed that 37% of the estate is Protestant, 28% are Catholic and 28% are Mixed religion households (compared with an estimate of 12% for Mixed households in Northern Ireland as a whole). Respondents, across all backgrounds, valued the integrated nature of the area, wanted to maintain it and thought that the Housing Executive should do more to promote mixed housing options. Attitudes to community relations were also better here than in the Ballynafeigh case study or in Northern Ireland as a whole.

- Protestants and Catholics moved comparatively short distances and whilst Protestants were more established on the estate, both religions have strong friendship or kinship networks in the area. Mixed households were more likely to move further distances, be younger and have larger families than either Catholics or Protestants. They were also more likely to be working although a high proportion relied on tax credits, reflecting the emergence of the working poor as an excluded category in Northern Ireland.

- Most people had a positive attitude to the area and liked the proximity to services, facilities and the city centre. Crime and fear of crime was identified as a significant problem and the behaviour of young people, anti-social activity and theft were the main concerns of residents. As noted earlier, recent allocations in the social rented sector and unregulated private rented management were identified as the main source of the problem locally.

- The research highlighted the need for a strategic planning approach to the maintenance and development of mixed spaces that cuts across land use planning, urban policy, community development and housing. Some examples from South Africa and Sweden indicate the possibilities, especially with the development of Community Planning within new local authorities in Northern Ireland. We also need to adopt a wider definition of mixing as it is difficult to disconnect ethno-religious processes from social, economic and demographic integration. It will be difficult to develop sustainable mixed religion spaces without attending to these other aspects of socio-spatial change. The research suggested the need for stronger housing market research, needs assessments and planning guidance to more directly support the shared housing project. This could be underpinned by the development of skills in the management of diversity via training and learning from best practice.
1. Introduction

1.1 Background

A recent study by Shuttleworth and Lloyd looked at the changing rate of residential segregation in Northern Ireland, using small area data from the 2001 Census and it concluded that:

The news of stable, or potentially decreasing segregation has been notable by its absence – like Sherlock Homes’ dog that did not bark. There is, however, a strong evidence base that the 1990s did not see a widespread widening of the divide between Catholics and Protestants. (Shuttleworth and Lloyd, 2006, p.11)

Their study analysed the rate of Dissimilarity (D) over inter-censal periods. This measures the unevenness of the spatial distribution of Protestants and Catholics and varies between 0 (no segregation) and 1 (complete segregation). The analysis used 1 km grids to calculate a D of 0.56 in Northern Ireland in 1971. By 1991, it had risen to 0.66 but by 2001, it had increased only slightly to 0.67 and when they used the community background variable, showed that it had decreased to 0.64 (in 2001). The explanations for the slow rate of increase or even a decrease are complex and uncertain. Recent work by the Housing Executive in Ballynafeigh in south Belfast highlighted the interplay between economic development, social mobility and tenure restructuring in explaining the higher rates of integration in this part of the city (Murtagh and Carmichael, 2005). However, locality analysis is partial and a broader understanding of politics, social distance and residence is required to explain residential choice and preference trade-offs in a society coming out of conflict. The Ballynafeigh study presented circumstances, primarily concerned with private sector dynamics. This current report looks at a case study of mixed housing in the social rented sector and again, the research aim is to examine the implications for learning and policy development. The research is based in the Tonagh estate in Lisburn, near the city centre, which has retained a mixed character despite high rates of segregation in the wider housing market. The Housing Executive launched the Community Cohesion strategy in 2005, which highlighted the need to tackle segregation and promote mixed housing options across tenures and places. The organisation has a programme of research to underpin the delivery of the strategy, which attempts to build understanding of the processes of residential integration to inform policy and practice.

1.2 Research objectives

The research is therefore informed by the following objectives:

a. To examine the wider housing market in Lisburn and the role of Tonagh as a mixed estate within it;

b. To look at the social, economic and demographic character of the area and how this relates to its ethno-religious composition;

c. To describe the nature of demand for housing in the area and how this influences the ‘balance’ of the local community; and

d. To evaluate the implications of the research for housing policy and practice in Northern Ireland with particular regard to the social rented sector.
1.3 Research Methodology

The methodology to achieve these objectives consists of a number of strands and these are shown in the diagram below. The aim here is to develop a triangulated design comprised of a number of interlocking elements based on secondary, quantitative and qualitative research. The key elements are:

- A review of secondary data on the character of the area and its relationship to the wider housing market;
- An audit of the District Housing Plans covering the 26 District Council Area, to examine their proposals to deliver Community Cohesion in general and mixed housing specifically;
- A census survey (n=248) of the 368 occupied dwellings in Tonagh, which includes all tenures and produces a response rate of 71%;
- A series of 20 semi-structured in-depth interviews with key actors in the area, including housing, community development, local government and policing; and
- A census survey of 112 waiting list applicants with an expressed interest in Tonagh allocation area.

Figure 1 Research design and methodology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interrogation of small area Census data</td>
<td>NINIS GIS</td>
<td>Socio-economic and demographic profile of the area set in the context of Lisburn and Northern Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation of District Housing Plans to examine policy delivery on mixed housing</td>
<td>26 area plans</td>
<td>Assessment of the policy efficacy in delivering a shared housing agenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household census survey of the Tonagh estate household population</td>
<td>N=248</td>
<td>Establishing the extent of mixing, community relations, stability and sustainability and longer term developments on the estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey of waiting list applicants for the Tonagh allocation area</td>
<td>N=112</td>
<td>Assessment of the attitudes and behaviour of people with an expressed desire to live in Tonagh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-structured in-depth interviews with key actors in the local policy system</td>
<td>20 interviews</td>
<td>In-depth understanding of the working of the housing market and its relationship to the development and sustainability of Tonagh as a mixed area</td>
</tr>
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1.4 Tonagh

Tonagh was built in the late 1940s early 1950s and there are now 368 properties on the estate. The stock consists mainly of 2, 3 and 4 bedroom houses, 20 3 bedroom maisonettes, 20 bed-sit flats and 6 bed-sit bungalows. A further 17 bungalows were built in 1985 on the site of demolished garages and a small infill scheme of 5 bungalows was constructed in 1995. Of the 368 dwellings, 220 (57%) are now in private ownership having been purchased by the sitting tenants. Improvements have been carried out to the dwellings over time with Phase 1 of a major improvement scheme recently completed. Phase 2 is currently on site and the final phase for the flats, maisonettes and bed sit flats/bungalows is at feasibility stage. There are 8 houses void to facilitate decanting at
present and there are proposals for future new build by North and West housing association at a site behind Tonagh Avenue.

Figure 2 Tonagh estate in Lisburn

1.5 Report Structure

The next section provides a brief summary of some of the literature relevant to this area, especially around the need for a wider definition of ‘mixed’ housing. This is followed by a description of the wider area, based on data from the 2001 Census. Linked to this is an analysis of key stakeholder interviews on how policy makers and practitioners think about the area and how it has changed. Section 4 introduces the household survey and how the composition of the estate might explain its stability as a mixed housing space. The final section sets out the implications for social housing practice in the maintenance of mixed areas.
2. Policy, *mixing* and social housing

This section sets the debate about integration in Tonagh in the context of mixing in the social rented sector. It makes the point that policy interventions need to stress a broader understanding of integration and desegregation, which is not just confined to ethnic-religious patterns. The section then looks at some of the Housing Executive’s policy instruments for translating the notion of community cohesion into operational practice. It concludes by examining the nature of demand for social housing in the area by looking at Waiting List applicants and their backgrounds and aspirations.

