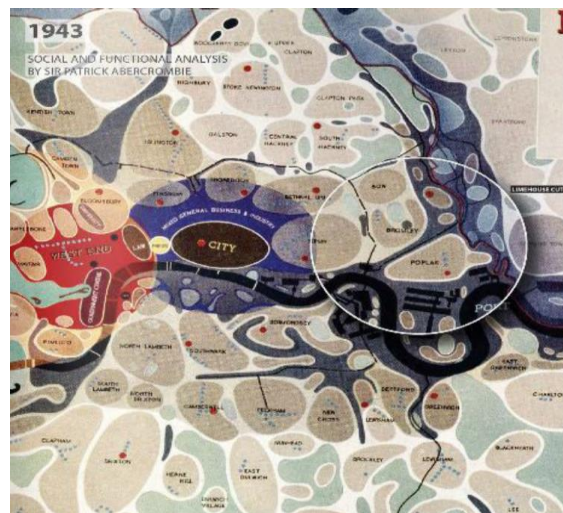


# Social Mix: Values, Purposes, Policies, Practices and Outcomes

## DELPHI SURVEY AND FOLLOW UP INTERVIEWS MAY-JULY 2016

### Final Report



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# **SOCIAL MIX: VALUES, PURPOSES, POLICIES, PRACTICES AND OUTCOMES**

## **DELPHI SURVEY AND FOLLOW UP INTERVIEWS MAY-JULY 2016**

### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Social mix is an elusive concept with a wide range of nuances but it is also a very common and practical core aim for housing interventions. This study aims to understand how social mix is conceptualised by key actors in the non-profit housing sector to inform a major study of social mix.

It is based on responses from a panel of 17 'experts': CEOs and senior staff of housing associations, sampled nationally but with an over-representation of large housing associations in London and the South East (7) and participants in previous Delphi panels (12). The response rate was 89%. Ten of the panel took part in follow-up telephone interviews in July 2016 reported in Part B of this Final Report and informing the drafting of Part A.

By breaking the topic down into purposes, policies, practices and outcomes the survey traces how in practice the slippery notion of social mix is negotiated and enacted; a first section clarifies the values and ethos underpinning these responses.

#### **Values and ethos**

Social mix fits with the hybrid blend of social and commercial aims of housing associations. It may be seen as enabling both financial and social returns. Making mix work also fits with the wider mission of some organisations to invest in communities and influence employment and well-being. There is also a good fit with missions highlighting independence and business methods to manage the asset legacy to meet current social purposes.

#### **Purposes**

Social mix is a moderately important objective for most panel members' organisations; although often packaged in relation to other strategic aims and is constantly being redefined as the policy and financial context changes. Among the 15 component purposes (see Table 1 for details) included in the survey only 'cross-subsidy of social housing' and 'developing mixed tenure neighbourhoods' are considered more important than promotion of social mix in itself.

The widespread importance of cross-subsidy as a driver of mixed tenure schemes was confirmed in follow up interviews. This was proving more successful for panel members in London and the south than those in the Midlands and North and in specialist organisations. The financial benefit to the housing organisation/government from cross-subsidy was confirmed in the interviews which also unpacked the different views on financial and social returns from high value land. There were different strategies to harnessing the legacy of high value sites with density playing an important role in balancing financial and social returns within those areas.

From the survey results it appeared that 12 of the 15 purposes were of at least moderate importance and are generally increasing in importance. The exceptions are 'benefiting home owners', 'promoting the 'right to place'' and 'enabling low income people to live closer to work opportunities' which are considered unimportant by most panel members.

Follow up Interviews found more resonance for ‘the right to place’ with several panellists seeing social mix as a response to a growing social imbalance in high cost locations such as central London and rural villages; and identifying the role of place making activities to support a shared sense of ownership of place across tenure and income groups.

The survey provides a provisional answer to the question; who is social mix for? There is a clear perception that tenants of affordable and social housing benefit more than shared owners and outright owners from social mix. Interviews highlighted the range of benefits and potential downsides for each tenure and the need for ‘*protection from the negative impacts*’. Evidence on outcomes for different tenure groups is returned to later in the report.

The wide spread of views about reducing welfare dependency and deconcentrating poverty as important drivers of social mix policies in the survey was confirmed in the interviews. There was a divide between associations with well-developed employment and community investment activities and those without and differences of view about how important social mix is in enabling tenants to access jobs. Other important factors were identified including transport, industrial and employment strategies in underpinning social mix and access to employment.

### **Policies**

By and large the panel do not see the current policy agenda as conducive to achieving social mix. The greatest difficulties are associated with reduced scope for planning gain (Section 106), policy shifts from rented homes to starter homes and lower grants. From the perspective of social mix, the voluntary Right to Buy policy is seen as slightly less problematic; but there were fears that it would repeat the council right to buy experiences leading to unmanaged private landlordism in the longer term.

The interviews confirmed that there were variations in responses to these questions on policy with some panellists seeing some policies as more conducive to social mix. This may be related to location in hot housing markets and embracing the opportunity to respond to grant reductions and loss of Section 106 through independent development without grant through cross-subsidy. This was summed up by one respondent as - ‘*You know what? - we’re going to do it anyway*’ (Case A).

The interviews indicated the role of policy devolution and the growing importance of local policies, particularly in London.

### **Practices**

There has been a growing focus on mixed tenure schemes and this is expected to continue; problems of ‘poor doors’ have been recognised and addressed but there is still little focus on mixing within blocks. Interviews confirmed the barriers to block level integration posed by service charge issues but the general increase in pepper potting blocks across the site and avoiding visible external differences in appearance by tenure.

Trends in social mix through integration of disability housing and encouraging were less clear cut. Interviews clarified the importance of lifetime homes in explaining this shift and opened up a new area of social mix within older people’s housing focusing on the very different histories of leasehold and rented retirement housing and the challenges of marketing mixed tenure developments.

Trends in relation to higher income households remaining in social areas were unclear from the survey with a fairly wide spread of views. Interviews confirmed these differences which were partly related to variations between different types of housing market and socio-economic mix. Outside London, higher income households may remain in socially diverse areas where social and private housing exist *'cheek by jowl'*; often switching tenure particularly in areas with strong ethnic ties to neighbourhoods. There was little clear evidence on the likely impact of pay to stay and different expectations from two of the London cases on the trend and scale of high income earners remaining.

Interviews highlighted the importance of practices designed to enable real social mix rather than people simply living alongside one another. This included *'identifying residents' interests and giving them space to run things'*, shared spaces in the common realm, and promotion of interaction through links with schools, libraries and community spaces.

Turning to consider the types of area where social mix is increasing, there is a trajectory towards a form of social mix in which social housing neighbourhoods become more mixed rather than one in which more social and affordable housing tenants gain access to market housing neighbourhoods. This is consistent with the relative decline of social housing as a tenure and development pressures in many urban areas that are creating market incentives for private sales, densification and tenure diversification in former social housing areas. In contrast the relaxation of section 106 is reducing the pressure of some social mix in higher income areas without existing social housing. This pattern was confirmed in the telephone interviews with *'regeneration schemes are the mechanism that is changing social mix the most'*.

## **Outcomes**

While the impact of social mix on tenants' and shared owners' satisfaction with home and neighbourhood is not clear-cut, it appears that social mix can be 'win-win' and avoid generating major dissatisfaction from either tenants or shared owners. Discussion of these results with the panel revealed the dearth of hard evidence, the difficulty in generating convincing evidence and the sheer variation in local contexts for larger organisations. This made it hard to agree with such general propositions rather than concluding that 'it all depends' on context.

There is moderate agreement that social tenants' employment prospects are better in socially mixed areas. There is less support for the view that social mix is temporary especially where social housing areas are being gentrified. Encouragingly, the panel has a moderately strong belief that social mix can be sustained into the future.

## **Evidence**

Even organisations directly engaging with social mix objectives find a distinct lack of evidence about outcomes. Further research that directly engages with the experience of housing organisations in practices to promote social mix would therefore be widely welcomed. However, one interviewee highlighted the difficulties in operationalising a controlled comparison between living in mixed and non-mixed areas and assessing outcomes particularly where social housing is scattered and neighbourhood boundaries hard to define.

The telephone interviews did not reveal new sources of evidence. In general, there was a dissatisfaction with the existing evidence base and interest in research which might provide better evidence in the future. Several panel members were willing to provide evidence from small scale assessments of mixed tenure schemes, satisfaction surveys and other management data. Other sources of evidence such as

right to buy sales and retention rates, shared ownership staircasing, race hate crime data, return rates of tenants after regeneration schemes were suggested.

### **Follow-up**

Following a modified Delphi method, these survey results were discussed with panel members, including follow-up depth interviews with 10 panellists to establish the meaning and implications of these results.

**Part B** presents ten case studies organised into three main groups by housing market types and organisational specialism. Core themes are drawn out for each of the three groups:

### **LONDON AND SOUTH (4 cases)<sup>1</sup>**

Here the cross-subsidy driver was dominant and potent. Section 106 sites were being displaced by social housing sites as social mix arenas. Increased density was one way to maintain social/affordable housing while changing mix. Social mix practices were broader than tenure mix, and included employment, industry and cultural strategies and urban design. Recent policies are incentivising independent development without grant through cross-subsidy. The London Mayor's policy pledge on 50% affordable housing could be important for future social mix. There is an interest in building an evidence base and learning together about what works.

### **MIDLANDS AND NORTH (3 cases)**

There is less scope for cross-subsidy in the Midlands and North but policy drivers for mixed tenure are important. Differences between social, affordable and market rents are quite small and tenure mix may not equate to income mix. Recent policies are seen as detrimental to social mix making it harder to build new social rented housing, with shared ownership often risky. Ethnic mix is an important dimension of social mix and may drive higher income groups to remain in social housing areas. Employment and cultural initiatives can enable real social mix. Transport is important for access to employment. There are difficulties in designing research to assess the impact of social mix.

### **SOCIAL MIX FOR SPECIALIST HAS (3 cases)**

Social mix takes on distinctive nuances for specialist housing organisations working with older people, rural communities and BME and migrant groups. Cross subsidy models are changing patterns of social mix in these specialist fields. The right to housing is a significant theme - resisting the hollowing out of London and rebalancing villages for local people. The values of specialist providers have an impact on resources and outcomes - '*social mix - it's what we do*'. There are special issues with tenure mix and age mix in older people's housing and neighbourhoods. The planning system is important in enabling social mix in rural areas and the Right to Buy is likely to have a negative effect on villages. Social mix may not be seen as a driver in itself but a means to respond to unmet needs.

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<sup>11</sup> 2 further cases among the specialist HA sample were also located in London and the south of England

## BACKGROUND

This study is being undertaken as part of the scoping work for a major project on social mix being undertaken by Dr James Gregory at the University of Birmingham for L&Q, a leading non-profit housing association with a key policy and practice interest in the topic of social mix.

The aim of the study is to find out more about how social mix is conceptualised by key actors in the non-profit housing sector with a particular focus on large housing associations providing a range of housing products and operating in London and the South East but balanced by a more national perspective.

Social mix was defined for the purposes of the survey as *'mixed tenure communities or estates with social and non-social housing, which may also involve a mix of incomes and social backgrounds'*.

The paper presents results of an on-line survey completed by a panel comprising senior staff from 17 housing associations in May 2016 and follow up telephone interviews with ten of them conducted in July 2016.

## INTRODUCTION

The study uses a modified Delphi methodology used since 1997 by the University of Birmingham to track changes in the housing associations sector by mapping significant external change drivers and assessing key decision makers' responses. In this case the focus is on changes in relation to social mix as a policy goal and the mechanisms to achieve it.

There are usually two main stages to these studies: a preliminary survey using scaled questions to provide a picture of consensus and divergence among the panel, and follow up qualitative interviews to understand more about the reasons for these responses and why views appear to converge or diverge. This report covers the first stage survey only.

Questions are structured as paired propositions that allow strength of view and intensity of change to be captured numerically and graphically. This information can provide a good general indication of how things are changing (or likely to change) across parts of the sector represented on the panel. These indications can then be understood better and responses nuanced by follow up in-depth interviews with a sample of panel members in which they discuss their own responses in relation to the panel's responses.

Further details about how the methodology was implemented in the survey are included in Appendix A including sample design and response rate, survey distribution and analysis.

The questionnaire and this report are structured around the following 6 main themes:

- The values of not-for-profit housing providers
- The purpose of social mix
- The impacts of recent national policies on achieving social mix
- Practices to promote social mix
- The outcomes of social mix practices
- Evidence of outcomes



A full presentation of the survey results with bar charts and descriptive statistics<sup>2</sup> for each question is attached as Appendix C to be read alongside the following commentary.

To facilitate discussion and interpretation of results each member of the panel received a personalised Appendix C with their own responses to each question. This was used in the 10 follow up telephone interviews to focus on areas where they have distinctive views and experiences from the panel as whole and thereby enable the research to get beneath the surface of the slippery topic of social mix.

The results of the ten telephone interviews are written up in Part B of this report and have also been used to add commentary to the survey results presented in Section A. Appendix B includes the participant information sheet and topic guide for the follow up interviews.

## PART A – SURVEY RESULTS AND COMMENTARY

### VALUES

The first part of the survey includes a set of questions on organisational values and positioning to indicate the core values of organisations. This provides a basis for understanding more specific purposes and policies. 7 pairs of values were used in this section to position the 17 respondents.

The results are presented Appendix B Section 1 with bar charts giving a visual impression of responses and the descriptive statistics enabling the strength of panel view to be presented in terms of mean and standard deviation to confirm the picture of dispersion of responses. The remainder of Appendix B provides a similar analysis for all other parts of the questionnaire.

The survey confirms earlier findings of the **blended social and commercial values** underpinning housing association strategies. Responses to the first question indicate that there is currently still a **slightly greater emphasis on social purpose than on business ethos** but that both are central to the core values of these organisations.

For most of the questions average responses were towards the middle of the scale (4) with mean scores between 3 and 5 for all questions. We can see that **Independence from Government** (by setting own priorities) is the scale that produces the strongest result with the least dispersion. The balance of views towards a **private sector rather than a public sector ethos** is also quite strong with low variation in responses.

The survey also confirms the existence of clear **differences in positioning** of individual respondents on certain questions (with a scatter between the seven scale points shown by the bars and standard deviations well above 1 for three questions). It may be useful to focus on these differences in follow up interviews:

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<sup>22</sup> While descriptive statistics such as mean and standard deviation cannot strictly be applied to non-ordinal data, the questions here do assume an even distance between the points on the scale. Therefore means and SD are used alongside simpler measures such as the bar chart presentations of distribution, the median response and numbers of respondents using the mid-point (4) v slight variations (3,5) and more extreme views (1,2 and 6,7) to provide an indication of divergence and consensus and support our text.