2.1 A wider civic context for mixed housing

Pieterse (2006) outlines a development agenda for addressing the legacy of divided places, which situates integrated housing in a wider planning context and this is especially relevant for Lisburn and the Housing Executive in the context of the Review of Public Administration (RPA). Working in post-apartheid South Africa, he suggested that three factors will stimulate mixing and help to unlock spatial segregation:

- Vibrant politics in a democratic context, that respects both civic and representative forms of engagement;
- An active community that generates imaginative ideas that are not inward looking and develop innovative strategies based on agreed (high level) *meta* objectives; and
- Sufficient private and public capital capable of delivering the *meta* objectives in practical ways\(^1\).

The types of meta aims he has in mind provide a useful analysis for the proposed Community Planning approach under RPA and in thinking more creatively about the need to promote mixed housing. Whilst it is important to address the issue of mixing at the micro-territorial scale, practice from other countries suggest that this needs to be carried forward in the context of a wider urban planning framework. Pieterse suggests that the contextual agenda needs to stimulate thinking about the type of city that places, such as Lisburn, want to become:

- The *democratic city* centred on the principles of participatory democracy;
- The *productive city* based on the development of the growth economy;
- The *educational and learning city*, especially in “fostering assertive citizens who can articulate claims and struggles for the realisation of their rights” (p.296) and which challenges the sectarianism and ghettoisation that denies these opportunities;
- The *cultural city* that uses its diverse assets to promote understanding as well as place competitiveness. “Culture based work is a vital resource to allow for normalisation efforts and the reworking of terror and shame into empowering acts of individual and collective assertion of pride and dignity.” (p.298);
- The *inclusive city* in which poverty and economic segregation are tackled, especially by creating connections via public transport, which open opportunities in the wider urban economy to disadvantaged and segregated communities. It is interesting that both Tonagh and Ballynafeigh are well connected, open and accessible, which is essential for the maintenance of a degree of integrated living; and

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\(^1\) By *meta objectives*, Pieterse means setting higher level aims that link housing aims with a wider development agenda.
The **sustainable city** which involves the development of the social and economic as well as the environmental features of community life.

Lisburn, along with other urban centres in Northern Ireland is increasingly becoming what Sandercock (2003) called *mongrel cities of the 21st Century*, especially as global migration creates ‘cities of difference’ along a number of different axis. These cities of differences are faced with new diversity as well as dealing with the legacy of the past, which is especially important for the way in which the public realm is used and interpreted. Minty (2006) looked at how this was addressed in South African cities and showed how public art was employed to rethink monuments, the memorialisation of hidden histories, engage with racism and the abuse of power and re-image and re-imagine urban identities. It is difficult to plan the maintenance of places such as Tonagh, without some wider acceptance of the contested nature of the public realm. The picture to emerge from the survey data is of a small cohort of Mixed religion households, not in the high income brackets, finding their own way to safe housing markets and where they can move easily within and between places. Their capacity to do this clearly rests on the creation of a public realm that is non-threatening without necessarily diluting or denying identities or the past.

### 2.2 Metropolitan scale planning

The more successful examples of how these challenges have been addressed include a strategic planning response to diversity and segregation. Andersson (2006) described the Metropolitan Development Initiative (MDI) approach in Swedish urban planning, which has two overall goals: to promote economic growth and to break socio-economic, ethnic and discriminatory segregation.

The MDI has a number of components, not dissimilar to the Community Planning approach advocated for Northern Ireland:

- A particular concern for concentrated poverty and ethnic segregation;
- An integrated approach within government and between public resources and the private and community sectors;
- A programme budget to support delivery;
- A strategy regulated by signed contracts between the key stakeholders;
- Time bounded interventions with an emphasis on delivering change;
- A commitment to a participatory-led approach; and
- Partnership delivery of the strategy.

Andersson suggested that the approach has not been particularly successful in desegregating urban areas but that it has forced political and policy attention on to the need for tenure mixing, the importance of establishing anti-segregation goals and the emergence of practice and ideas for tackling ethnic and social division in urban Sweden.

Parnell and Robinson (2006) described a similar approach in the *Johannesburg City Development Strategy*. This is important as it did not see tackling of poverty and black segregation and promoting economic growth as separate issues. The planning challenge here is to see them as connected, especially in giving disadvantaged communities the skills and physical opportunity to access labour markets in growth sectors of the urban economy. What is interesting, in a Northern Ireland context, is the way in which deep segregation is strongly correlated with multiple social deprivations and how, in the case of both Ballynafeigh and Tonagh, mixing is stimulated by a degree of social and economic progress. Certainly, there is a need to address the way in which local housing management practices and allocations destabilise housing markets, but it is also clear that the project of integrated housing is intimately wedded to economic growth and a strategic planning framework.
Boraine et al (2006) highlight the importance of urban economies to successful regional and national performance. In a period of globalisation, technology and the primacy of the knowledge economy, city regions are the engines of growth and prosperity. In post-apartheid South Africa, addressing the material inefficiencies created by segregation in infrastructure provision, land markets and labour supply has been a priority for investment. Similarly, integrated housing is an important social imperative but there is also a strong business case for efficient and open urban systems to create the conditions for sustainable growth, not reliant on public subvention in Northern Ireland. The integrated housing agenda needs to be re-framed in this way, rather than being seen as a micro-management issue for the housing authorities alone.

2.3 Moving beyond segregation between two identities

Fossett and Waren (2005) recently employed Schelling’s agent based model of segregation to demonstrate how relatively simple behaviour by individuals at neighbourhood level can produce divided spatial networks. Their study showed that residential “integration tends to be an unstable condition in model systems and that high levels of segregation can occur even when no individual in the population wishes to reside in the type of ethnically homogeneous neighbourhood found in highly segregated cities” (p.1893). This pattern, in part, explains the difference between the expressed desire of people to live in integrated areas and the high levels of residential segregation evidenced in Northern Ireland. The case study of Tonagh shows some evidence of micro-housing market choices by Mixed religion households to find secure accommodation in the estate but their arena of choice is small and conditions of integration in Tonagh and Ballynafeigh are easily disrupted by wider market changes such as new entrants to the private rented sector in the former case and gentrification in the latter.

For Cupers (2005), the central planning and housing challenge is to create the conditions to move beyond the divided model of city life; especially where ethnicity and poverty work together to reinforce exclusion. He points out that the creation of ‘community’ is not unproblematic, especially where it “creates not one but two: an inside and an outside” (p.732). Sanyal (2005) makes the point that the reason why these issues do not find their way through organisational structures and systems is due to a lack of skills and good practice. He argued that we have become preoccupied by technical knowledge and have underestimated the importance of understanding the substance of problems and how to deal with the realities of personal, political and sectarian motivations and fears. He points out, for instance, that professionals have developed tacit knowledge, which is an important resource and this is especially the case in the Housing Executive, where 30 years of conflict has produced critical awareness, successful practice and innovation that needs to be capitalised and shared on a more formal basis.

2.4 Social and ethnic mixing

Rowlands et al (2006) recently addressed the issue of mixed income areas from a developer as well as a purchaser perspective. Their study made the following points:

- Policies designed to achieve sustainable mixed income neighbourhoods should not focus upon tenure alone;
- The quality of design, management and maintenance are of equal importance to tenure mix in securing balanced communities;
- The authors also call for a rethink of the approach to planning quotas and build in considerations related to dwelling size and type mix and a greater concern with sustainability. In the UK the changes in the Planning and Compensation Act (2004) could be harnessed to ensure that the development control process is more strategic in
it’s planning of new housing estates and that planning agreements are a robust tool to achieve balance.