- whether associations feel **tied to particular localities or not**. Results here show a wide dispersion reflecting the mix of national, regional and local associations on the panel.
- whether **charity or social enterprise identities** are preferred. This is the only question where every single point on the scale was used but the overall tendency is towards the social enterprise end of the scale.
- whether **community-led or market-led** identities predominate. Here again there is a wide spread but a slightly surprising tendency towards community-led.

There are clearly a number of nuances to these results that were further teased out in interviews with some of the panel. However overall the interviews confirmed the responses and the differing hybrid identities of these organisations. This may predispose them to support social mix either because this enables them to combine welfare roles with meeting wider housing demand or because surpluses derived from the latter may enable more resources for the former. These are some of the possible purposes of social mix explored in the next section. A key influence of values appeared to be the extent of focus on community investment and employment interventions, which in turn affected the importance attached to access to employment and avoiding welfare dependency as a potential driver of social mix.

*‘Community Investment has increasing status within the organisation and this has changed things’ (Case A)*

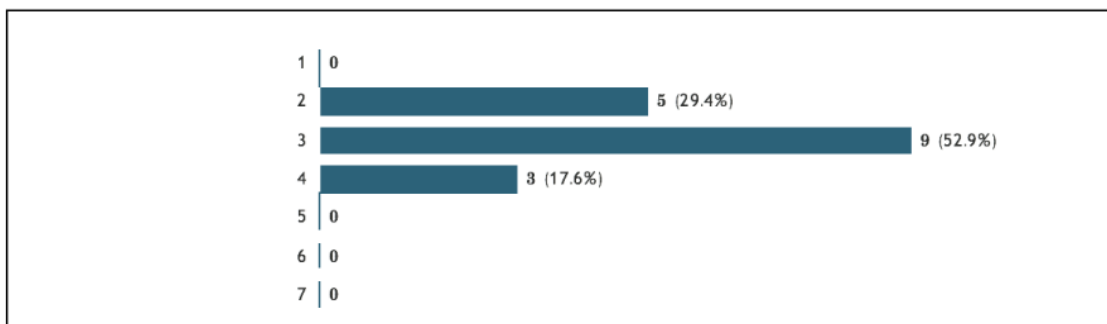
## PURPOSES

This section of the survey explores the importance of social mix as a driver for housing association strategies over the past five years and whether this is increasing or decreasing. It then unpacks the topic by asking about a number of specific possible purposes for social mix to see how important these are and whether they are increasing or decreasing in importance. Full results are reported in Appendix B section 2.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of responses on importance of social mix as a driver for strategy in housing associations. Overall social mix is seen as a moderately important driver which has been increasing in importance. There is a high degree of agreement on both statements with no respondents choosing responses that suggest it is becoming a less important driver:

**Figure 1: Importance of Social Mix as a Driver**

Scale:1=very important, 7=very unimportant



While the survey indicated quite a high level of importance attached to social mix as a driver across the panel, the interview discussion was more nuanced.

While still important, social mix goals were often seen as *‘less explicitly talked about now than a few years ago’* (Case E); or *‘not keeping us awake at night but still an important long term issue’* (Case D).

Sometimes social mix was seen as more instrumental in achieving deeper underlying objectives. *‘It is packaged in different ways and not necessarily referred to as a social mix policy.’* (Case A).

Panellist J argued that *‘social mix is not seen as a driver in itself but a means to the end of responding to the concerns of local communities about unmet individual needs.’*

There was also a strong sense among the panel that the meaning and context for social mix had changed and needed re-examination. This was best summed up by panellist H:

*‘What’s the 2016 definition of social mix and how are we responding to where we are now? - as opposed to a way of thinking that came out of Cathy Come Home which was simpler. We didn’t have the pressures in relation to ethnic diversity, which plays out interestingly in relation to older people as well.’*

## Purposes of Social Mix

Tuning to the 15 possible purposes of social mix asked about there was a clear pecking order shown by the following table. The table is ranked by the importance of these different purposes as drivers of policy<sup>3</sup>. This approach to unpacking the drivers of social mix received considerable support from the panel as was indicated by their earlier thoughtful comments on what is social mix in 2016? The attempt to rank component drivers and to compare these with the meta-policy of social mix in table 1 was clearly understood by the panel and the interviews tended to reinforce the dominance of cross-subsidy and tenure mix within the contemporary drivers.

**Table 1: Ranked purposes for Importance of Social Mix Policies**

RANK	Purpose	Mean score	SD	Incr/Decr	SD
1	To cross-subsidise social housing	2.59	0.97	2.14	0.69
2	To promote mixed tenure neighbourhoods	2.88	1.02	3.24	0.81
<b>3</b>	<b>Social Mix as a Driver</b>	<b>2.88</b>	<b>0.68</b>	<b>3.00</b>	<b>0.69</b>
4	To promote mixed income neighbourhoods	3.12	1.08	3.41	0.77
5	To reduce welfare dependency/de-concentrate poverty	3.24	1.59	3.24	0.81

<sup>3</sup> There were sometimes differences of view between whether drivers were important now and whether they had been increasing in importance over the past five years; but ranking the table by increase/decrease would not have changed the analysis very much (as can be seen from the scores in column 3 of the table). Strangely there seems to be greater variation within the panel on the importance of factors than on whether the factors are increasing or decreasing in importance (higher SDs for second than first question in each topic).

6	To increase financial returns from high value land	3.24	0.88	3.35	0.84
7	To benefit tenants of affordable rented housing	3.29	1.27	3.41	0.84
8	To strengthen the social fabric	3.29	1.27	3.47	0.61
9	To benefit tenants of social rented housing	3.35	1.41	3.59	0.69
10	To benefit shared owners	3.41	1.33	3.53	0.92
11	To increase social returns from high value land	3.41	1.09	3.41	1.03
12	To benefit the wider community	3.59	1.37	3.65	0.76
13	To enable tenants to find work	3.53	1.33	3.35	0.76
14	To enable low income people to live closer to work opportunities in high cost areas	4.0	1.5	3.71	0.46
15	To promote the right to place	4.0	1.46	3.71	0.67
16	To benefit outright owners and those buying with a mortgage	4.41	1.24	3.88	0.58

Interestingly, from the rankings it can be seen that only two of the fifteen more specific policies were seen as **more important than the overall purpose of social mix**. These were:

- as an income stream to cross-subsidise social housing
- to promote mixed tenure neighbourhoods

The case study accounts in Part B show the dominance of these two policy drivers, with the cross-subsidy narrative equally strong among those broadly in support of it in high value areas (cases A-D) and those challenged by it in lower value areas (cases E-G) and specialist forms of housing (cases H-J). Mixed tenure was the most common form of on-site cross subsidy and now formed a key part of strategies for new build with low levels of grant.

*'The aim now is to achieve around one third affordable rented homes in each development and this would not be possible without the cross-subsidy approach.'* (Case C, South West)

*'Our programme is increasingly mixed tenure: rented and shared ownership as a result of falling grant and need to cross-subsidise.'* (Case F, Midlands)

*'Until recently we provided only rented and shared ownership but now we also build housing for sale to enable financial viability for individual schemes, without increasing RES land values.'* (Case J, rural housing specialist, South).

Other **very important** purposes were to:

- promote mixed income neighbourhoods
- deconcentrate poverty and reduce welfare dependency
- to realise financial returns by developing high value land
- benefit tenants of social and affordable housing and
- strengthen the social fabric

Views varied across the panel on the importance of these drivers and there were clear differences between parts of the country in the extent to which some of these drivers were feasible or relevant.

Only three purposes were classed as **unimportant** drivers (having a mean score of 4 or more)

- benefiting home owners
- promoting the right to place
- enabling low income people to live closer to work opportunities

The survey appears to provide a provisional answer to the question: **Who is social mix for?** There is a clear perception that tenants of affordable and social housing benefit more than shared owners and outright owners from social mix. However, the mechanisms for benefiting them appear to be contested. While reducing welfare dependency and deconcentrating poverty is seen as quite important by the panel on average, there is a wide dispersion of views. Enabling tenants to find work is seen as less important and enabling low income people to live closer to work opportunities in high cost areas as unimportant.

There is also another clearly understood benefit – the **financial benefit to the housing organisation/government** from cross-subsidy (the number one benefit) and the financial return from developing high value land (ranked number 6 on the Table 1). This suggests that a major direction of social mix is to **enable owners and shared owners to live in areas that were formerly predominantly social housing** or in new social housing schemes. This may benefit social and affordable tenants by financing new supply but could result in a reduction in opportunities if the social housing share of developments is reduced and existing social housing tenants are displaced. We return to this question and its geographical component in Section 4 of the findings on practices.

Underpinning the cross-subsidy model, particularly in high cost areas there was an increasing emphasis on realising financial returns from high value land and assets. There were divided views about whether such policies also had social returns. Discussion of these differing rankings of social returns amongst those highlighting financial returns was very interesting. A key contingency emerging from these discussions was the potential to increase densities on these sites and thereby continue social and affordable renting while broadening tenure to generate financial returns:

The respondent who made the biggest distinction between high financial returns and low social returns from developing high cost sites argued that:

*‘High value assets are increasingly being viewed as a source of funding to cross subsidise new housing in lower cost areas (so there is not social return in the higher cost areas themselves).’ (Case B)*

Meanwhile another respondent made no distinction between the (high) social and financial returns from developing high cost sites. In this case the HA has the benefit of owning high value land and has used this land to generate financial and social returns in equal measure. This is believed to benefit all tenures. By increasing density the number of low rent social homes has not reduced although there have been some flashpoints for anti-gentrification campaigns (Case D).

## Differences of View on Purposes

There are certain purposes on which there is a **high level of difference of views**<sup>4</sup> amongst the panel. Questions where there are significant levels of difference among the panel are:

- welfare dependency and poverty
- enabling low income people to live closer to work opportunities in high cost areas
- the right to place
- benefiting social renters

In the interviews we explored some of the reasons for these variable responses. There was a particularly wide spread of views on the 'right to place' as a driver. On investigation in the interviews it appeared that there were differences in understanding of this term. In discussion, several respondents who had given a low score to 'right to place' in the survey identified drivers for social mix policies that were concerned with countering social polarisation and gentrification. This was particularly the case in high cost areas such as central London and rural villages, where the following comments were made by panellists who had not identified the right to place as a strong driver in the survey:

*'Social mix is about attempting to resist the hollowing out of London and preserving the social mix that distinguishes London from cities like Paris'. (Case I, Right to Place score 3)*

*'Most of the villages in which this HA develops have an unbalanced mix of incomes and tenure leaving serious housing gaps for lower income local people including those needing to live close to work. Thus the mission of the association is implicitly about the 'right to place' and seeking to rebalance to a degree the social mix skewed by second homes and retirement housing purchasers and holiday accommodation which leaves many village with no affordable rented housing. (Case J, Right to Place Score 4)*

Another panellist who had given the Right to Place a higher weighting in the survey identified further nuances and organisational strategies spelling out what this might mean in practice:

The Right to Place and social fabric were seen as more important drivers by this panellist than most others on the panel. There was a strong interest in promoting mixed income as well as mixed tenure neighbourhoods. These drivers resonate with the organisations' interest in enabling residents (new and old) to take ownership and make places that work. This might be achieved by identifying common interests across social divides (e.g. local trades and services and cultural events that all can take part in). (Case D, Right to Place Score 2)

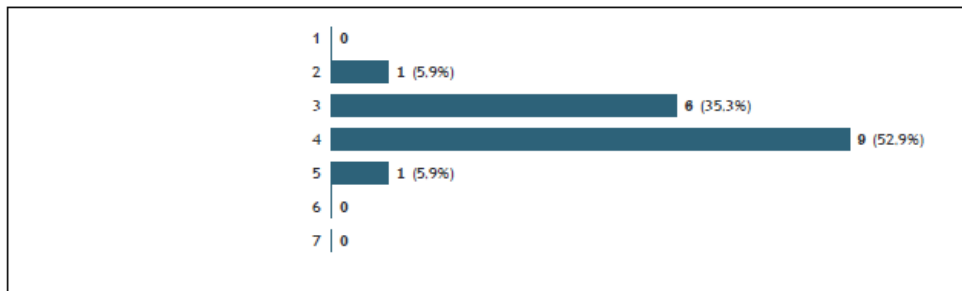
Figure 2 shows that despite the **spread of views about whether social mix benefits social renters** there is only one respondent who feels that this is an unimportant driver. The comparison with benefits to other tenures comes through clearly from the survey.

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<sup>4</sup> Higher SD scores for these questions are confirmed by the visual impression of the graphs in Appendix B.2.

**Figure 2: Importance of Purpose: To Benefit Tenants of social rented housing**

Scale: 1=very important, 7=very unimportant



Behind this apparent recognition of the greater benefits to tenants than to other tenure groups is the cross-subsidy objective and the idea that other tenures are ‘paying’ for the social renting element of the scheme. Potential disadvantages to outright purchasers were highlighted by one panellist

*‘people who want to buy , they want to buy their own place, they don’t want to buy into a social housing estate’ (Case H)*

*‘Outright owners are unlikely to benefit from social mix because their role is to provide the cross subsidy and they may not ideally want to buy on mixed tenure sites.’ (Case B)*

However, there was also a more nuanced view that mixed tenure schemes have potential advantages and disadvantages for all tenures (including renters). Panellist A commented that:

*‘we would not see social mix as providing particular benefits to any tenure group....social mix is something that is happening and different groups need to be protected from the negative impacts’ (Case A).*

Examples of aspects of social mix that renters and shared owners need to be protected from were loss of affordable housing as formerly social housing are gentrified, *‘being priced out, ending up in unviable tenures like shared ownership in central London, and (un)affordable rents for people on benefit). There can also be conflicts over LA nominations and need for cross-borough flexibility.’ (Case A)*

The evidence for benefits to different tenure groups is returned to later in the survey.

**Figure 3: Importance of Purpose: To reduce welfare dependency and concentrations of poverty**

Scale: 1=very important, 7=very unimportant

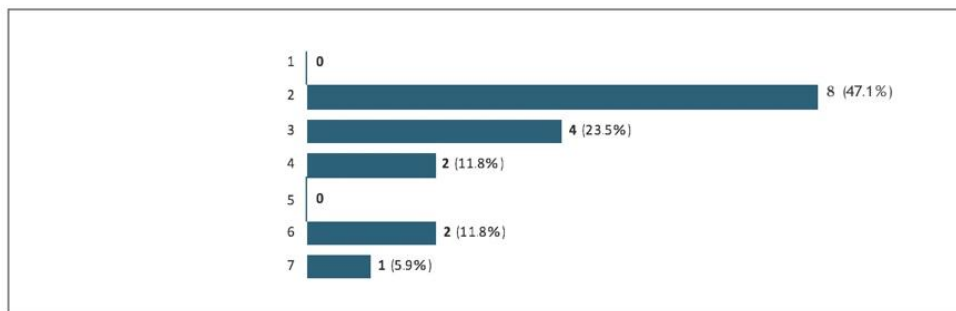


Figure 3 shows the **wider spread of views about reducing welfare dependency and deconcentrating poverty** as important drivers of social mix policies. In relation to welfare dependence and access to jobs there was a divide between associations with well-developed employment and community investment activities and those without but also differences of view about how important social mix is in enabling tenants to access jobs. Those scoring this as an unimportant purpose tended to highlight other factors that would help tenants more in accessing employment such as *‘transport infrastructure to overcome difficulties in commuting between suburbs rather than in to the city centre’* (Case G). Another highlighted the importance of *‘industrial, cultural and environmental strategies’* in underpinning social mix and access to employment (Case D).

## POLICIES

The next section of the survey moved on to consider the panel’s views on the impact of a number of recent policies on their organisation’s ability to promote social mix. Respondents were asked to consider a series of policy changes over the last five years and to assess whether these policies have made it easier or harder to achieve social mix in their areas of operation. The general view of the panel is that **policy changes are making the achievement of social mix more difficult**. Of all the policies considered, the **voluntary right to buy was seen as causing least difficulty** for social mix.

There were variations across the panel in the extent to which current policies were seen as negative for social mix. A more positive view was taken by some of the panellists in the hot housing market areas. This was explained in the follow up interviews. A more positive view was taken where these policies were seen as incentivising independent development without grant through cross-subsidy:

*‘But you know what we’re just getting on and doing it! It’s because with less grant we are spending our own money and to achieve this we need to mix the schemes more for cross-subsidy reasons. It’s more of a programme based approach.’* (Case A).

In contrast respondents from the Midlands and North and specialist providers were more likely to see the negative consequences of the recent policies for achieving social mix. The lack of funding for housing for rent and more precarious markets for shared ownership was a key problem by these respondents.

*‘It will be even harder to build rented homes without grant and shared ownership may be quite risky.’* (Case F)



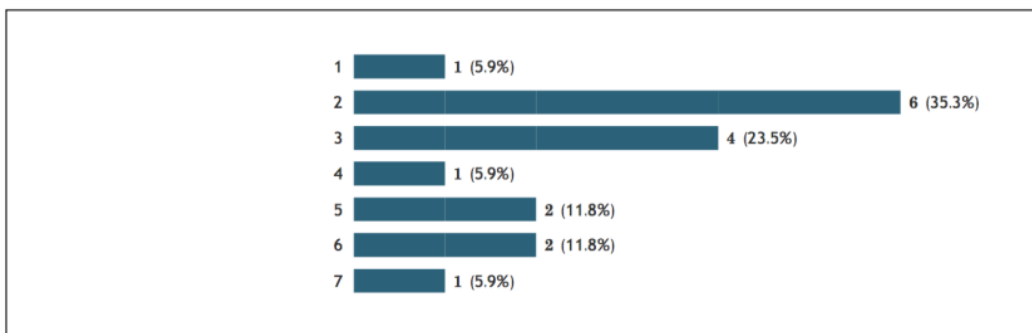
In the case of the rural specialist who gave the lowest scores of the panel for policy impact on social mix, current policies were making it much harder to rebalance social mix in villages by providing much needed rented homes.

*'If Government will not fund provide grant for housing for rent the HA needs to find other ways to provide this to respond to village needs'* (Case J).

The first overriding question of whether it is becoming harder or easier to promote social mix through new development activity found that it is becoming harder but there was a wide dispersion of views. 11 panel members considered it was becoming harder and 5 that it was becoming easier with just one sitting in the fence.

**Figure 4: Is it becoming harder or easier to promote social mix through housing association development activity?**

Scale: 1= harder, 7=easier



## Specific Recent Policies

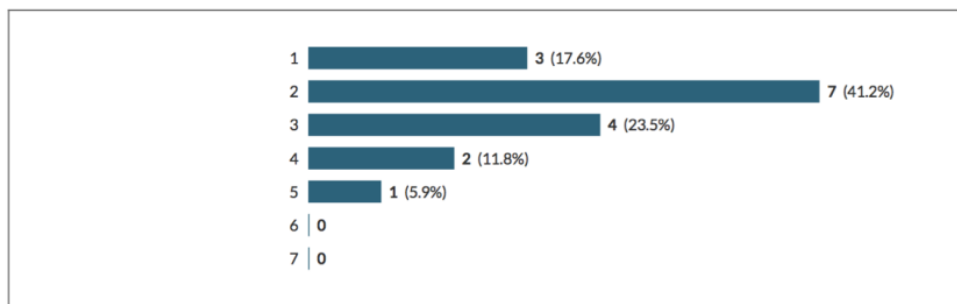
We turn now to the specific policies. **None of the policies included were seen as making things any easier by the panel as whole.** These policies may be ranked as follows in order of difficulty presented (mean scores for degree of difficulty scale: (1=very difficult, 7=very easy):

- The shift in government priorities from renting to home ownership (starter homes) (mean= 2.35)
- The reduction in social housing grant (mean =2.47)
- Changes to Section 106 policy (mean =2.47)
- Voluntary Right to Buy (mean= 3.29)

The greatest consensus among the panel was in relation to **changes to Section 106**, where only one panel member thought this would make things easier (see Figure 5).

**Figure 5: Are changes to Section 106 making it harder or easier to promote social mix?**

Scale: 1= harder, 7=easier



The decline in Section 106 opportunities was related in the telephone discussions to three main factors; first the increasing tendency of developers to successfully challenge planning obligations to provide affordable housing on site on grounds of ‘viability’, second the willingness of local authorities to negotiate other forms of community benefit and third reduced support for such policies from central government who now prefer developers to build starter homes. These factors were being experienced across all areas and types of organisations on the panel.

In the case of large developing associations there was a shift in mechanisms for social mix from Section 106 developments on private sites to widening tenure mix in social rented areas.

Discussion with Panellist C clarified these processes:

The decline in S106 has had major implications for the HA which used to have half of its programme on such sites. It now seeks to create a similar social mix on its own cross subsidy sites. One implication may be that the private sector sites that can no longer be accessed are becoming much more socially polarised. So we have a pattern of private sector developments becoming less socially mixed while HA developments become more mixed. (Case C, agreed case study report).

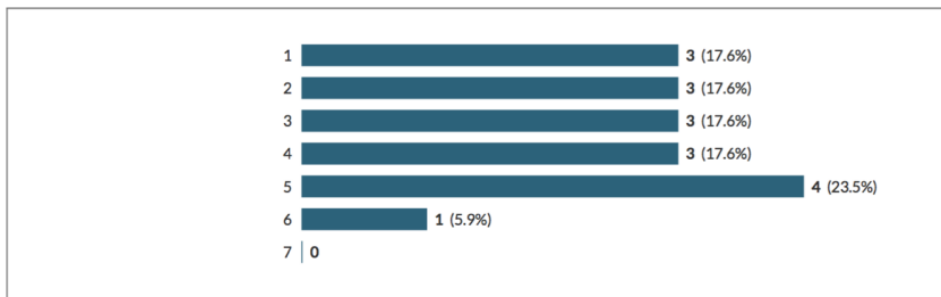
However, there were some cases where Section 106 was still seen important but on a much reduced scale.

*‘it’s important to us to battle on with Section 106 on small central London sites; larger HAs may choose to develop in cheaper areas but for us “it’s what we do”- holding on to spaces for low income and BME communities in rapidly changing London housing market’.* (Case I)

The greatest dispersion of views was around the **voluntary right to buy**. There was an even spread between scores 1-4 at the difficult end of the scale where most respondents were clustered. Meanwhile five panel members thought this would make social mix easier presumably by promoting home ownership in rented housing neighbourhoods (see Figure 6).

**Figure 6: Will the voluntary right to buy scheme make it harder or easier to promote social mix?**

Scale: 1= harder, 7=easier



The interviews helped to explain these differences of view. One widely discussed strand was that voluntary right to buy would repeat the experience of council RTB and involve a tenure shift through home ownership to market rent with adverse long term management consequences (e.g. Case F).

There were concerns in hot housing markets about the impact on social mix of forced council sales of vacant high value properties (Cases B and I). The biggest concern expressed was from the rural specialist who anticipated that introducing RTB for social rented housing on village exception sites would undermine the association's efforts to rebalance social mix in villages and discourage landowners from selling land at agricultural value for housing (Case J).

Meanwhile the strongest view on the positive impact of RTB on social mix came from a regional HA in the South West with quite a distinctive view that:

*'The voluntary right to buy is making social mix easier by moving the existing stock away from the mono-tenure model on which it was developed before the current era of cross-subsidy'. (Case D)*

A final distinctive view came from the north of England from an association operating in quite mixed tenure neighbourhoods in inner urban areas where social housing is 'cheek by jowl' with home ownership and private renting. In this case RTB would mean more of the same mix, but tenure mix does not equate to income mix. The income divide here is between low income households including BME communities in all tenures in the inner areas contrasting with less socially mixed suburban areas with little social housing (Case B).

A final policy theme highlighted by the interview was the growing importance of devolved government, particularly in London. There were several references to the new London Mayor's housing pre-election pledge<sup>5</sup> for '50% of all new homes in London to be genuinely affordable' and a degree of optimism that thus might lead to a turn of the tide against section 106 of recent years. Similarly, there was reference to devolved decision making in Manchester in the northern case.

<sup>5</sup> [www.sadiq.london/homes\\_for\\_londoners](http://www.sadiq.london/homes_for_londoners) Accessed July 28<sup>th</sup> 2017.

## PRACTICES

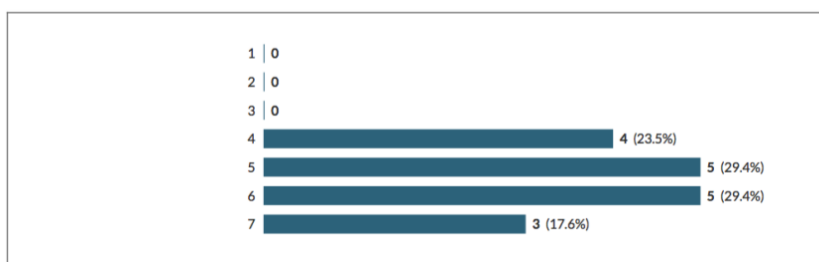
In the next section there were ten questions exploring specific housing association practices to promote, improve or retain social mix. Each question asked for changes that had been made in the last five years and changes that were planned over the next five years. These can be divided between practices for mixed tenure schemes and their internal design and practices on the areas in which new housing is built.

### Mixed Tenure Schemes and their internal design

The first three questions related to mixed tenure schemes and their internal design in relation to mix. These questions confirm that there is an increasing focus on mixed tenure schemes, and avoiding 'poor doors' but that mixed tenure blocks within schemes are a much lesser focus.

**Figure 7: Increased Focus on Mixed Tenure Schemes in Next Five Years**

Scale: 1=less, 7=more

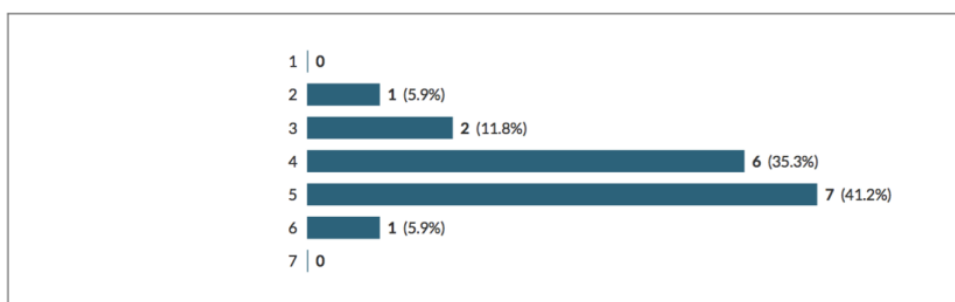


All but 6 respondents reported an increased focus by their organisation on **mixed tenure schemes** over the past five years and all but 4 expected an even greater focus in the next five years. There were no respondents reporting a decline in mixed tenure schemes (see Figure 7).

The response was more varied in relation to the next question on **mixed tenure blocks within schemes**. Here only 8 reported an increased focus on this in the past five years and the same number expected further increase in the next five years. 6 were neutral for both periods and 3 saw this as a declining focus for both periods (see Figure 8).

**Figure 8: Focus on Mixed Tenure Blocks within Schemes in next Five Years**

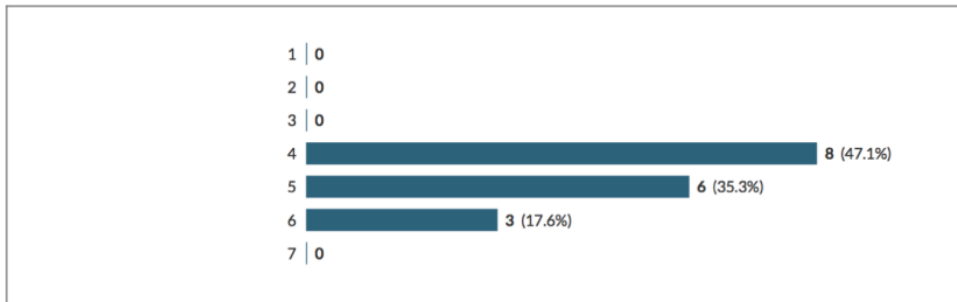
Scale: 1=less, 7=more



Next we asked about the **well-publicised issue of ‘poor doors’** and separate entrances in mixed tenure schemes. Here the view of the panel was unanimous. While 8 were neutral on this issue, all of the others would seek to design in social integration. None had seen less focus on this issue in the past five years and none expected less focus in the next five years (see Figure 9).

**Figure 9: Designing in Social integration: avoiding separate access to different parts of mixed tenure schemes in next five years**

Scale: 1=less, 7=more



Thus, we can see that mixed tenure is seen as very important at the level of scheme and access to the scheme but there are differences of view about the promotion of tenure mix within blocks.

Interviews confirmed the barriers to block level integration posed by service charge issues but the general increase in pepper potting blocks across the site and avoiding visible external differences in appearance by tenure. While poor doors can no longer be countenanced issues of internal management of high density mixed tenure estates continue to engage the sector.

*‘For mixed blocks service charge issues are challenging, so we generally prefer separate blocks ...but want to keep a similar appearance to make developments tenure blind. While there are no poor doors there is still attention to access arrangements in high density mixed tenure schemes.’ (Case B)*

*‘entrance areas to courtyards are shared owners with tenants in the courtyards but not actually mixed tenure blocks’ (Case A)*

Two further questions about social mix at the scheme level addressed different dimensions of mix: disability and income.