- It is also important that the design of dwellings is indistinguishable between tenures and that property types and sizes do not indicate their tenure.
- There needs to be a more direct engagement with the management of the private rented sector which might include longer term agreements linked to standards of management and maintenance of property. These ‘compacts’ can form part of a wider neighbourhood management arrangement. They argue for the formal agreements to ensure high quality estate management with agreements or compacts applying to residents and property owners in all tenures. Here, there is a particular need to incorporate landlords whose indifference can undermine the sustainability of estates.
- Finally, they call for better governance mechanisms for neighbourhoods that offer a more holistic framework for planning and the management of service delivery. They offer the idea of community trusts as formal administrative bodies with devolved responsibility for ensuring that estate agreements are adhered to.

Holmes (2006) looked at the findings from seven studies into mixed income communities, which showed very high degrees of satisfaction with many of the schemes. He made the point that house size was often a more destabilising effect than tenure mix, especially where a disproportionate number of large households often attracted dysfunctional households and behaviours. He also showed how inner-city mixed communities can attract young families, especially where there is a strong ‘infrastructure’ and particularly schools. One idea to retain the longer term stability is the Community Land Trust which safeguards the ownership of land with the whole community, and makes it possible to exercise controls over who purchases properties and how a whole community is managed in the longer term. In their review of Section 106 agreements, Monk et al (2005) pointed out that planning gain interventions to supply affordable units in new housing developments is best delivered at a time of sustained housing growth. Section 106 agreements build in a proportion of affordable housing into the scheme and have been delivered to good effect in England.

Martin and Watkinson (2003) also point out that most attempts to rebalance communities on estates have been reactive, such as reducing the number of empty properties (that were hard to let), reducing repair costs or accessing regeneration funding. Meen et al (2005) also suggests a set of preconditions for the development of mixed communities:

- Neighbourhoods with high levels of deprivation need to reach take off point; Since deprivation is strongly related to unemployment, long term illness and lack of educational qualifications, any policy to address deprivation almost certainly needs to improve these significantly.
- Reducing deprivation requires vibrant national, regional and local economies and an improvement in the local skills base. Therefore, area policies need to go hand in hand with other labour market policies. The former support the latter in discouraging those whose skills improve from leaving deprived areas.
- Incentives should be targeted on those most likely to move into the area such as young and highly skilled people without children. The probability of attracting back older households who have already left urban areas is much lower.
- The local authority needs to decide whether its strategy is to retain young ‘newcomers’ as they grow older or to accept that they will move elsewhere with time and so focus on attracting the next cohort of young people into the area. The former strategy has the advantage of improving social networks as residents stay longer: however, the authority will have to provide high quality schools and other elements of infrastructure to retain incomers as they have children.
Even where there is observed housing need, building more social housing in the most deprived areas seems to concentrate deprivation and segregation further and tenure diversification must therefore be seen as a key strategy on social and ethnic mixing.

2.5 A Shared Future

Concern at the high levels of residential segregation was also highlighted in the Government’s review of community relations policy, which is based on an explicit commitment to *A Shared Future* and has the overriding objective of:

> The establishment over time of a normal, civic society, in which all individuals are considered as equals, where differences are resolved through dialogue in the public sphere, and where all people are treated impartially. A society where there is equity, respect for diversity and a recognition of our interdependence. (OFMDFM, 2005, p.7)

The policy objectives of the strategy are set out in the table below and show the emphasis placed on sharing and integration, especially in the housing and spatial planning arena. It specifically makes a connection between the need to address both interface areas and promote residential mixing within the context of a new social vision for Northern Ireland.

**Table 1 Policy objectives of A Shared Future**

- Eliminate sectarianism, racism and all forms of prejudice to enable people to live and work without fear or intimidation;
- Reduce tension and conflict at interface areas;
- Facilitate the development of a shared community where people wish to learn, live, work and play together;
- Promote civic-mindedness via citizenship education through school and lifelong learning;
- Protect members of minorities (whether for example by religion, race, or any other grounds) and mixed marriages from intimidation and ensure perpetrators are brought to justice;
- Ensure that all public services are delivered impartially and guided by economy, efficiency and effectiveness;
- Shape policies, practices and institutions to enable trust and good relations to grow;
- Encourage understanding of the complexity of our history, through museums and a common school curriculum;
- Support cultural projects which highlight the complexity and overlapping nature of identities and their wider global connections;
- Support and learn from organisations working across ethnic divides for reconciliation, including those operating on a north-south basis;
- Ensure voice is given to the diverse victims of violence in Northern Ireland, including via archives and victim-centred reconciliation events;
- Encourage communication, tolerance and trust across Northern Ireland, but particularly in areas where communities are living apart; and
- Promote dialogue between and mutual understanding of, different faiths and cultural backgrounds, both long standing within Northern Ireland and recent arrivals to these shores, guided by overarching human rights norms.

2.6 District Housing Analysis

These policy concerns have, to some extent, already been identified in the Housing Executive’s (2005) *Community Cohesion* strategy, which has the following objectives:

- Respond quickly and effectively to the needs of people in danger as a result of community conflict;
- Work in partnership with others to address the complex housing needs of a divided society;
- Respect the rights of people who choose to live in single identity neighbourhoods; and
- Facilitate and encourage mixed housing as far as is practicable, desirable and safe. (NIHE, 2005, p.6)

However, the extent to which this filters through organisational planning systems is an issue for this research and part of the study involved a systematic analysis of District Housing Plans to assess operational aspects of the delivery of the Community Cohesion strategy at a local level. Some of the key features of these plans include:

- The use of District level Housing Community Networks to create governance based relationships between community groups and tenants associations across the area;
- A representative role with Housing Executive officials sitting on key decision making bodies such as District Council Local Strategy Partnerships established under PEACE II Programme;
- Active participation in peace and reconciliation based programmes such as Measure 2.11 (of PEACE II) which addresses the distinctive problems faced by interface communities;
- Specific operational initiatives to remove contentious graffiti, flags and murals in Housing Executive estates and to deal with the management of bonfires;
- Training and skills development in mediation, conflict management and dispute resolution supported by Mediation Northern Ireland (MNI);
- The development of Learning and Resource Centres, which are used for educational and community development programmes on a cross community basis;
- Participation in District Council wide community relations strategies, which have a focus as segregated places, directly involving the Housing Executive;
- Housing Executive staff (and facilities) are employed in a range of programmes targeted at disaffected young people; and
- Operational links with Habitat for Humanity in pilot refurbishment schemes on target estates.

This level and range of activity demonstrates a strong commitment to community relations at an operational level, especially under the themes within the Community Relations Strategy dealing with flags, emblems and sectional symbols and race relations. However, whilst these internal policy connections may be coherent, it is also clear that partner agencies need to work in a more coordinated fashion to ensure this intervention is supported effectively.

2.7 Policy connections

The Department for Social Development (DSD) launched its Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy, People and Place, in 2003 with four strategic objectives, one of which specifically highlights the importance of dealing with the legacy of violence and the way segregation impacts on quality of life, access to services and health of enclave communities. However, the strategy has yet to be implemented via the proposed Neighbourhood Action Plans and it is not clear how and whether they will address the issue of integrated housing in concert with the Housing Executive. Similarly, the Regional Development Strategy for Northern Ireland (DRD, 2001), which is the region’s spatial planning framework, sets out the following strategic objectives (SPG-SRC 3): To facilitate the development of integrated communities where people wish to live together and to promote respect, encouragement and celebration of different traditions; and to promote respect, encouragement and celebration of different traditions, and encourage communication and social intercourse in
areas where communities are living apart. Again, this reflects high level commitment but few of the Development Plans prepared since the strategic context was published, have addressed these aims. Part of the problem, noted earlier, is the lack of skills and knowledge to effect meaningful change and it is still unclear whether Community Planning will provide the necessary architecture to connect the programmes together in order to create real housing alternatives to segregation.

The Reform of Public Administration described the new structure of central and local government including proposals to establish seven super authorities across Northern Ireland. The Councils will take on responsibilities for a range of executive functions including planning, urban regeneration, housing, the arts and cultural development. Moreover, they will work through the Community Planning approach defined in the RPA review as follows:

 Councils will be required to lead a community planning process. This will require the council to consult all its constituents about issues that affect their lives and allow people to have a say in the way in which their area is developed. All other statutory agencies will be required to work with councils in developing and delivering these plans. The community plan will be published allowing the whole community to take ownership of it, as well as assess how well the council and others are delivering against their commitments. (NIO, 2006, p.7)

It is important that the Housing Executive influences these plans, especially with regard to the Community Cohesion agenda. It is also vital that dealing with the legacy of residential segregation and the opportunities for mixing are integrated into the formulation, analysis, consultation processes and the final strategies produced by new Council structures. Whilst there is no guarantee that they will address some of the structural obstacles to the development of residential integration it, at least, offers the opportunity to proactively engage the agenda within a strategic planning framework. The better examples of urban planning presented here from South Africa and Sweden see these initiatives as a part of a wider development framework. Thus, whilst the Housing Executive has a crucial role to play, mechanisms for pursuing integrated communities as a spatial development objective, under the Shared Future agenda, still need to be thought through, especially out-with the social rented sector.

2.8 Conclusions

This section highlights the need to conceptualise mixed housing within a wider policy framework. In particular planning for integrated spaces need to be located within a broader strategic planning context, which Community Planning under the Review of Public Administration, might provide. Here, desegregation and integration need to be part of a strategy that stimulates economic growth, promotes a more open public realm, deals openly with the past and engages with the business case for more efficient pluralist urban systems.
3. Tonagh in profile

This section sets the context for the quantitative and qualitative research by looking at the profile of the area and its distinctive character within this part of Lisburn and the region more generally. The first part examines demographic and social conditions and helps to identify specific problems such as crime and poor health that are higher here than elsewhere. It then looks at the religious pattern of the ward and how this relates to the surrounding area. The last part of the analysis summarises the qualitative assessment of local conditions, changes in housing market dynamics and the durability of Tonagh as mixed religion space.

3.1 Demographic and social conditions

The table below shows that the Tonagh ward has an older age profile than the rest of the Lisburn population and especially when compared with the pattern for Northern Ireland as a whole. For example, 25.5% of the Tonagh ward population is aged over 65 compared with 16.1% for Lisburn and 17.6% for Northern Ireland as a whole. The average age of the population is 40.4 years compared with 35.1 years for Lisburn city and 35.8 years for the region. In part, because of this demographic profile, the table shows that economic activity rates are lower in Tonagh and inactivity significantly higher than the Local Government District total. Unemployment is higher than in the District and the wider Lagan Valley area and the sharp social contrasts in this part of Lisburn are also borne out by the small area statistics shown in the table. Receipt of Housing Benefit, Free School Meals and Income Support are also higher in Tonagh. For instance, 20.0% of the school age population is in receipt of free school meals compared with 27.8% in Tonagh.

Table 2 Social and demographic characteristics of Tonagh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comparisons</th>
<th>WARD</th>
<th>LGD</th>
<th>PC</th>
<th>N.IRELAND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tonagh</td>
<td>Lisburn</td>
<td>Lagan Valley</td>
<td>N.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident population</td>
<td>2537</td>
<td>108694</td>
<td>101696</td>
<td>1685267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% persons under 16 years old</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% persons aged 60 and over</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age of population</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% degree level or higher qualifications</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% economically active</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>62.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% economically inactive</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% unemployed</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of the school population entitled to free school meals (2002)</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of persons 18-59 claimed Income Support (2004)</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of persons 16+ claimed Housing Benefit (2004)</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be shown later in both the quantitative and the qualitative analysis that crime and fear of crime is a major local issue and this is confirmed in the table below. In terms of recorded crime, Tonagh has the 57th highest numeric recorded crime out of Northern

---

2 Note that this section refers to Tonagh ward, which extends beyond the estate boundary. The relationship between the estate and ward boundaries is shown in figure 2.
Ireland 582 wards. This puts it in the top decile in terms of incidence in Lisburn and the table below shows that theft is a particular problem in the area.

Table 3 Recorded crime in Tonagh and comparator areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recorded Crime PSNI (2004/05)</th>
<th>WARD</th>
<th>LGD</th>
<th>PC</th>
<th>N.IRELAND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tonagh</td>
<td>Lisburn</td>
<td>Lagan Valley</td>
<td>N.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total offences recorded</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>8013</td>
<td>6918</td>
<td>118124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% offences against the person</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% burglary</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% theft</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% criminal damage</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The revised Noble Index also shows that Tonagh scores exceptionally highly on the Crime Domain at a rank of 35 and a score of 53.75. The analysis also shows poor health and educational standards, which reflects the type of multiple deprivation on some public sector housing estates in Northern Ireland. The centrality of the estate, which helps to explain its ethnic-religious stability, is shown by the fact that it is ranked 580 (out of 582) in the Proximity to Services Domain (it is therefore one of the most accessible ward in Northern Ireland). Overall, Tonagh is ranked 146 in terms of social need with a Noble Index score of 28.01.

Table 4 Noble Index of deprivation and Tonagh Ward

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multiple Deprivation Measure</td>
<td>28.01</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income Domain</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment Domain</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Deprivation and Disability Domain</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education, Skills and Training Domain</td>
<td>41.62</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximity to Services Domain</td>
<td>-1.60</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living Environment Domain</td>
<td>18.29</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime and Disorder Domain</td>
<td>53.75</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The extent of the ill-health and educational under-attainment is illustrated in the table below. The ward scores unfavorably to other geographies on a range of variables such as the rate of long term illness and poor health. For example 26.5% of people in Tonagh stated that they had a limited long-term illness compared with 18.2% for the Local Government District and 20.4% for the population was a whole. Similarly, the ward had lower rates of people going on to third level education and again, the contrast is most marked with the wider Lagan Valley constituency wards.

Note that in the Noble Index the wards are ranked so that those with the worst conditions have a low number against each domain; number 1 has the poorest conditions and number 582 has the comparatively best conditions.
Table 5 Ill-health and Tonagh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comparisons</th>
<th>WARD</th>
<th>LGD</th>
<th>PC</th>
<th>N.IRELAND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tonagh</td>
<td>Lisburn</td>
<td>Lagan Valley</td>
<td>N.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% people with limiting long-term illness</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% people stated their health was good</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>72.4</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% one or more persons with a long-term illness</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>41.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% school leavers continued on into further and higher education (2002)</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>70.8</td>
<td>61.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Religion and Tonagh

The community background of the population in Tonagh and contiguous wards is described in the table below. According to the Census, 35% of the population is Catholic although this is significantly higher than in surrounding areas. This is especially the case in Old Warren and Lagan Valley which are physically closest to Tonagh. Here, for example, the proportion of Protestants is 70% and 83% respectively.