The first concerned building integrated housing for people with disabilities within general needs schemes. This question attracted quite neutral responses bunched around the centre of the scale with low standard deviations. Hardly any change was anticipated with just one fewer respondent expecting an increase and one more a decrease in the next five years.

Interviews highlighted the role of lifetime homes and the Building Regulations in reducing the provision of separate ‘wheelchair units’ in general needs schemes:

*‘(we have) bought into changes to building regulations to make lifetime homes rather than having hard to let wheelchair schemes’ (Case A)*

An issue not explored in the survey but covered by one of the specialist interviews was the extent of social mix in older people’s housing schemes. The interview (Case H) identifies a number of emerging issues including the extent to which older people wish to live in mixed-age environments, the role of ethnic diversity in an ageing society and a tenure divide between leasehold and rented housing for older people. The later point is highlighted by the following:

*‘Historically there was not much social mix between leaseholders and tenants with schemes being developed for one client group or the other. Indeed, there have been some tensions where schemes had attempted to integrate the two groups with a clear social divide. The current approach is to achieve a high specification for the leasehold homes to secure sales and longer term resale values and hope that this can overcome resistance to buying into schemes with a substantial social rent component. Recent schemes have sought to pepper pot the social homes within the scheme and to adopt tenure blind design standards.’ (Case H)*

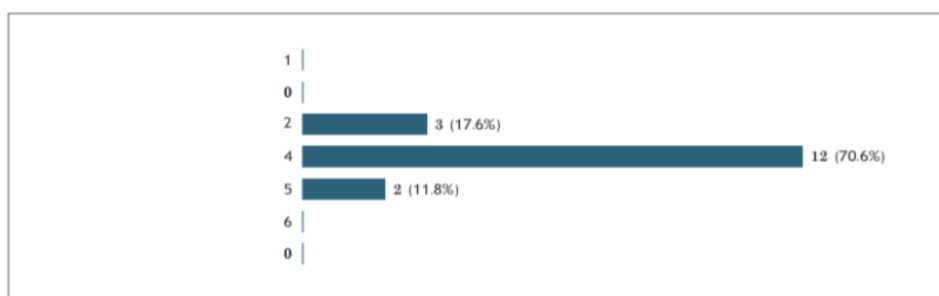
The second relates to the topical issue of **‘pay to stay’ for tenants with higher incomes.**

Respondents were asked whether they had policies to encourage higher income households to stay in social housing neighbourhoods thereby promoting one dimension of social mix. Most respondents were neutral on whether such policies had become more important in the last five years, with three feeling that they had become slightly less prominent and two slightly more prominent. However, the picture changes for the next five years and there appears to be much less certainty across the panel about what will happen. The majority (9) are still neutral but five now expect a reduction and three a growth in the next five years with two respondents moving out from the centre of the distribution to points 2 and 6. Figure 10 compares last five and next five years).

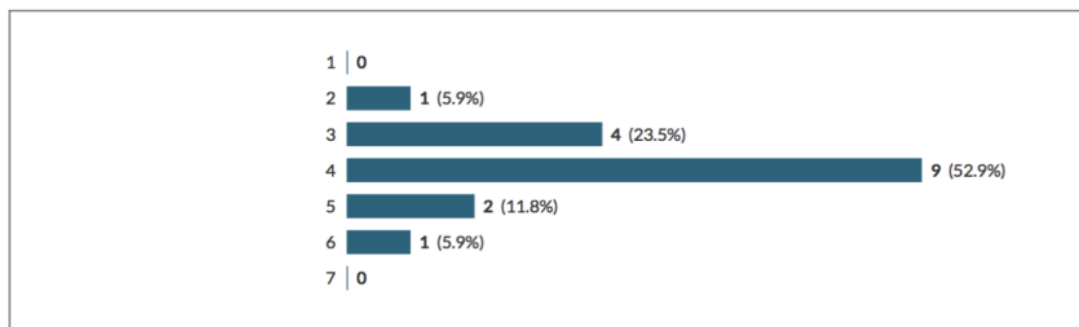
**Figure 10: Focus on encouraging higher income households to stay in social housing neighbourhoods: Last five years and next five years**

Scale: 1=less, 7=more

In the last five years; Less vs More



#### In the next five years; Less vs More



The interviews suggest that experience on this issue appears to vary between different types of housing market and socio-economic mix. In one case (Case G) in the north it was common for higher income households to remain in social housing neighbourhoods and this was expected to continue into the future. On discussion this appeared to relate to the wide mix of tenures existing ‘*cheek by jowl*’ and the preference of BME households to remain in the area. Former RTB properties also go well in these housing markets. Pay to stay unlikely to significantly impact on this pattern.

In contrast it was anticipated that pay to stay would lead to fewer high income tenants remaining in social housing in London, but numbers were not seen to be sufficient to make a big difference (Case A). In a contrasting London case (Case D), which has seen a massive change already away from mono-tenure to mixed tenure and income residents, there was greater confidence that higher income groups would continue to stay in the area.

A final question at the scheme and neighbourhood level concerns involving external **partners such as schools and community groups to make mix work**. This is seen by most panel members as a slightly growing focus for their organisations. For both the past five years and the next five years the median group was at scale point 5 (slight increase) and only one panel member expected slightly decrease. For the next five years two respondents shifted to seeing this as a very important or quite important increase.

Here it was clear that for some panel members social mix is about more than people simply living alongside one another. Partnerships with schools and community groups were quite common and there were innovative models to encourage people to take ownership of their area together:

*Practical action to promote real social mix was seen as challenging because of history of paternalism and dangers of the new residents from a wider range of backgrounds crowding out the existing residents. This could be avoided by identifying residents’ interests and giving them space to run things that fit those interests (community gardens example). Estate signage and public realm were seen as very important in moving away from previous segregation. (Case D)*

*The association will continue to work with local community and schools to make social mix work in practice. Innovative work includes keeping the local library open and supporting activities to involve older Asian women in classes there. (Case F)*

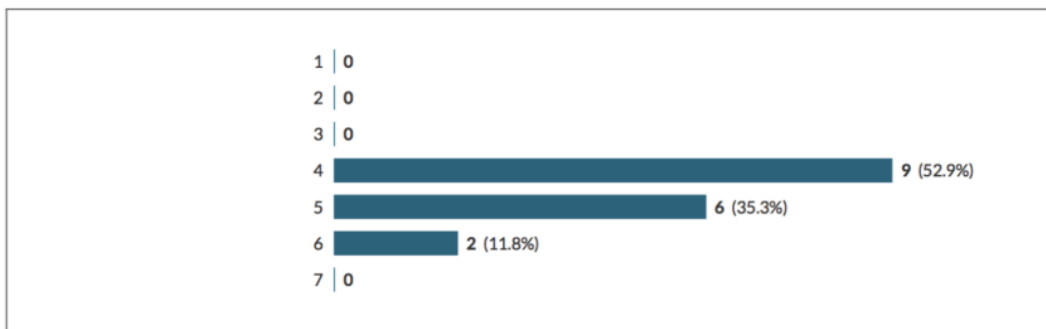
## Where new housing is developed: Impact on mix

The next questions consider the geographical areas within which development occurs and how this relates to social mix. Again respondents were asked to think back to the last five years and forwards to the next five years. The results to this part of the survey are interesting and do appear to indicate a distinct **shift in social mix practices** towards enabling higher income households to live in former social housing areas and away from enabling low income households to live in high cost areas. While the former approach was widespread and increasing the latter was less widespread and expected to decline in the next five years (see Figures 11 and 12).

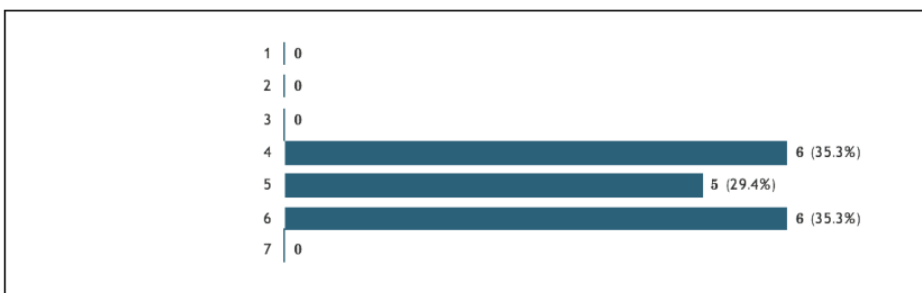
**Figure 11: Achieving mix by building new market rent and housing for sale in former social housing areas**

Scale: 1=less, 7=more

In the last five years; Less vs More



In the next five years; Less vs More

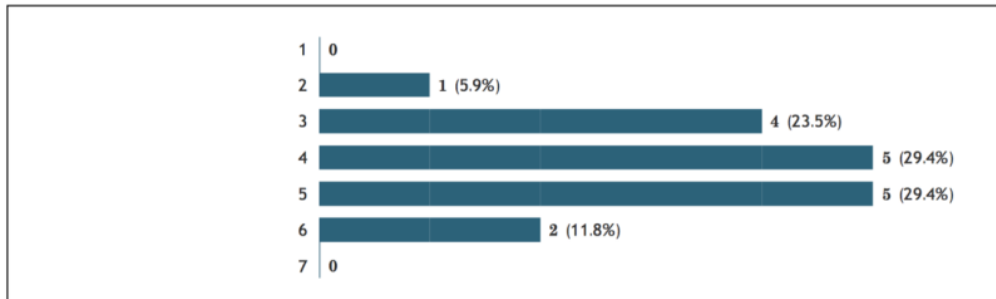




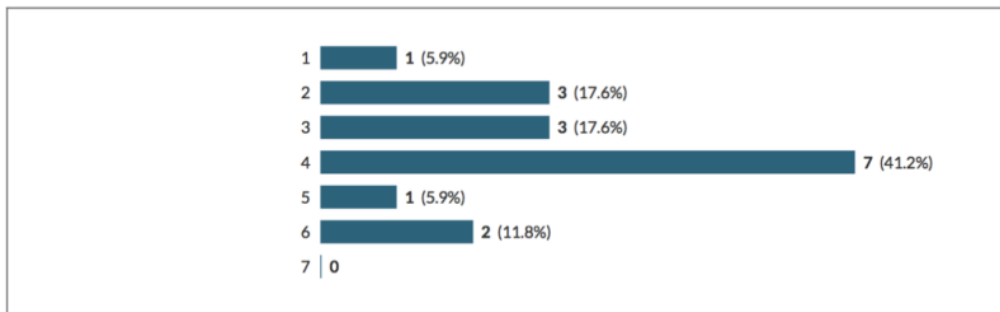
**Figure 12: Achieving mix by building new Social and affordable homes in high cost areas**

Scale: 1=less, 7=more

In the last five years; Less vs More



In the next five years; Less vs More



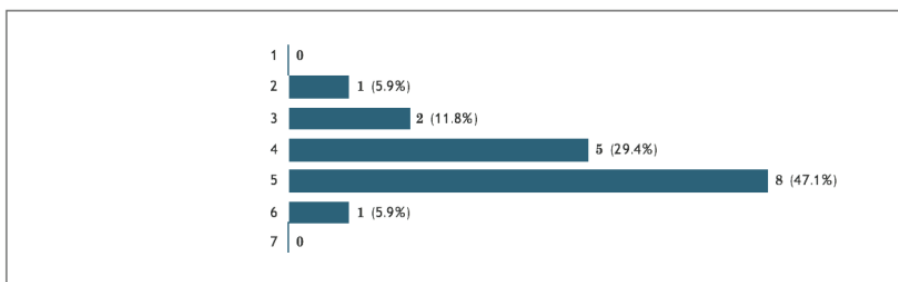
Taking this theme further we asked about the specific practices that may be behind the shift. These are the use of section 106 to build new homes for rent as part of new market schemes and sales of social housing and replacement with market housing in predominantly social housing areas.

Using Section 106 planning gain sites had been an important practice for building social housing and 9 of the panel said that this had been increasing in the past five years, while five were neutral and only 3 thought it had declined. However, expectations for the next five years were quite different with six expecting a decline, four neutral and 7 expecting more (see Figure 13)

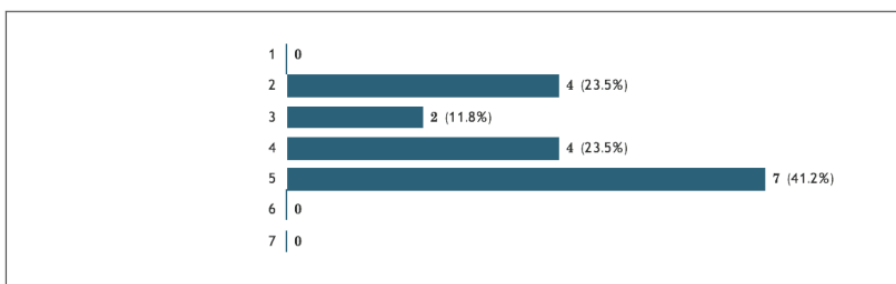
**Figure13: Using section 106 planning gain sites to build social rented homes as part of new market schemes**

Scale: 1=less, 7=more

In the last five years; Less vs More



In the next five years; Less vs More

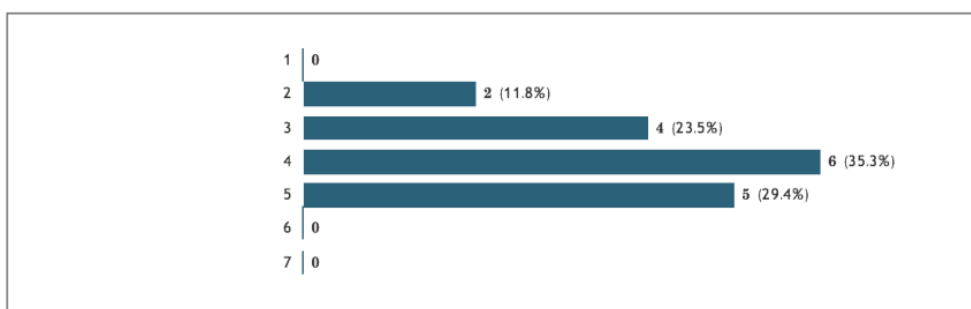


In contrast, selling social housing and replacing with market housing in social housing areas had not been very common in the last five years; only five panel members thought it had been increasing, six were neutral and six thought it was declining. However, in the next five years only two expected it to decline, ten were neutral and five expected it to grow (see Figure 14).

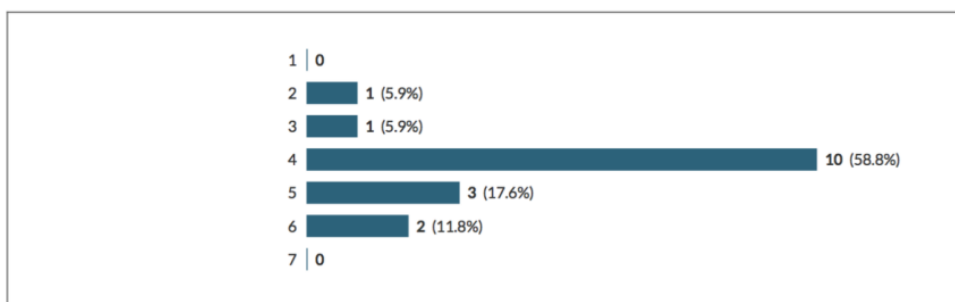
**Figure 14: Selling social housing and replacing with market housing in predominantly social housing areas**

Scale: 1=less, 7=more

In the last five years; Less vs More



In the next five years; Less vs More



These findings should not be exaggerated but do appear to show a trajectory towards a form of social mix in which social housing neighbourhoods become more mixed rather than one in which more social and affordable housing tenants gain access to market housing neighbourhoods. This is consistent with the relative decline of social housing as a tenure and development pressures in many urban areas that are creating market incentives for private sales and market based redevelopment and density increase in formerly low cost and income areas.

The telephone interviews confirmed the shift in the types of locations in which social mix is now occurring.

*'Regeneration schemes are the mechanism that is changing social mix the most because it's the only way we can actually afford to improve some of the estates. There will be changes of mix and we want to make this work.'* (Case A)

*'New development is much less likely to be in high costs areas because of loss of s106, but Planning gain sites still seen as important in London with new Mayor. Opportunities are arising for estate redevelopments across the South East in stock transfer areas where mixed tenure housing is being built in former social housing areas already diversified by retained RTB. Also 1960s sheltered blocks are being remodelled into extra care schemes some of which are mixed tenure and this is thought to be working well'.* (Case B)

## OUTCOMES

In the final section of the survey we were interested to hear about the outcomes and achievements of social mix policies by panel members' organisations and any evidence of these outcomes.

### Satisfaction with housing and neighbourhood

First there were four propositions about the satisfaction of tenants and shared owners with housing and neighbourhoods.

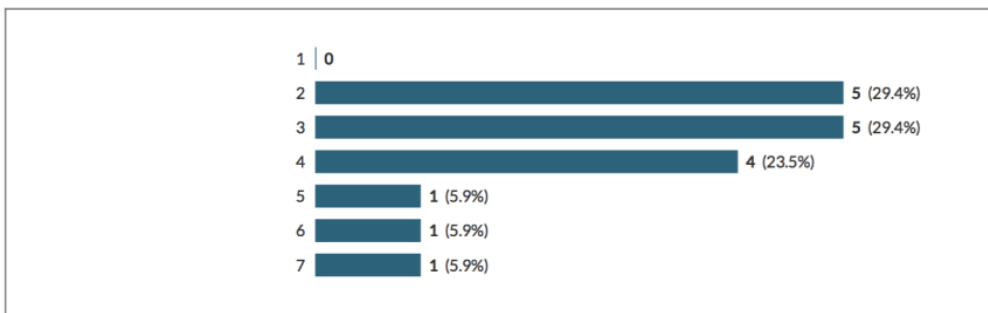
- Tenants in socially mixed communities are more satisfied with their housing
- Tenants in socially mixed communities are more satisfied with their neighbourhood
- Shared owners in socially mixed communities are more satisfied with their housing
- Shared owners in socially mixed communities are more satisfied with their neighbourhood

The results shown are not clear-cut, with a wide range of responses to all four questions and potential ambiguity in interpretation of the questions (more satisfied than whom?). Follow-up discussion with panel members was used to check whether these questions had been clearly understood despite wording. Panellists were asked whether they would have answered differently if we had made the comparator clearer e.g. 'tenants in socially mixed communities are more satisfied with their housing **than those living in non-mixed communities**'. In practice all of those responding had interpreted the question correctly, so the more interesting part of the discussion concerned the reason for their answers. This is reported below after the results.

**Tenants in socially mixed neighbourhoods** were generally seen to be more satisfied with their housing and with their neighbourhoods (than those in non-mixed areas), with over half the panel selecting the first three scale points of agreement in both cases and median scale scores of 3 (agree slightly) in both cases. There was slightly greater agreement in relation to satisfaction with neighbourhood than with housing (see Figures 15 and 16).

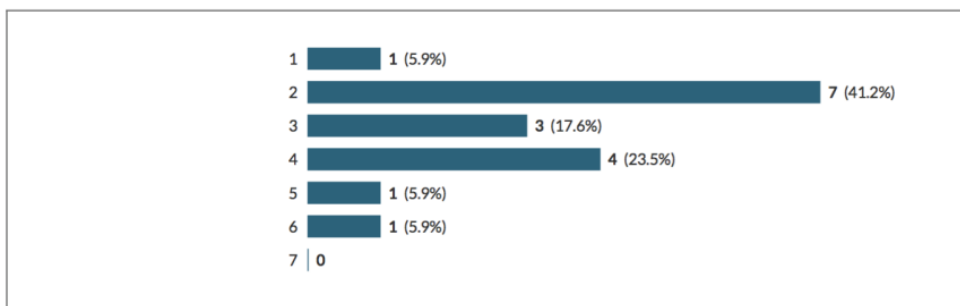
**Figure 15: Tenants in mixed communities are more satisfied with Housing**

Scale: 1= Agree Strongly, 7=Disagree Strongly



**Figure 16: Tenants in mixed communities are more satisfied with Neighbourhood**

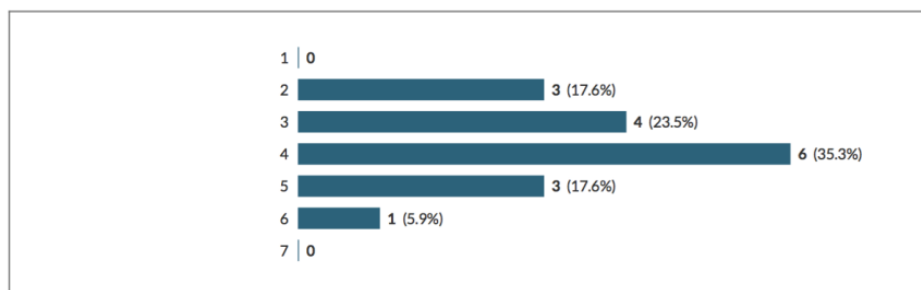
Scale: 1=Agree Strongly, 7=Disagree Strongly



**Shared owners in socially mixed communities** were also on balance seen as more satisfied with both housing and neighbourhoods. However agreement with both propositions was slightly lower for shared owners than for tenants (median scale scores were 4 in both cases (neither agree nor disagree). Again and slightly surprisingly agreement was slightly greater in relation to satisfaction with neighbourhood than with housing (see Figures 17 and 18).

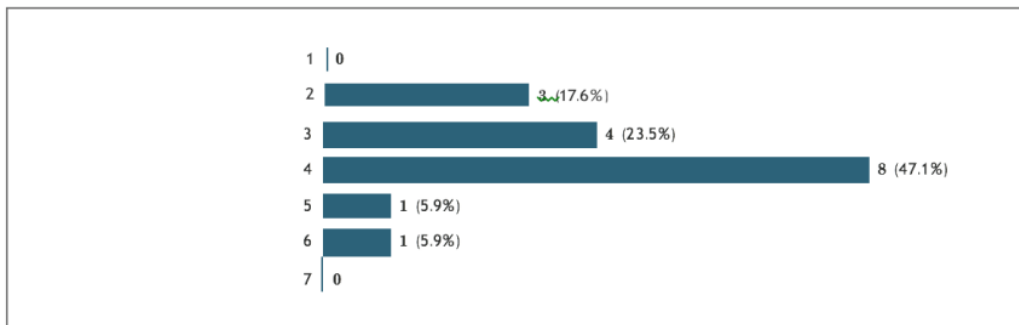
**Figure 17: Shared Owners in mixed communities are more satisfied with Housing**

Scale: 1=Agree Strongly, 7=Disagree Strongly



**Figure 18: Shared Owners Tenants in mixed communities are more satisfied with Neighbourhood**

Scale: 1=Agree Strongly, 7=Disagree Strongly



Discussion of these results with the panel revealed some of the reasons for the lower levels of agreement with these propositions. The first reason was the dearth of hard evidence, the second was the difficulty envisaged in generating convincing evidence and the third was the sheer variation in local contexts for larger organisations making it hard to agree with such general propositions rather than concluding that ‘it all depends’ on context.

Panellist A was one of several who have straight 4s (neither more nor less satisfied) to these questions. She explained that her responses were coloured by sheer size of the HA and very different types of mix in different parts of country (with different local cultures and issues of social mix). She could think of mono-ethnic estates in the north where tenants were ‘happily segregated’ from the surrounding multi-ethnic neighbourhood. Similarly, in the south there were big variations in social mix between London and stock transfer areas in the south east with often unpredictable variations in satisfaction. Meanwhile panellist E highlighted the difficulties in operationalising a controlled comparison between living in mixed and non-mixed areas and assessing outcomes. For his own organisation there were difficulties in defining neighbourhoods for stock which is largely comprised of non-estate street properties dotted amongst other tenures across a conurbation.

There was little surprise that shared owner’s satisfaction levels in mixed areas compared to non-mixed areas were deemed to be lower than for tenants. The interest of shared owners in buying outside of social housing areas has already been referred to, and then there is the added factor of shared owner satisfaction levels generally being lower because of the nature of the tenure. However, no one could satisfactorily explain the relatively higher satisfaction with neighbourhood than with property in mixed compared to non-mixed areas suggested by aggregate panel responses.

## Wider Outcomes

Finally, panel members were asked to consider three propositions on the wider outcomes of social mix: its impact on employment, links to gentrification and whether social mix can be sustained into the future.

The first proposition found **moderate levels of agreement that social tenants’ employment prospects are better in socially mixed areas.** Only one panel member disagreed with this proposition, 6 were neutral and 10 agreed to varying degrees, but only one agreed strongly.

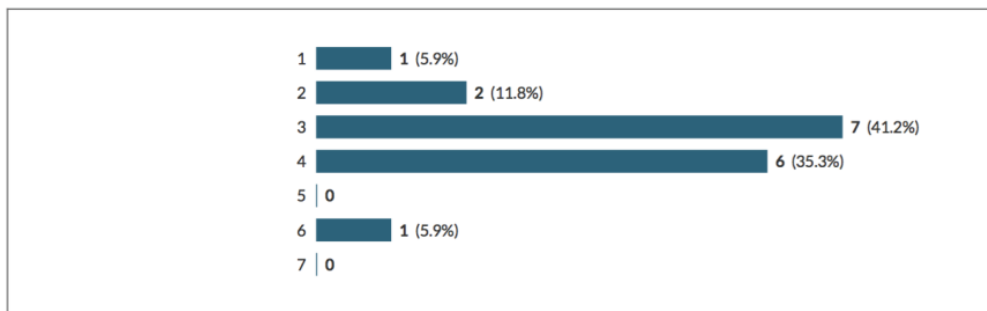
However, one write-in comment from a panellist from a large, northern based association qualified these positive assessments:

*'I am not sure that outcomes for tenants (in socially mixed areas) in terms of income and employment are any different, just more masked by the surrounding area.'*

Panellists D and E were keen to highlight the importance of factors other than social mix in determining employment prospects of tenants.

**Figure 19: Social tenants' employment prospects are better in socially mixed areas**

Scale: 1=Agree Strongly, 7=Disagree Strongly



The second proposition drew a more neutral overall response. On balance **the panel was inconclusive on social mix being only temporary, particularly in social rented areas undergoing gentrification**. 8 panel members neither agreed nor disagreed, equal numbers (4 each) slightly agreed or disagreed and just one agreed fairly strongly.

Follow-up discussion clarified the differences of experience between associations working in high cost areas such as central London and lower pressure areas in affecting the transience of mix.

The panellist who agreed strongly with the proposition reflected that social mix is very fluid and transient; (there had been) very rapid change in last five years and so it will be difficult to sustain social mix into the future.

*'We won't go back to Bevan so have to do something to encourage it.'* (Case A).

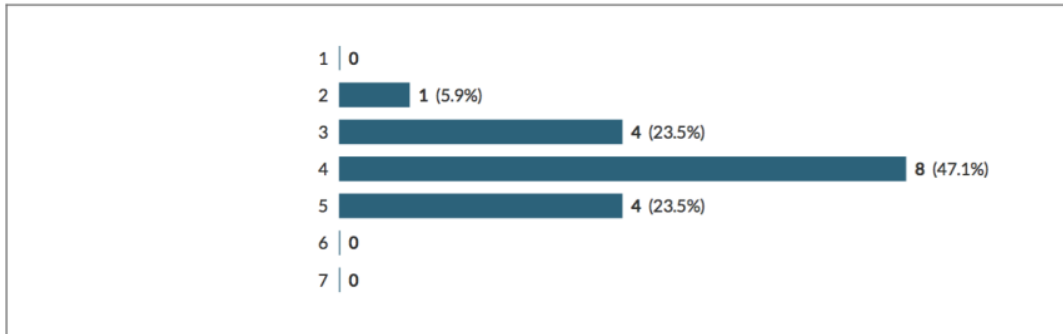
Meanwhile those disagreeing with the proposition did so for a variety of reasons. In one case this was related to the measures put into place to protect affordability in perpetuity in rural exception sites and through Community Land Trusts: *'usually by S106 agreement but may need other mechanisms in the future that give communities more confidence] and that shared owners tend to stay and not to staircase'* (Case J).

In other cases there was an emphasis on wider policies to counter gentrification including measures to identify common interests across social divides (e.g. local trades and services and cultural events that all can take part in). There was a move away from previous segregation; gym equipment and children's play areas are prominent in the public realm and street artists have been enabled to

transform estate signage. This helps to ensure that people are more likely to want to stay after regeneration and avoid displacement (case D).