Table 6 Community background in wards contiguous to Tonagh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>All persons</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>None</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2537</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>1572</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonagh</td>
<td>2401</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>1691</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Warren</td>
<td>2967</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>2448</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagan Valley</td>
<td>2798</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>2306</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisnagarvey</td>
<td>4136</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>3070</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace Park</td>
<td>108696</td>
<td>36251</td>
<td>68233</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>3823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisburn</td>
<td>1685258</td>
<td>737412</td>
<td>895377</td>
<td>6568</td>
<td>45901</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The internal distribution of Catholics and Protestants in the ward is comparatively even and the map below shows that although Protestants tend to be more concentrated in the west of the ward, neither religion clusters in particular output areas.
It is also important to note social differences between Tonagh and the housing sub-marked in Lisburn. The diagram below looks at the percentage of people in the top 3 Social Economic Groups and highlights the comparatively low proportion in Tonagh (17%) compared with neighbouring wards in Wallace Park (50%) and Lisnagarvey (34%). Similarly, economic activity is lower in Tonagh (38%) than in all contiguous wards, with the exception of Old Warren, which shares similar social characteristics. Finally, the proportion of economically active persons who are Sick or Disabled is higher in both these wards than for all the others in the surrounding area. Thirteen percent of the population of Tonagh falls into this category compared with 8% in Lisburn City Council Area and 9% in the Northern Ireland population as a whole.
3.3 Stakeholder interviews

This section sets out the results of the semi-structured in-depth interviews with key actors in the local policy system including representatives from housing, churches, community sector, politicians and a range of service providers.

3.3.1 Housing market change

Lisburn has witnessed strong economic and demographic growth in the last decade in particular. Estate agents reported District house price increases of up to 20% in the last five years and this has been fuelled by first time buyers and young families. Good transport infrastructure, accessibility to the Belfast metropolitan labour market and the strengthening position of the commercial city centre underpin the growth. Future development in the housing market is likely to be concentrated in the apartment and starter home sector but agents and housing officials highlight the shortage of land as a potential constraint within the market.

Respondents also believed that demand for housing in Tonagh was strong with some resale properties reaching upwards of £75,000. However, a wide range of interests identified the rise in social problems as having a depressing effect in Tonagh in the last 2-3 years. The area still has important strategic advantages in the Lisburn market:

- Very good proximity to Lisburn city centre;
- Good availability of local shops and services enhancing the ‘walk ability’ of the estate;
- Good local schools, which are especially important in retaining and attracting families to the estate;
- Good discounts from the Housing Executive stimulating tenure diversification on the estate;
- Effective refurbishment programme that refreshes the estate and environmental attractiveness;
- The presence of a core of a stable mixed permanent population on the estate;
- Lack of a strong paramilitary presence and an absence of sectarian symbols locally; and
- An attractive environment with plentiful open space on the estate.

3.3.2 Instability and demographic change

However, it is also clear that there is demographic churning on the estate through the operation of both the social and private rented sectors. Respondents highlighted the following issues:

- A disproportionate rise in NIHE allocations to young males in their early 20s;
- Increasing allocation to dysfunctional tenants with a range of behavioural and anti-social problems; and
- A rise in the investor market with unregulated allocations and management of tenancies on the estate. Some estate agents suggest that private renting has risen to 20% of the estate stock.

Whilst the conditions of the dwellings are good, the appearance of some of the flat roof properties and unconventional design are not attractive to private purchasers in particular. Interviewees suggest that demand for all tenures in Tonagh tends to be within the wider Lisburn housing market and that the mixed character of the area is part of its popularity with purchasers, tenants and private landlords. However, most of the respondents, highlighted the disruptive effect of demographic changes, a rise in anti-social behaviour and problems associated with the private rented sector, rather than sectarian problems, in unbalancing the estate.

3.3.3 Mixing and Community Relations

The interviews also highlighted the longevity of mixing and the strength of family ties (rather than positive community relations per se) as the main reason for stability in Tonagh. The area has remained relatively unscathed during the Troubles, even though there have been tensions in other estates. There is strong cross-community infrastructure on the estate, especially with the integrated primary school and although it has had a variable history, the local community group has retained support from both religions. Again, stakeholders highlighted extraneous factors such as new tenants coming into the private rented sector as one of the main disruptive influence on community stability and relationships. A stronger community group, better parental responsibility, a stronger police presence and intolerance of drug dealers and users are required to enhance stability. Local lettings, especially to young single people in flats, need to be properly monitored and controlled. Some respondents suggested that ‘ratios’ of Protestants to Catholics should be monitored by housing managers to ensure that the estate remains integrated. Others argued that selective demolition, especially of the flat blocks, may halt the demographic churning of the area with new housing used to attract families and help support services such as the integrated primary school.

Crime and fear of crime is a major local problem and there was a perception across the stakeholders interviewed that there should be more effective policing, with higher visibility patrols on the estate. Relationships with community policing do seem to be very strong and it has been acknowledged across the stakeholders that there are resourcing problems, especially when it comes to more serious crimes such as drugs, anti-social behaviour and vandalism.
3.3.4 Priorities for future stability

It was also acknowledged that there is a lack of local leadership, evidenced in faltering attempts to establish a community group. The presence of the Warden has had a significant effect on the estate, especially with regard to service provision and tenant satisfaction. This may provide the context for the development of more formal and durable structures in the future. One area of development identified for all agencies, but especially the Housing Executive, is in community safety and reducing crime by better design of properties, common areas and open space. Safe play areas for children and better provision for older people are particularly important in this regard.

3.4 Waiting list survey

The Housing Executive’s *Review and Perspectives of the Housing Market 2006-09* (NIHE, 2006) highlighted rising housing stress (urgent need) in key submarkets in Northern Ireland of which Lisburn was one. The data showed that there were 924 people in housing stress in the District in 2005, which was a 36% increase since 2002 and compares with a Northern Ireland rise of 25% over the same period (NIHE, 2006, p.41). Similarly, the *Review* highlighted the emergence of an affordability problem in Lisburn. The Affordability Index is based on three variables: house prices; incomes; and interest rates and gives a broad indication of the degree of difficulty experienced by a first time buyers purchasing a property with a five percent deposit. In 2001, 17% of property in the District was affordable to this group but by 2004 this figure had fallen to just 3%; compared with Northern Ireland figures of 16% and 5% respectively.

Of the 112 applicants on the current Waiting List and who expressed an interest in the Tonagh allocation area, 21% rented from the Housing Executive, 21% from a private landlord, 5% from a housing association and 20% lived in the owner occupied sector. A further 20% were living in the parental home. Eighty eight per cent stated that they were aware that Tonagh was a mixed estate before identifying it as a housing choice and this was common across all religions and mixed religion households.

The dominant reason for wanting to live in Tonagh was the location (17%) although 13% stated that they had family connections in the area. Only 11% stated that they choose Tonagh explicitly because of the religious mix and 9% stated that it was for the quality of the housing. The same percentage (9%) also felt that safety was an important factor in their decision. The centrality of the estate is illustrated by the 11% who thought that amenities were good, 8% for employment reasons and 6% because of good neighbourhood schools.

Most people said that they were unaware of the religious mix of the estate (44%) although 38% described the population as *half and half*. Interestingly, mixed households (80%) and Catholic applicants (43%) were more likely than Protestants (31%) to describe Tonagh in this way. The make up of the Waiting List is also interesting in that it is dominated by Protestant households (57%) compared with Catholics (21%); although 9% of the applicants are Mixed households. The analysis below suggests that the there is still demand from all household types and there seems to be some reinforcement of the high level of Mixed religion households living in Tonagh. This will be looked at later in the analysis.
The survey showed that 72% of those on the Waiting List think that the Housing Executive should do more to encourage a religious mix on their estate, which is similar to the overall Northern Ireland statistic. It also shows that Catholic and Mixed households are more likely to support this policy direction. For instance, 90% of Mixed households support an active mixing policy compared with 83% for Catholics and 68% for Protestants.

One of the issues to emerge from the profile of the Waiting List is that 45% of the applicants are Single Person households, 22% are Elderly and 21% are Small Families. Only 6% of applicants are Small Adult households and this raises some concerns raised in the in-depth interviews and in the household survey about the high proportion of single people moving into the area. Linked to this is the comparatively low income of those currently on the Waiting List for Tonagh and the way that this reflects the residualisation of the social rented stock in Northern Ireland. The diagram below shows that 21% of households have a Gross Weekly Income of less than £101 per week and 29% have an income greater than £201 per week.
3.5 Conclusion

This section provides a useful context for the analysis of the survey data. It shows that housing stress and affordability are becoming important issues in Lisburn but that Tonagh is still a popular destination for applicants; because of its neutrality and proximity to services and the city centre. The data showed that the area was under some threat by an increasing rate of anti-social behaviour, which a number of informants put down to allocations, especially within the private rented sector and to the behaviour of younger people. The next section looks at the experiences of the residents of Tonagh about the implications of these changes for life on the estate.
4. Life in Tonagh

This section describes the results of the survey data. It looks at the housing history and movement pattern of residents and makes a distinction between Protestant, Catholic and Mixed religion households. The analysis then evaluates the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the three groups before describing attitudes to community relations and social distance in the area. Here, in particular, we make a comparison with the Ballynafeigh study although there are important social, tenure and market dynamics in each case. The section concludes by examining attitudes to the area, service provision and priorities for longer term development.

4.1 Housing choice and history

The diagram below shows the community background of the estate drawn from the survey data, which uses a different categorisation than that adopted within the 2001 Census. This shows that Protestants make up 37% of the area, Catholic households 28% and Mixed religion households 28%, which indicates the attraction of the area to this particular category. Data from the 2005 Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey showed that 12% of people are married to someone who is not of the same religion, which means that Tonagh has more than twice the rate of Mixed households compared with Northern Ireland as a whole. Most people living in Tonagh described the estate as ‘mixed’ and expressed their desire to continue to live in a mixed area (89%), whilst Mixed households (97%) and Catholics (88%) were more likely to define the estate in this way, than Protestants (85%).

Figure 7 Religious composition of households in Tonagh (%)

The Protestant population lived in the estate for a longer period of time than either Mixed or Catholic households. More than half (53%) of Protestant households have lived there for longer than 21 years compared with 26% for Catholics and 37% for Mixed households. The analysis also suggests that Tonagh has been a popular housing choice for mixed religion households for some time.
The diagram below illustrates that most people living in the area moved comparatively short distances, although there are important differences between the community background categories. For instance, 34% of Protestant households had a previous address in Tonagh compared with 26% of Catholics and just 6% for Mixed religion households. The modal response for Mixed households was to come from *elsewhere in greater Lisburn* (18%) and a profile emerges of this cohort engaging in wider housing search patterns before settling in the area. This perhaps reflects the lack of alternative social housing spaces where Mixed households feel safe in living.

The diagram below shows that Catholics and especially Mixed households, were more likely to live in a Housing Executive property, whilst Protestants are most likely to own their dwelling. Catholics were also more likely to be in co-ownership or live in Housing Association property. When we look at home owners only, it shows that 53% purchased their dwelling under the *Right to Buy* scheme, whilst 47% purchased second hand, on the open market. Protestants (58%) were most likely to buy as sitting tenants, especially compared to Catholics (41%), again reflecting their longevity in Tonagh. Mixed households bought from the Housing Executive (52%) and on the second hand market (46%) in
roughly even proportions to the estate profile. There was only 4% of the occupied stock in private renting according to the household survey, which is significantly lower than the Northern Ireland average of 6.7% (according to the 2001 Census) and which seems lower than some of the qualitative assessments made in the in-depth interviews (this may also relate to a higher non-response rate from this tenure). However, as the University of Ulster (2002) study into the private rented sector makes clear, the proportion of private rented does not have to be large to have a destabilising effect on the local housing market, especially with an emerging correlation between anti-social behaviour and concentrations of rented accommodation. It should be stressed that allocations by the Housing Executive have also been identified as a cause for the high number of younger people (often with a range of problems) living in Tonagh.

Figure 10 Tenure by religion on Tonagh (%)

Only 17% of households stated that they wished to move house, with Mixed households slightly more likely to want to leave (19%) compared with either Protestants (15%) or Catholics (16%). The main reasons why people said that they wished to move were to get a bigger property (8 households) or a smaller property (6 households). There was no significant difference between the religion categories and no one cited sectarian reasons for wanting to leave. However, a total of 5 households who stated they wanted to move, said that it was because of anti-social behaviour on the estate. Of the 42 households who were likely to move away in the next two years, 14 wished to move into a home that they own. Most people want to move elsewhere on the estate (10 households) or elsewhere in Lisburn (5 households) and again, there was no real difference in attitudes between community backgrounds.

Previous research demonstrated that mixed areas are characterised by more open patterns of movement behaviour and interaction (Murtagh and Carmichael, 2005). This is also reflected in shopping patterns in Tonagh, where the difference in the use of services by religion was not statistically significant. Most people shopped in the nearby Tesco (51%) although Mixed households were more likely to use the city centre (11%) for weekly shopping than either Protestants (2%) or Catholics (1%). The diagram below shows that, while the location of amenities was a strong reason for living in Tonagh, the suitability of the property and family connections were the dominant factors cited by respondents. Interestingly, Mixed households were most likely to identify the suitability of the property...
(33%) and least likely to be influenced by family connections (26%), again indicating a different search and choice pattern from Protestants and Catholics in this part of the Lisburn housing market.

Figure 11 Main reasons for living in Tonagh (%)

4.2 Socio-economic and demographic profile

The diagram below shows that more than a third of households on the estate were elderly (34%) and in particular 57% of protestant households were elderly. Catholic households were fairly evenly represented across all household types, from singles to large family’s and mixed households were represented mostly within the smaller households (small adult, elderly, single).

Figure 12 Demographic profile of Tonagh (%)

Some of the explanation for this is shown in the table below. If we take the ‘over 70’ category, it shows that 44% of Protestant household heads were in this age bracket, compared with 19% of Catholics and just 2% for Mixed households.
Table 7 Age profile of Head of Household (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 years and under</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 – 30 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40 years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50 years</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60 years</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-70 years</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71-80 years</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-90 years</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91 years and over</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing/Refused</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The diagram below shows that income levels are lower in Tonagh than elsewhere in Northern Ireland and especially when compared with the Ballynafeigh case study area. This underscores the point that residential integration is not just a feature of higher income, owner occupied housing markets. The analysis shows that Mixed households had the highest incomes with 13% earning over £20,000 compared with 10% for the estate as a whole and just 7% for Protestant households. The statistics on income and economic activity also reflect the demography of the area, with higher proportions of the Protestant population who are not economically active. The equivalent statistic for Northern Ireland and Ballynafeigh was 21% in each case.

Figure 13 Gross annual income in Tonagh, Ballynafeigh and Northern Ireland (%)

This is also reflected in the employment status of the head of household. Mixed households were more likely to be self-employed (13%), in full-time work (26%) or in part-time work (11%) than the other categories. They were also less likely to be retired (20%) compared with Protestant households (52%) or Catholic households (39%).
Table 8 Employment status of the head of household (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full time work</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part time work</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed &lt; 1 year</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed &gt; 1 year</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired looking/ after home</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanently sick/ disabled</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing/Refused</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, as the diagram below shows, fewer households were in full-time work in Tonagh (23%) compared with the Northern Ireland average (38%) or the proportion in Ballynafeigh (48%). There is, nevertheless, a younger, working population, earning reasonable incomes and prepared to engage in longer housing search patterns definable within the Tonagh estate.