**Figure 20: Social mix temporary, particularly in social housing areas undergoing gentrification**

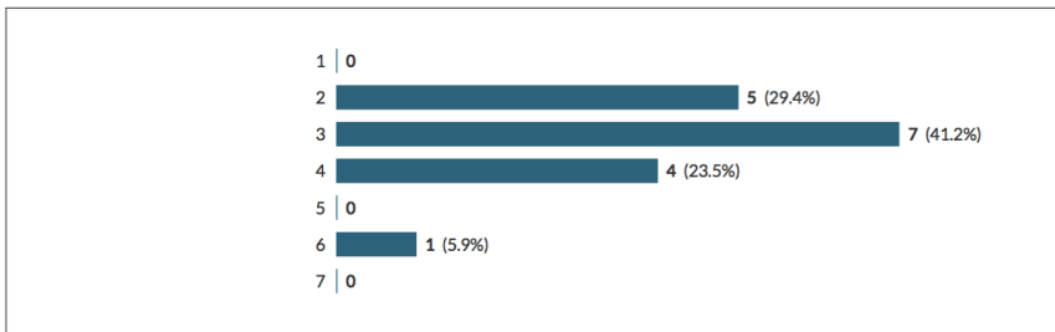
Scale: 1=Agree Strongly, 7=Disagree Strongly



The final proposition drew an encouraging response. **On balance the panel believes (slightly to fairly strongly) that social mix can be sustained into the future.** Just one panel member disagreed (fairly strongly) with this proposition, while five agreed fairly strongly and 7 slightly, with just 4 neutrals. The reasoning among the panel was similar to the previous question, sustainability was based on positive interventions to counter market trends towards reduced social mix.

**Figure 21: Social Mix can be sustained into the future**

Scale: 1=Agree Strongly, 7=Disagree Strongly



## Evidence

There was an interesting set of write-in responses to our final question on the evidence base of survey responses. Several referred to evidence generated within their own organisation for example through customer surveys<sup>6</sup>:

*Our annual residents' insight survey looks at residents' aspirations, such as their views on home ownership, the importance of social housing and other tenures, aspirations for their children's housing choices, and views on living in mixed communities. (82)*

*Star Survey gives some indication. feedback from tenants, turnover rates (22)*

<sup>6</sup> Code numbers of anonymous panel members shown in brackets.

*Customer surveys (32)*

Others referred to learning from experiences their own organisation had been through but some recognised that this had not always generated hard evidence:

*Survey responses and lesson learnt on project schemes that have been completed and occupied. (19)*

*Feedback from residents and staff (45)*

*Rising resident satisfaction with increased mix, greater socio-economic diversity within engagement activities (39)*

*Experience of city challenge and introducing mix into mono-tenure areas, I have based some of our comments on that and the outcomes for development I can observe now from government policy. (69)*

*Experience based. I think there is a lack of hard evidence in relation to a lot of the questions you pose which is why I gave neutral responses - I am not sure it is clear either way (84)*

Some referred to research studies and other external evidence sometimes finding this unconvincing:

*We have looked at research into mixed communities and wellbeing, employment outcomes and educational outcomes in London compared to other places. (08)*

*We have looked for research that proves mixed communities benefit the poorest but can't find any. They are more likely to benefit landlords and the state. (68)*

There were a number who had not been able to locate evidence on social mix:

*We have no evidence of this currently – am going to work on it. (16)*

*Personal observation (54)*

The telephone interviews did not reveal new sources of evidence. In general, there was a dissatisfaction with the existing evidence base and interest in research which might provide better evidence in the future. Several panel members were willing to provide evidence from small scale assessments of mixed tenure schemes, satisfaction surveys and other management data such as estate profiles and customer feedback on future plans.

Other sources of evidence such as right to buy sales and retention rates, shared ownership stair-casing, race hate crime data, return rates of tenants after regeneration schemes were suggested. More evaluation was needed of initiatives to promote social mix including estate regeneration schemes and high density and different internal layouts.

One panellist from a large London based association offered a more general observation:

***“I think social mix can be sustained in the future, provided that one builds a quality product and ensures that the responsibility for the overall management of the estate/development is done by one landlord. It is also important to assist social housing tenants with initiatives to find employment so that the vast majority of people in the area are economically active.” (72)***



These honest reflections would suggest that even for organisations directly engaging with social mix objectives there is a distinct lack of evidence about outcomes. Further research that directly relates to the experience and practices of housing organisations would be widely welcomed. One panellist summed this up in the telephone interviews:

***'What do we mean by a good mix? This is critical. We should not just be monitoring change but assessing whether the change is beneficial. So I'm grateful for the report and know how we are going to use it.'* (Case A)**

## **Part B – FOLLOW UP INTERVIEWS – JULY 2016**

Ten follow up interviews were held in July 2016 to discuss responses to the survey conducted in May to better understand the pattern of views and how these relate to different organisational values, products and market contexts. This section includes summaries of the key themes from each interview which have been agreed by panellists. The interview material has also been used to add qualitative commentary to sections of Part A to amplify survey findings.

Appendix B contains the participant information sheet and topic guide for these interviews. Interviews were administered by telephone by David Mullins in the week commencing July 18 and all were completed in between 45 and 75 minutes. Notes and recordings were securely stored to preserve anonymity. Interviews were written up as short summaries presented in this section and used to add to Part A of this report as described above. Where panellists agreed to provide evidence on outcomes of social mix this was noted and will be facilitated in a way that does not link the evidence to the interviews and survey responses which will remain anonymous.

The interview summaries in this section have been organised by region and type of organisation and some common themes identified for each group, but clearly many of the themes covered cut across these divisions.

### **LONDON AND SOUTH – SOCIAL MIX IN HOT MARKETS (4 cases<sup>7</sup>)**

Common Themes:

- Dominance of the cross-subsidy driver
- Decline in section 106 opportunities for mix – declining mix on high value sites
- Heritage of high value social housing sites – provide opportunity for range of different strategies (from broadening mix on site to disposal and build in cheaper locations)
- Main dynamic of change is broadening social mix on former social housing sites
- Opportunities to increase density are important in enabling social/affordable housing to be maintained despite change in scheme mix to other tenures

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<sup>7</sup> A fifth London based case of a small BME origin association in a high cost area of London also contributes to our understanding of social mix in London. Another Southern case operating mainly in high cost villages provides further evidence on hot housing markets. Both of these cases are included in the third set of case studies here as an example of a specialist housing provider.

- Social mix practices need to be much broader than tenure mix; employment, industry and cultural strategies and urban design also important
- Recent policies are most likely to be seen as conducive to social mix when they are seen as incentivising independent development without grant through cross-subsidy – ‘*You know what?- we’re going to do it anyway*’.
- Mayor’s policy on tenure mix and 50% affordable housing an important driver for London.
- Impacts of social mix are hard to evidence but there is an interest in building an evidence base and learning together about what works.

## CASE A – G15 MEMBER WITH NATIONAL COVERAGE

The panellist is Head of Strategic Research for a G15 association in London. Her responses were coloured by the sheer size of the HA and very different types of mix in different parts of country (with different local cultures and issues of social mix e.g. South East LSVTs are very socially homogenous, London has more churn and mix, while white, working class Northern estates are quite separate from more diverse areas surrounding them)

Her organisation has a business- like and market led approach and is attempting to develop new housing independent of government. Cross subsidy is the most fundamental driver of social mix as is mixed tenure and high value land is seen as a major tool to increase both financial and social returns. The biggest arena is regeneration, where mix changes and densities may increase to preserve net numbers of affordable homes. High cost sites are a legacy of earlier investments and social and income mix often part of regenerating these estates to bring both social and financial returns. Community Investment (CI) sits alongside development and priority estates gradually being researched.

Her HA is bringing development and employment together through community investment activity around apprenticeships and work readiness, and was surprised that more panellists did not also highlight links to employment. This has been a key theme in recent merger discussions:

*‘It is packaged in different ways and not necessarily referred to as a social mix policy. Community Investment has increasing status within the organisation and this has changed things’*

Unlike most panellists there was a tendency to see recent policy (with the exception of section 106) as making social mix easier to achieve. We discussed why this was. There was agreement that the loss of section 106 is making it harder to do social rent. *‘But you know what we’re just getting on and doing it! It’s because with less grant we are spending our own money and to achieve this we need to mix the schemes more for cross-subsidy reasons. It’s more of a programme based approach.’*

This has become much clearer in the last five years. There are downsides to social mix that the organisation needs to try to protect people against since benefits are uneven and some groups may lose out (e.g. by being priced out, ending up in unviable tenures like S/O in central London, and (un)affordable rents for people on benefit). There can be conflicts over LA nominations and need for cross-borough flexibility.

There’s something about the way that these policies are interacting with pay to stay into right to buy. The sense is that voluntary right to buy will follow on from existing pattern of leaseholders mixed in with tenants that the organisation has experienced in stock transfer areas, and shift on from home ownership to PRS. Starter homes are very problematic, and there needs to be more joining up of strategies

The practice of mixed tenure schemes and blocks is increasing. Thinking about schemes where entrance areas to courtyards are shared by owners with tenants in the courtyards, but these are not actually mixed tenure blocks – no poor doors but manageable! Pepper potting within blocks doesn't work for this HA. The HA is able to build in high cost areas because have a legacy of stock there to regenerate. They are also doing less specialist housing for people with disabilities and less intensive support; *'bought into changes to building regulations to make lifetime homes rather than having hard to let wheelchair schemes'*. There is a lot of ongoing work with schools and community groups because of importance of community investment.

Fortunately, with regeneration schemes tenants are able to return when they want to, but some are choosing to move on as tenure becomes more mixed. *'Regeneration schemes are the mechanism that is changing social mix the most because it's the only way we can actually afford to improve some of the estates. There will be changes of mix and we want to make this work.'* (The participant provided an example in South London where it is working well, but there wasn't enough evidence to capture this although she expects more of a monitoring culture after the merger).

There was an absence of evidence on outcomes; the participants found it difficult to complete section on outcomes and decided to disagree with propositions because of lack of evidence and because 'it all depends'. In some cases social tenants on estates were *'happily segregated'*; including from the surrounding areas (where estate mono-ethnic but surrounding area multi-cultural. But Q9 was clear and implied comparator was assumed.

The panellist would like employment prospects to be better in mixed areas, but no evidence to show this. The nature of work is changing and people may have to travel far, and this varies hugely across the organisation's property portfolio. Social mix is very fluid and transient; very rapid change in last five years and so it's going to be very hard to sustain social mix into the future. *'We won't go back to Bevan so have to do something to encourage it.'*

The panellist was happy to make data available to project – some evaluation of an estate regeneration in south London suburban borough, national priority estates analysis from 2013 using HACT social value tool and annual resident survey on priorities for the future (thinking about questions on concern about children's prospects and impact of RTB). The HA has done some research with shared owners for GLA. They are very pragmatic and less concerned about mix rather than what the property and financial package offers for them. They have also done some research around income levels and found not too many in high income brackets who could be pay to stay candidates.

*'What do we mean by a good mix? This is critical. We should not just be monitoring change but assessing whether the change is beneficial. So I'm grateful for the report and know how we are going to use it.'*

## **CASE B – G15 MEMBER WITH STRONG STOCK TRANSFER HERITAGE IN SOUTH EAST**

This panellist is a CEO of a G15 member HA with stock distributed across South London and South East England. This HA has grown through mergers with a number of stock transfer Has and is currently involved in another large merger. There is a strong focus on communities and tenants within corporate values and recent merger aims are focused on this. But the HA is also seeking to expand and the merger will lead to scaling up of new development programme from 3-500 per annum to 1500-2000 per annum. This will involve a shift to larger sites and social mix will become a

more central issue. On large sites place-making and urban design are important for social mix rather than simply mixed tenure.

Section 106 and planning gain has been a very important source of growth and a recent development has been of small 20 homes schemes (usually a mix of rent and shared ownership) in mixed tenure areas. In the stock transfer areas opportunities often arise for small developments on the edge of existing social housing estates. The HA is now preparing for a shift to larger scale cross-subsidy schemes in a larger programme. The new London Mayor's 50% affordable target may make a difference in London depending on the 'post-Brexit' economy. But across the South East growth will come more from cross subsidy than from planning gain.

We discussed the differentiation made in the survey between Qs 2b and 2c by this panellist. He saw the main driver on high value sites as generating financial rather than social return. This is because high values sites and assets are increasingly being viewed as a source of funding to cross subsidise new housing in lower cost areas (so there is not a social return in the higher cost areas themselves). Shared ownership does not work well in Zones 1-3 in London, so there is a need to build out in Zones 4-6 or outside London. Outright owners are unlikely to benefit from social mix because their role is to provide the cross subsidy and they may not ideally want to buy on mixed tenure sites.

Policy is making social mix harder. In policy terms, the loss of Section 106 opportunities is the most serious threat to mix; voluntary Right to Buy (RTB) will theoretically bring tenure mix but may move quickly from home ownership to private rental. Cross subsidy is the hidden policy driver of social mix or at least tenure mix now.

The organisation's focus on mixed tenure is already well established and will continue to increase as its programme scales up. *'For mixed blocks service charge issues are challenging, so we generally prefer separate blocks ...but want to keep a similar appearance to make developments tenure blind. While there are no poor doors there is still attention to access arrangements in high density mixed tenure schemes.'*

*'New development is much less likely to be in high cost areas because of loss of section 106, but Planning gain sites are still seen as important in London with the new Mayor. Opportunities are arising for estate redevelopments across the South East in stock transfer areas where mixed tenure housing is being built in former social housing areas already diversified by retained RTB. Also 1960s sheltered blocks are being remodelled into extra care schemes some of which are mixed tenure and this is thought to be working well'. The main differences are internal specification of these extra-care apartments (kitchens etc.).*

Question 9 was clearly understood as involving a comparison with non-mixed tenure areas. Large mono-culture estates are still seen as a problem. Socially mixed areas are seen to be better for employment and the organisation is interested in enabling tenants to move into employment.

Evidence on outcomes is very limited. There is evidence of more anti-social behaviour on large mono-tenure estates. The panellist would like to understand more about drivers of resident satisfaction. There is a study of satisfaction with digital service delivery at present. There could be a future project on social mix to test the impact of the new larger scale development programme. The panellist is interested in the L&Q project on social mix.

## CASE C- REGIONAL HA IN SOCIALLY POLARISED SOUTH WEST

This panellist is a Group Director of a HA operating in the South West of England which has 20,000 homes, and a development programme of 700 new homes per annum. Social mix is seen as a long term issue rather than a day to day operational one – *‘(it is) not keeping us awake at night but still an important long term issue’*.

However, as an inadvertent consequence of changes to the development model away from government grant, cross subsidy is now the dominant driver for social mix. Most new developments are mixed tenure mainly for cross-subsidy reasons. The panellist reflected that *‘we could have done this a long time ago and would have had more social mix now had we not developed mono-tenure rented housing schemes’*.

The model now is for a mix of tenures on the same site, but usually with separate ‘zones’, not quite poor doors but with a degree of separation. *‘The aim now is to achieve around one third affordable rented homes in each development and this would not be possible without the cross-subsidy approach’*. Responses to the drivers’ questions (equal weighting to benefits to all tenures) are explained by the reality that mixed tenure schemes are now for everyone with a growing share of outright homeownership. The HA is interested in developing high value sites to maximise sales income, but must balance this with the share of rented homes that these sites can produce to meet the overall 1/3 affordable rent target.