Figure 14 Comparative analysis of head of household in full time work (%)

Mixed households were also less likely to be in receipt of Housing Benefit (10%) than either Catholics (20%) or Protestants (20%) although they were more likely to rely on Child Benefit (26%) and especially on Child Tax Credit (17%), compared with the rest of the Tonagh population. The working poor is a more important feature of social exclusion in Northern Ireland and Mixed households exhibit some of these features, especially given their reliance on tax credits as part of their income.
Table 9 Households in receipt of welfare benefits (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child benefit</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability Living allowance</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incapacity Benefit</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Benefit</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income Support</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Seekers Allowance</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retirement Pension</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Tax Credit</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Tax Credit</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pension Credit</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other benefits</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proportion of households without access to a car was higher than the Northern Ireland average (26.3%) for all groups, although Mixed households were least likely (41%) to be car-less, perhaps reflecting their economic activity profile compared with the population as a whole.

Figure 15 Households with no car (%)

4.3 Community relations

The data presented here suggests that community relations in Tonagh were strong compared with the rest of Northern Ireland. For instance, the Tonagh survey revealed that 18% of people in Northern Ireland as a whole were concerned about community relations whilst the figure for Tonagh was just 8%. A total of 77% of households on the estate said that they were not at all concerned about community relations although Mixed households were the least concerned (91%) compared with Protestants (79%) and especially Catholics (65%). Those that did experience some concern stated that they were influenced by recent sectarian tensions in the wider Lisburn area.
The diagram below shows that only 16% of households felt that community relations had improved in the last 5 years although most people felt that circumstances have remained the same. Interestingly, a high proportion of people don’t know about the changing character of community relations (29%) and this is especially the case for Mixed households (61%) who display a certain detachment from these issues (potentially as a deliberate strategy of anonymity). Protestants were most likely to say that circumstances had deteriorated (20%), again potentially reflecting a sense of vulnerability and in common with Ballynafeigh, it is highly localised experiences that tend to shape these attitudes. Conversely a higher proportion of Catholics (25%) felt that relations had improved over the last 5 years. In Ballynafeigh, 29% of households thought that community relations had improved, 4% that they had deteriorated and 38% that they had stayed the same.
Most respondents felt that the religious composition of Tonagh was stable (69%) although Mixed households (90%) were most likely to suggest that the area has stayed the same in terms of community balance. A total of 20% of the households thought that the area had become more Catholic with Protestants four times more likely (39%) to say this than Catholics (10%). Interestingly, 9% of Catholics thought that the area was becoming more Protestant compared with 4% of all households and only 1% of Protestants. Just over one-fifth (23%) of those who suggested that the area was becoming more Protestant or Catholic said they were concerned about the changes, with Protestants (22%) most likely to express unease, compared with either Catholics (4%) or Mixed religion households (4%). The main reason for the concern was the potential to create instability in the longer term, rather than a sectarian attitude to particular groups. It will be noted later that residents, as with the key informants, suggested that recent allocations, especially to the private rented sector is causing concern about the religious, social and demographic stability of Tonagh.

**Figure 18 Changing composition of Tonagh (%)**

The diagram below shows that most people felt that involvement with youth groups/schools (31%) and a community association (26%) would help to improve local relations and estate stability. All households, regardless of religion considered these interventions most useful in promoting community relations. Protestants were more likely to identify the role of churches (16%) in the promotion of good relations compared with the population as a whole (13%). Moreover, 90% thought that the Housing Executive should promote Mixed religion estates and this was broadly shared across Mixed (91%), Protestant (88%) and Catholic (91%) households.
4.4 **Attitude to area**

The diagram below shows that most people (69%) were satisfied with the area, with Mixed households (71%) most satisfied with the place where they live. However, pride in area was significantly lower at 42% but here, again, Mixed religion households were more proud (54%) than either Protestants (39%) or Catholics (35%).

**Figure 20 Attitude to area (%)**

The table below shows attitudes to problems across a range of variables on the estate and three key issues emerge from the analysis:

- The main problem identified related to the behaviour of young people loitering around the estate (35%) and specifically linked to alcohol misuse (46%). This was shared across the main community backgrounds in Tonagh.
- Interestingly, experience of sectarianism (2%), racism (5.4%) or burglary and theft (5%) were not identified as significant problems in Tonagh, both in general or by any community grouping; and
The majority of problems related to vandalism (29%), graffiti (20%) and anti-social behaviour (36%) and drug abuse (35%). Comparatively few people were worried about ethnic minorities moving into the area (6%) although 20% did feel that new anti-social entrants were a major problem.

Table 10 issue a major problem in the Tonagh estate (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antisocial behaviour</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sectarian attacks/intimidation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour disputes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graffiti</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youths loitering</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft/Burglary</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol abuse by people under 18 years</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol abuse by people aged over 18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racist Attacks</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late night parties/loud music</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuisance from dogs</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car parking within area</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minorities moving into area</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti - social people moving into area</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The actual experiences of criminality and reporting incidents in Tonagh are set out in the table below. This confirms the problem of anti-social behaviour (29%), vandalism to property (14%) and underage drinking (32%). There was no significant difference between community background in either experiencing or reporting incidents. The table also shows comparatively lower levels of reporting, even for serious criminal activity, such as, theft and burglary. In crude terms, an average of 12% of respondents have witnessed one of the identified incidents yet less than half (6%) have reported them to the police or other authorities.

Table 11 issue a major problem in the Tonagh estate (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incident</th>
<th>Witnessed an incident</th>
<th>Reported the incident</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theft from car</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of car/motor vehicle</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism of property</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism of car/motor vehicle</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimidation</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti social behaviour</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuisance from dogs</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underage drinking</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late night parties/loud music</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data shows that 77% of respondents were aware that the Housing Executive provided accommodation for a community association and nearly three quarters (71%) thought that
it would be a good idea to develop a formal structure for the area. Moreover, 15% would be interested in joining an association, with Mixed households most likely to be supportive (17%) followed by Protestants (14%) and Catholics (12%). Just over one-half (53%) were aware of the Housing Executive Warden and Mixed households had less knowledge of the service (44%) compared with Catholics (62%) and Protestants (54%). A total of 20% used the Warden service and this was highest among Catholics (17%).

Generally, residents were very satisfied with the range of services on the estate as the diagram below illustrates, and there was no significant difference between community backgrounds on the main services evaluated. Accessibility and mobility were especially strong features of the area although many of the core statutory services and facilities were effectively provided. Policing had the lowest rating of satisfaction at 69% and Protestants (64%) had lower satisfaction than either Catholics (68%) or Mixed households (79%). Respondents, who were dissatisfied with the policing service, want to see higher visibility community policing and a more active approach to tackling anti-social behavior in particular.

**Figure 21 Satisfaction with estate based services (%)**

![Bar chart showing satisfaction levels for different services.]