The area of operation is very socially polarised with many communities dominated by second homes, holiday cottages and retirement migration and local lower income households finding it hard to maintain a foothold. Some places are more economically vibrant but with similar affordability issues for lower income groups. Income to house price ratios are amongst the least favourable in the country.

The decline in Section 106 has had major implications for the HA which used to have half of its programme on such sites. It now seeks to create a similar social mix on its own cross subsidy sites. One implication may be that the private sector sites that can no longer be accessed are becoming much more socially polarised. So we have a pattern of private sector developments becoming less socially mixed while HA developments become more mixed.

The virtues of this approach are that the HA now builds in places people want to live and capitalises on this by using development sales income to cross subsidise the opportunity for some lower income households to rent homes in these desirable locations. This may explain the much more positive outlook of this panellist on recent policy changes for social mix in section 3. *‘The voluntary right to buy is making social mix easier by moving the existing stock away from the mono-tenure model on which it was developed before the current era of cross-subsidy’*.

No view is taken on the outcomes of social mix (straight 4s in final set of questions) and we did not discuss the evidence available on outcomes.

## CASE D- LOCALLY FOCUSED STOCK TRANSFER WITH RAPIDLY CHANGING SOCIAL MIX

This panellist's HA is one of the most locally focused in the country and its starting point was low social mix and high levels of deprivation at stock transfer 17 years ago. It has an entrepreneurial orientation and is more community led than market led. Social mix has broadened by much new building and regenerating existing stock to have range of tenures and costs of housing. The HA has the benefit of owning high value land close to the city of London and has used this land to generate financial and social returns in equal measure. This is believed to benefit all tenures. By increasing density the number of low rent social homes has not reduced although there have been some flashpoints for anti-gentrification campaigns.

The key message from the discussion was that mix is about far more than housing and tenure. Industrial and cultural strategies and shared sense of place are more important. The Right to Place and social fabric were seen as more important drivers by this panellist than most others on the panel. There was a strong interest in promoting mixed income as well as mixed tenure neighbourhoods. These drivers resonate with the organisation's interest in enabling residents (new and old) to take ownership and make places that work. This might be achieved by identifying common interests across social divides (e.g. local trades and services and cultural events that all can take part in).

Current policies are generally making it harder to promote social mix. There is a need for LAs to fight for real affordability rather than starter homes. There is less money for wider strategies. The kind of policies that are needed would include industrial clusters policy, cultural infrastructure and public space policy. While GLA policies are important for London. The previous Mayor's policy for 11 housing zones was fascinating but it could have been better financed and more regeneration focused.

This panellist agreed that mixed tenure schemes and blocks are increasingly important and that designing in integration by avoiding poor doors would increase even more in the next five years as would an increase mix in former social housing areas and encouraging higher earners to stay. These responses reflect the local context and the massive change already achieved away from mono-tenure to mixed tenure and income residents. However, practical action to promote real social mix was seen as challenging because of a history of paternalism and dangers of the new residents from a wider range of backgrounds 'crowding out' the existing residents. This could be avoided by identifying residents' interests and giving them space to run things that fit those interests (community gardens as an example). Estate signage and the public realm were seen as very important in moving away from previous segregation. Gym equipment and children's play areas are prominent in the public realm and street artists have been enabled to transform estate signage.

Where this works this could provide a model for social mix in other high cost areas which may be missing the identity and local services that come from diversity. The panellist seems optimistic on this, believing that social mix is not temporary and that it can be sustained into the future.

Turning to outcomes and evidence, question 9 was correctly understood and responded to very positively on the basis of this organisation's experience. However hard evidence is limited. Satisfaction surveys don't talk about social mix. There are ambitions for further area change with

regeneration and people are more likely to want to stay after regeneration and avoid displacement. There are interesting potential case studies of outcomes: e.g. of decanting a large listed tower block with major repairs costs and redevelopment through a private sector partnership for home ownership. However this project is at quite an early stage. There is evidence of significant tenure change and growth in housing numbers while also increasing the supply of social rented housing.

## MIDLANDS AND NORTH – SOCIAL MIX IN LESS BUOYANT MARKETS (3 cases)

### Common Themes:

- There is much less scope for cross-subsidy in Midlands and North but policy drivers for mixed tenure were still seen as important
- Often the differences between social, affordable and market rents are quite small
- Tenure mix may not equate to income mix
- Recent policies are more likely to be seen as detrimental to social mix since it is more difficult to build new social rented housing and shared ownership may be quite risky
- Ethnic mix is an important dimension of social mix; while tenure mix and ethnic mix can be quite high in inner areas, suburbs remain quite ethnically exclusive and are less likely to have social housing
- Ethnic housing and neighbourhood choice may be important in the willingness of higher income groups to remain in social housing areas
- There is a big difference between people living alongside each other and actually mixing. Employment and cultural initiatives can be important in increasing real interaction.
- Transport can be a big factor in enabling access to employment opportunities (e.g. lateral links between suburbs in major conurbations)
- One interview highlighted the lack of evidence on impact of social mix and the difficulties in designing research to do this

## CASE E – LARGE REGIONAL HA IN MIDLANDS

The panel member's research background was a key contribution to this interview. The difficulties in making a controlled comparison between living in mixed and non-mixed areas and assessing outcomes was highlighted. While still important, social mix as a strategic goal is *'less explicitly talked about now than a few years ago'*.

This is particularly the case for his own organisation because of the difficulties in defining neighbourhoods for stock which is largely comprised of non-estate street properties dotted amongst other tenures across a conurbation. The portfolio has historically consisted predominantly of rented homes, although more recently new developments have been more mixed because of policy and programme switch to home ownership and the need for individual schemes to stack up. However, the organisation manages rented housing, shared ownership and care and support programmes

separately and has little programme level emphasis on mix. At scheme level mix will be more of an issue as the typical development comes to comprise two or more of these programmes. The differences in market rent and social rent are not very great in the Midlands and more fluidity may be expected over time as subsidy and rent regulation regimes are re-thought.

There have been a few examples in the last 10 years of developments where social mix was an explicit objective followed through from design to letting to management. One was a homeless hostel refurbishment along 'housing first' lines which sought to enable former homeless people to live with other tenants and to benefit from social mix. Another was a high profile mixed tenure scheme in a mainly social housing area which sought to change the local tenure mix and neighbourhood profile. Both schemes were regarded as successful, anecdotally, although the panel member would clearly have preferred a randomised control trial. The panellist is willing to make available in-house assessments of these two schemes.

### **CASE F- COMMUNITY BASED HA IN MIDLANDS**

This panellist is the CEO of a community based Midlands HA, which develops housing on a small scale and has a range of social business activities. *'Our programme is increasingly mixed tenure: rented and shared ownership as a result of falling grant and need to cross-subsidise.'* The HA is exploring market rent but don't do housing for sale. Development was mainly on small sites in mixed areas but new sites are often on the edge of LA estates. The organisation has a strong local identity and commitment to employment and community business; this explains the panellist's emphasis in the survey on enabling tenants to find work but this is a more general driver than social mix.

The shift in scheme mix is worrying in areas where the market niche for shared ownership is quite limited. A recent proposed scheme for 45 homes would have been predominantly affordable rent, but this did not proceed. The development regime seems too rigid and prescriptive at present and does not allow the association's preference for small mainly rented schemes on small sites in its mixed area of operation. There is a hope for some flexibility in programme switches where shared ownership schemes do not have a market.

Policies are not currently supportive of social mix, *'it will be even harder to build rented homes without grant and shared ownership may be quite risky'*.

Voluntary right to buy is expected to have negative consequences with a potential shift through home ownership to market rent without the management that HA currently provides. Replacement rented housing may not be in the right places.

Practices on social mix are not changing very much. It will be even harder to build rented homes in higher cost areas without grant. The association will continue to work with local community and schools to make social mix work in practice. Innovative work includes keeping the local library open and supporting activities to involve older Asian women in classes there.

Outcomes questions were hard to answer due to the lack of evidence, but the first four questions in section 9 were correctly interpreted.



## CASE G – STOCK TRANSFER IN URBAN AUTHORITY AREA IN NORTHERN CONURBATION

This panel member's experience is as CEO of a stock transfer landlord in a northern city that is part of a large conurbation and has around 15% Black and minority ethnic (BME) population with considerable recent new migration including refugee dispersal. Inner areas of the city are quite mixed by tenure and ethnicity and prices are quite low but some places lack community infrastructure and a sense of place. The outer areas have more home ownership and are less ethnically diverse with higher house prices and shared ownership is more viable as an alternative to outright sale there.

In the core areas differences between market rents, affordable rents and social rents are quite small and tenure mix does not equate to social mix. There is a further distinction between people living alongside each other and actually interacting. Community facilities and infrastructure and a sense of place are the key factors that can enable this and there has been some positive experience with new migrants and established communities interacting. The lowest incidence of negative interactions such as race hate crime appear to be in areas that mirror the borough wide BME % of around 15%.

The panellist's responses were generally very similar to the panel as a whole. We discussed the areas of distinctiveness. The higher importance he placed on work integration as a driver related to *'transport infrastructure to overcome difficulties in commuting between suburbs rather than into the city centre'*. The higher importance attached to the 'right to place' reflected the value placed on community facilities and place making in attracting a wider social mix. The lack of focus on shared ownership as a driver reflects the limited scope for this tenure except in the higher price outer areas since shared ownership can be more expensive than outright purchase in the inner areas.

The panellist agreed that current policies are not conducive to social mix and the loss of Section 106 opportunities seemed to have come earlier in this area as local authorities were accepting other planning gain offers rather than on-site affordable housing. Flexible tenure policies should be taken much further by not specifying tenure at programme level but adjusting to local needs and preferences as housing is constructed and occupied. Tenure blind design would help too. Providing management services under contract to private leaseholder estates had highlighted the possibilities of tailoring a generic service to different resident groups using a menu of choices with cost/service quality variations. It should be possible to adapt this to flexible tenures within individual schemes.

Another area of difference was the expectation that higher income households remaining in social housing areas in the future. This related mainly to the very mixed character of inner areas and Asian minority purchase patterns leading to willingness to buy in adjacent areas; former Right to Buy (RTB) properties also go well in these housing markets. Pay to stay unlikely to significantly impact on this pattern.

The questions on satisfaction (section 9) were correctly interpreted but the answers were inconclusive because there are so many other factors that are more important than tenure mix in determining satisfaction. Social mix could be measured by seeking views of house seekers, mapping RTB take up and retention of ownership rather than sales or letting after this. Other indicators of social mix might include race hate crime data, property turnover and satisfaction rates and this can be analysed by different types of area where the organisation's properties are located. This panellist

would be willing to provide organisation data based on a STAR survey and discussion with residents but these are not directly focused in measuring social mix impacts.

## SOCIAL MIX FOR SPECIALIST HAS (3 cases)

### Common Themes:

- Social mix takes on distinctive nuances for specialist housing organisations working with older people, rural communities and BME and migrant groups
- Cross subsidy models are changing patterns of social mix in all of these specialist fields
- The right to housing was a more significant theme for panellists in this group - resisting the hollowing out of London and rebalancing villages from which local people were being shut out by incomers, second home owners and holiday cottages
- Values of specialist providers can have an impact (in attracting cheap land for rural housing, site selection for older people's housing, and being prepared to pressure local authorities for small section 106 sites in high value areas to maintain migrant community presence) – As one panellist put it; *'social mix – it's what we do'*
- Older people's housing can have very low social mix between tenures and little social mix with adjacent neighbourhoods but this is tending to change and will change more in the future
- Access routes to specialist housing can have an important effect on social mix
- The planning system can also be important – rural exceptions sites for rural schemes and local authority needs priorities for planning permissions for older peoples' housing
- Right to buy is likely to have a negative effect on specialist initiatives for social mix such as rural exception sites (where landowners will be less likely to sell at low prices if RTB prevents long term social mix from being sustained).
- Social mix may not be seen as a driver in itself but a means to the end of responding to unmet individual housing needs.

### CASE H – SPECIALIST OLDER PEOPLE'S HOUSING PROVIDER

This panellist is the CEO of this HA that is almost entirely focused on housing for older people; with a segmented market mix of social rented (2/3) and leasehold sale (1/3). The organisation has a stronger charitable purpose and public sector orientation than most panel members but is influenced by commercial considerations in marketing and responding to increasingly discerning demand among leasehold purchasers who influence scheme viability.

More generally the panellist reflected on how the meaning of social mix has been changing and needs redefinition for 2016 *'What's the 2016 definition of social mix and how are we responding to where we are now? - as opposed to a way of thinking that came out of Cathy Come Home which was simpler. We didn't have the pressures in relation to ethnic diversity, which plays out interestingly in relation to older people as well'*.

Historically there was not much social mix between the two client groups with schemes being developed for one client group or the other. Indeed, there have been some tensions where schemes had attempted to integrate the two groups with a clear social divide - *'people who want to buy their own place they don't want to buy into a social housing estate*. Nevertheless, the current development model requires cross subsidy and the social purposes seek to achieve up to 40% affordable rented within new developments. The approach is to achieve a high specification for the leasehold homes to secure sales and longer term resale values and hope that this can overcome resistance to buying into schemes with a substantial social rent component. Recent schemes have sought to pepper pot the social homes within the scheme and to adopt tenure blind design standards.

One important constraint to real social mix is the very different access routes for the two client groups with LA nominations accounting for 50-100% of the social lets and involving progressively older intake with support needs covered by Adult Care services while leasehold entry is at younger age with lower support needs. This tends to militate against actual social mix within the schemes and tensions can be aggravated by anti-social behaviour, dementia and lack of support services.

Another key social mix issue for older people's housing providers is inter-generational mix and general needs housing. The traditional development model has been to build separately with 95% of the HAs stock being for over 55s only. Just now the possibilities of inter-generational living are being considered along with other social mix question such as integration of LGTB residents, and cohousing models. None of these approaches have yet been mainstreamed and there is still a strong customer demand for traditional older people's housing that is separate from the wider community; although customers are becoming more discerning and less satisfied.

Planning can be a problem in securing sites for specialist older peoples' housing, especially where the aim is for 40% of this to be affordable. Local planners often prefer general needs housing which is seen as the biggest supply gap when it comes to social housing need. But arguments about releasing family homes through downsizing are strongest card alongside releasing hospital beds and specialist care services through extra care schemes. Competition for sites is a problem in most cities especially London and south east – it is very hard to support a 40% affordable ratio in schemes in competition with specialist retirement housing developers and HAs such as L&Q that work with lower ratios. It is easier to get sites in rural and northern locations leading to further reductions to social mix in high cost areas through export of older people.