Despite the comments made about policing, the vast majority of people felt safe in their homes and in moving around the estate during the day. However, the diagram below shows that all groups felt less secure on the estate after 6.00pm. Interestingly, Protestants (51%) have the lowest perception of safety, especially compared with Mixed households (70%), who felt most secure (which again underpins the attractiveness of the area for Mixed religion households).
4.5 Conclusion

This section described the experiences and attitudes of the residents of Tonagh to life in their neighbourhood, each other and the wider community. The area has clearly become a safe haven for Mixed religion households with twice the regional average residing on the estate. Residents like the location and its accessibility to facilities, the standard of services and the condition of their area; and have reasonably positive attitudes to community relations. However, it is also clear that the area is undergoing important change that threatens some of the demographic and ethno-religious stability, especially with an increase in anti-social behaviour among young people. The lack of control over private landlords is a particular cause of local concern across all religious categories.
5. Implications of the research

This section sets out the implications of the research for policy and practice, which can be summarised as follows:

- A strategic approach;
- A wider definition of mixing;
- Housing planning and development priorities;
- Community development; and
- Learning from best practice.

5.1 A strategic approach

The analysis presented here demonstrates the need to see the debate about mixed housing located within a strategic planning context. The maintenance or creation of integrated communities relies on a range of actors and resources and here, housing management instruments have an important but ultimately partial, role to play. Community Planning will be introduced by new local authorities in an attempt to integrate the functions of government as well as those of the private and voluntary sectors. The nature and scope of Community Planning, like the structures themselves, are uncertain but this provides an opportunity to mould the agenda around the policy concerns of the Housing Executive, especially with regard to Community Cohesion. The Community Cohesion Unit should develop technical briefing and supporting resources to show how Community Planning might address the legacy of division and prospects for integration including: the need for locality research and analysis of segregation and mixing; potential actions to develop or maintain stable communities, especially with regard to tenure and affordable housing; the importance of tenant and community structures; participatory systems and effective consultation processes; environmental regeneration, especially around contested areas; and the importance of interagency working.

The model of the City Development Strategies in South Africa or the Metropolitan Development Initiative in Sweden could be used to help inform thinking in this direction. Crucially, strategies that deal with economic growth, tackle exclusion and connect disadvantaged communities to the growth economy and that openly acknowledge the past could help to underpin the Community Planning process and provide the Housing Executive with a framework to deliver their part of the Shared Future agenda in meaningful and sustainable ways. In particular, the Community Planning process could develop a more active connection between Mixed housing spaces and public transport. Part of the success of places such as Tonagh and Ballynafeigh is that they are open and accessible and where residents can reach services and facilities easily and safely. The role of transport in maintaining Mixed spaces and opening up segregated neighbourhoods needs to be understood further.

5.2 A wider definition of mixing

Linked to this, we need to conceptualise mixing in broader ways than just thinking about ethno-religious identities in Northern Ireland. The analysis showed that in both Tonagh and Ballynafeigh, the prospects of mixing between Protestants and Catholics, were intimately connected to social integration and that tenure restructuring had the potential to destabilise the area. In the former, allocations in the private rented and social rented sector seemed to intensify anti-social behaviour whilst investor activity and gentrification caused affordability problems for the indigenous population of south Belfast. Tenure diversification
is a doubled edged sword. On the one hand, it can destabilise areas if market forces are left unregulated, whilst a more planned approach can enhance the housing and demographic diversity of places. The proposal by North and West Housing to develop a scheme on the estate could have a stabilising influence, especially if it is well designed and adds to the quality of the built environment. Whilst working through the Common Selection Scheme limits the prospect of local allocations, the project could be more proactively marketed specially to Mixed religion households. Marketing agreements could be made with organisations working to support Mixed relationship households and others, to provide information on the estate as a viable housing choice. It is also important that this, itself, is regulated and that selected estates do not become viewed as exclusive repositories for Mixed religion households. We suggested in the Ballynafeigh study, that a specific counselling, advisory and support service could be developed for people wishing to live in mixed housing and this is just one illustration of how it might work in practice. The idea of management Compacts covering all tenures, property owners and residents has further potential to regulate behaviour, management of the stock and improve the condition of the environment. This type of integrated management will become more important as tenure change increasingly characterises areas such as Tonagh. The Housing Executive should look more closely at the Community Land Trust model to see how this wider definition of integrated planning might support a number of existing Mixed estates such as Tonagh, in say, a pilot development scheme.

5.3 Housing planning and development priorities

There is also a range of planning instruments and systems that could be more effectively employed to help maintain and grow the stock of mixed housing, especially in the social and affordable sector. For instance, Housing Needs Assessments (HNAs) are presently conducted by the Housing Executive (through Planning Policy Statement [PPS] 12) and could be used to clarify the stock of mixed housing and how to protect it. The report of the Examination in Public Panel (2006) into the Housing Growth Indicators of the Regional Development Strategy, made the following recommendation:

Housing Needs Assessments should identify the particular circumstances of the relevant Equality groups provided for in Planning Policy Statement 12 – Housing in Settlements. Where necessary, a focused assessment of zoning policies for residential development should be undertaken. (Examination in Public Panel Report, 2006, p.4)

PPS 12 outlines the methodology for the preparation of the assessments but it is important that in assessing local circumstance, some account is taken of the distribution of community background, the presence and condition of mixed housing and any implications for future provision and site planning. The type of waiting list analysis carried out by the Housing Executive for the Tonagh study provides an illustration of the strategic information that could inform a more ethnically sensitive HNA. The proposed scheme by North and West housing association in Tonagh strategic importance in the wider management of integrated housing spaces in the city and similar criterion could be considering in guiding the range of activities considered in the Plans.

5.4 Community development

One of the priorities for Mixed households in Tonagh is the need for a strong and active community development group, which provides a platform to address and resist some of the changes in the demographic composition of the estate. However, it is important that these structures have an outward looking and integrated focus. The Housing Forums at
District and regional level are important arenas for cross-community work on housing priorities and show the potential of mixed governance arenas in even the most divided places. Here, the Northern Ireland Tenants Action Project could have a dedicated programme developing and supporting residents associations in mixed estates, especially as the experience of Tonagh shows, it is often difficult to sustain this momentum in integrated areas. Similarly, the Warden service has proved to be an important instrument of stability and again, all designated mixed estates should be prioritised for a Warden service. The Warden could also liaise strongly with external bodies and especially the PSNI as community policing is a priority for the residents. This type of knowledge sharing is particularly important as the police could take a more proactive approach if the high numbers of Mixed households were known to them and so that the risk here can be properly assessed and effectively managed at a local level.

5.5 Learning from best practice

The issue of skills and models for planning integrated housing has been raised in this review, especially given the range of competencies needed to engage in the micro-management of integrated spaces (as well as interface communities). The Housing Executive has accumulated tacit knowledge, experience and models of practice that need to be capitalised in training and skills development. The various initiatives carried out within the Community Cohesion Unit have built competencies in mediation, brokering and conflict resolution and these need to be formalised and offered as a coherent training programme across the organisation. The Unit should develop partnerships with educational and training providers to map out a support programme for staff, partner agencies and community practitioners to engage more effectively the integrated housing project. The Housing Executive is currently working with the British Urban Regeneration Association (BURA) to supply essential skills in neighbourhood renewal and much of this is relevant to local development strategies in Mixed communities. However, this needs to be extended in the context of a more explicit set of learning outcomes around the management of diversity in the built environment.

5.6 Conclusion

This case study provided useful empirical evidence of the nature of mixing in the social rented sector. This type of locality research provides important learning opportunities for the Housing Executive in the development of their approach to mixed housing. Maintaining the integrated stock is a priority coupled with the need to develop new pilot programmes in Fermanagh and Banbridge. However, it is important that this evidence base is deployed in the development of policies, practice and learning within the Housing Executive and in outside agencies relevant to the delivery of a shared housing future.
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