A final discussion point is how different the socio-spatial distribution of this HA's stock is compared to a market based retirement housing provider such as McCarthy and Stone. How much of this difference is explained by the charitable social purposes and less competitive business model requiring 40% affordable rents? A CACI type location analysis of different types of landlord portfolios could be a good way to illustrate this dimension of the social mix question.

## CASE I – SMALL BME ORIGIN HA IN HIGH COST AREA OF LONDON

This panellist is the CEO of a small HA with BME origins operating in high cost areas in central and inner London. His perspective is driven by holding on to what has been achieved in enabling low income migrant communities to have a foothold in areas that have since rocketed in housing costs. *'Social mix is about attempting to resist the hollowing out of London and preserving the social mix that distinguishes London from cities like Paris'*. This panellist identifies strongly with right to place concept and sees social mix as benefiting the whole community.

Section 106 was very important for HAs like this, and they still want to work with LAs on small sites in their high cost area of operation despite attempts of developers to offer cash and off site benefits rather than housing. *'it's important to us to battle on with section 106 on small central London sites; larger HAs may choose to develop in cheaper areas but for us "it's what we do"- holding on to spaces for low income and BME communities in rapidly changing London housing market'*. The panellist can see that social mix is emerging in former social housing areas, but these are not the preferred places for this HA to develop and they don't have scale for large regeneration schemes.

The HA still has development capacity from assets and borrowing and are now looking to work with large HAs like L&Q on new development (taking advantage of L&Q sites and development process but purchasing properties on completion). This partnership strategy appears to have taken over from an earlier g320<sup>8</sup> initiative which the panellist was centrally involved in to unlock assets by pooled development. This was still supported by GLA but hasn't actually developed at all in recent years and competition over access to sites was a major barrier. This HA have recently renewed their mission to assert independence for purpose based on migrant heritage; and now plan to work with new migrant communities in London.

The panellist has no hard evidence on benefits of social mix except *'it's what we do'*, but has many anecdotal and experience based views. The outcomes are shown by people able to live and take advantage of London shops and amenities etc. A tenant living in Belsize Park appreciates being able to live alongside affluent people. There are high satisfaction rates (in the high 80%s) with home and neighbourhood but it is hard to attribute this to social mix per se rather than whole HA model. There is no evidence on employment but the HA is currently developing an employability offer with other small and BME HAs as a gateway into wider services such as 'Love London Working'.

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<sup>8</sup> g 320 is a grouping of smaller housing associations operating mainly in London. In 2014 they issued a report arguing the case to the Greater London Authority for a greater role for small HAs in new housing supply in London. <http://www.g320.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Ark-housing-consultancy-report-for-GLA-Increasing-affordable-housing-supply.pdf>

## CASE J – SPECIALIST DEVELOPER OF RURAL HOUSING SCHEMES

This panellist is the CEO of a rural housing specialist HA operating across the south of England. The association develops small housing schemes (average 8-12 homes) in villages in response to invitations from parish councils and evidence of local needs surveys. *'Until recently we provided only rented and shared ownership but now we also build housing for sale to enable financial viability for individual schemes, without increasing RES land values.'* The HA undertakes to provide 'affordability in perpetuity' through planning Section 106 planning agreements and to keep land values at £8-12k per plot on exceptions sites' outside the village envelope. However the housing for sale is not subject to these conditions and can be resold on the market. All schemes are developed in partnership with parish councils and about 25% of new schemes are now developed in partnership with Community Land Trusts.

The association has a long standing interest in the issue of mix having commissioned an influential report 'Building for Communities' in the early 1990s which argued for balanced allocations and social integration on all new housing developments, but the issues are somewhat different for the mainly small schemes the HA develops in villages.

Most of the villages in which this HA develops have an unbalanced mix of incomes and tenure leaving serious housing gaps for lower income local people including those needing to live close to work. Thus the mission of the association is implicitly about the 'right to place' and seeking to rebalance, to a degree, the social mix skewed by second homes and retirement housing purchasers and holiday accommodation which leaves many village with no affordable rented housing. Even in villages without these issues, the Right to Buy (RTB) over the years has depleted rural affordable housing to an average of just 8% so even in low value areas, there is a lack of affordable homes. By building such homes in village the HA also contributes to sustainable communities through supporting local community infrastructure such as schools, shops and pubs thereby maintaining social mix in places in danger of becoming ghost villages with no local social interaction.

Social mix is not seen as a driver in itself but a means to the end of responding to the concerns of local communities about unmet individual needs. This may comprise rented or shared ownership homes close to work and or families in villages. Many of the drivers discussed in the survey do not seem to quite fit the rural contexts or niche role of the HA, explaining some of the divergence in question responses. However, the importance of cross-subsidy as a driver, especially for building housing for sale, became clearer in the conversation. If Government will not fund grant for housing for rent the HA needs to find other ways to provide this to respond to village needs. Its development programme has scaled back from 500 a year to 50-100 as a result of changes in the way Government funds new development and it is seeking partnerships with smaller HAs and alms-houses to support their work in building new rural homes. The Budget announcement of £60 million *'to enable community-led housing developments in rural and coastal communities, including through Community Land Trusts, where the impact of second homes is particularly acute'* could provide an opportunity for some new affordable rented housing in villages; with the SW being targeted for £20million of this, but this is unconfirmed.

While the HA has not collected evidence specifically on the outcomes of social mix it is telling that satisfaction levels are very high for occupiers and the local community, that rented housing is

maintained in perpetuity usually by S106 agreement. Additional mechanisms may be needed in the future that give local communities more confidence that homes will remain for local people. It is encouraging that shared owners tend to stay and not to staircase. This helps explain the survey response that social mix can be sustained into the future and is not a temporary phenomenon. The HA is committed to not selling housing in villages under the voluntary RTB. There is evidence that RTB is reducing the willingness of land owners to sell into exception site schemes and local communities to seek new housing. This will be a very contentious issue as Housing and Planning Act is implemented<sup>9</sup>. Questions on satisfaction (section 9) were clearly understood.

## CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

Social mix is an elusive concept with a wide range of nuances but it is also a very common and practical core aim for housing interventions. This Delphi study is designed to promote a dialogue with housing professionals who must deal with the complexities and practicalities involved in social mix on a day to day basis. It aims to understand how social mix is conceptualised by key actors in the non-profit housing sector to inform a major study of social mix.

To meet the aims of the study funders, the sample for this Delphi study had a particular focus on larger housing associations providing a range of housing products and operating in London and the South but balanced by a more national perspective. A purposively selected sample of 19 agreed to take part in the study and 17 completed the first stage survey by the cut-off date, a response rate of 89%.

By breaking the topic down into purposes, policies, practices and outcomes the survey traces how in practice the slippery notion of social mix is negotiated and enacted. Responses have been shaped by experience and evidence as noted in the previous section, but surveys are an imperfect tool to capture and understand the basis and meaning of these responses. In the subsequent stage of the interviews panel members had the opportunity to comment on the panel results and their own organisation's position with reference to the sub-topics outlined above.

The Delphi survey produced the following key findings

**Values and ethos:** Social mix fits with the hybrid blend of social and commercial aims of housing associations. It may be seen as enabling both financial and social returns.

**Purposes:** Social mix is a moderately important objective for most panel member's organisations. Among the 15 component purposes (see Table 1 for details) included in the survey only 'cross-subsidy of social housing' and 'developing mixed tenure neighbourhoods' are considered more important than promotion of social mix in itself. 12 of these purposes are of at least moderate importance and are generally increasing in importance. The exceptions are 'benefiting home owners', 'promoting the 'right to place'' and 'enabling low income people to live closer to work opportunities' which are considered unimportant by most panel members.

The survey appears to provide a provisional answer to the question; **who is social mix for?** There is a clear perception that tenants of affordable and social housing benefit more than shared owners and

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<sup>9</sup> Worth looking at Duchy of Cornwall concerns about RTB on social mix in Poundbury.

outright owners from social mix. However the mechanisms for benefiting them appear to be contested.

There is also another clearly understood benefit – the **financial benefit to the housing organisation/government** from cross-subsidy (the number one benefit) and the financial return from developing high value land (number 6).

**Policies:** By and large the panel do not see the current policy agenda as conducive to achieving social mix. The greatest difficulties are associated with reduced scope for planning gain (section 106), policy shifts from rented homes to starter homes and lower grants. From the perspective of social mix, the voluntary right to buy policy is seen as slightly less problematic.

**Practices:** There has been a growing focus on mixed tenure schemes and this is expected to continue, problems of ‘poor doors’ have been recognised and addressed but there is still little focus on mixing within blocks. Trends in social mix through integration of disability housing and encouraging higher income households to remain in social housing schemes were less clear-cut.

There is a trajectory towards a form of social mix in which social housing neighbourhoods become more mixed rather than one in which more social and affordable housing tenants gain access to market housing neighbourhoods. This is consistent with the relative decline of social housing as a tenure and development pressures in many urban areas that are creating market incentives for private sales, densification and tenure diversification in former social housing areas.

**Outcomes:** While the impact of social mix on tenants’ and shared owners’ satisfaction with home and neighbourhood is not clear-cut, it appears that social mix can be win: win and avoid generating major dissatisfaction from either tenants or shared owners.

There is moderate agreement that social tenants’ employment prospects are better in socially mixed areas. There is less support for the view that social mix is temporary especially where social housing areas are being gentrified. Encouragingly, the panel has a moderately strong belief that social mix can be sustained into the future.

**Evidence:** Even organisations directly engaging with social mix objectives find a distinct lack of evidence about outcomes. Further research that directly engages with the experience of housing organisations in practices to promote social mix would therefore be widely welcomed.

#### **Follow-up Interviews:**

Following a modified Delphi method, these survey results were discussed with panel members, including follow-up in-depth interviews with 10 panellists to establish the meaning and implications of these results.

**Part B of this report** presents ten case studies organised into three main groups according to housing market types and organisational specialism. Core themes were drawn out for each of the three groups as follows:

#### **LONDON AND SOUTH Common Themes:**

- Dominance of the cross-subsidy driver
- Decline in section 106 opportunities for mix – declining mix on high value sites
- Heritage of high value social housing sites – provide opportunity for range of different strategies (from broadening mix on site to disposal and build in cheaper locations)

- Main dynamic of change is broadening social mix on former social housing sites
- Opportunities to increase density are important in enabling social/affordable housing to be maintained despite change in scheme mix to other tenures
- Social mix practices need to be much broader than tenure mix; employment, industry and cultural strategies and urban design also important
- Recent policies are most likely to be seen as conducive to social mix when they are seen as incentivising independent development without grant through cross-subsidy – ‘*You know what?- we’re going to do it anyway*’.
- Mayor’s policy on tenure mix and 50% affordable housing is an important driver for London.
- Impacts of social mix are hard to evidence but there is an interest in building an evidence base and learning together about what works.

#### **MIDLANDS AND NORTH Common Themes:**

- There is much less scope for cross-subsidy in Midlands and North but policy drivers for mixed tenure were still seen as important
- Often the differences between social, affordable and market rents are quite small
- Tenure mix may not equate to income mix
- Recent policies are more likely to be seen as detrimental to social mix since it is more difficult to build new social rented housing and shared ownership may be quite risky
- Ethnic mix is an important dimension of social mix; while tenure mix and ethnic mix can be quite high in inner city areas, suburbs remain quite ethnically exclusive and are less likely to have social housing
- Ethnic housing and neighbourhood choice may be important in the willingness of higher income groups to remain in social housing areas
- There is a big difference between people living alongside each other and actually mixing. Employment and cultural initiatives can be important in increasing real interaction.
- Transport can be a big factor in enabling access to employment opportunities (e.g. lateral links between suburbs in major conurbations)
- One interview highlighted the lack of evidence on impact of social mix and the difficulties in designing research to do this

#### **SOCIAL MIX FOR SPECIALIST HAS Common Themes:**

- Social mix takes on distinctive nuances for specialist housing organisations working with older people, rural communities and BME and migrant groups
- Cross subsidy models are changing patterns of social mix in all of these specialist fields
- The right to housing was a more significant theme for panellists in this group - resisting the hollowing out of London and rebalancing villages from which local people were being shut out by newcomers, second home owners and holiday cottages
- Values of specialist providers can have an impact (in attracting cheap land for rural housing, site selection for older people’s housing, and being prepared to pressure local authorities for small section 106 sites in high value areas to maintain migrant community presence) – as one panellist put it; ‘*social mix – it’s what we do*’



- Older people’s housing can have very low social mix between tenures and little social mix with adjacent neighbourhoods but this is tending to change and will change more in the future
- Access routes to specialist housing can have an important effect on social mix
- The planning system can also be important – rural exceptions sites for rural schemes and local authority needs priorities for planning permissions for older peoples’ housing
- Right to buy is likely to have a negative effect on specialist initiatives for social mix such as rural exception sites (where landowners will be less likely to sell at low prices if RTB prevents long term social mix from being sustained).
- Social mix may not be seen as a driver in itself but a means to the end of responding to unmet individual housing needs.

## Final Word

Panel members were invited to add any further comments at the end of the questionnaire. One such comment from a London based locally focused housing association panellist provides an apt conclusion to this report.

*“The success of socially mixed communities will rely on much more than tenure mix, not only because of tenure’s progressive lack of demographic distinction, but moreover because it must be about the diversity of offer in the area. It is vital that housing supply is only part of that is under scrutiny, but industrial, cultural and environmental strategies are seen equally as defining an area and its ability to retain its cohesive mix.” (39)*

The interviews continued the reflective tone of the survey and highlighted the value that participants place on a better understanding of social mix, how it can be promoted and with what consequences:

*‘What do we mean by a good mix? This is critical. We should not just be monitoring change but assessing whether the change is beneficial. So I’m grateful for the report and know how we are going to use it.’*

## Appendix A – Methodology

### Sampling

A target sample was identified of between 15 to 20 expert Delphi panel members. Following discussions with L&Q regarding sample criteria, 45 suitable panel members were identified, 20 of whom were existing Delphi panel members from longitudinal Delphi social housing research undertaken by Professor David Mullins at the University of Birmingham, and who matched the sampling criteria for this project.

25 potential new panel members were invited to participate, who also fitted the sample requirements of

- A national sample of housing associations
- Large social housing organisations
- Operating in London and the South East
- Overlapping geographically with L and Q in local authorities operated in

Out of 45 invitations, 19 accepted the invitation to participate in the research, of which 12 who had previously taken part in the ongoing Delphi housing research, and 7 were new participants. 7 were large associations operating in London and the South East.

Follow up interviews were conducted with 10 panellists; these were grouped in to three main sub-samples. Four were from hot housing markets in London, the south East and South West; three were from less buoyant markets in the Midlands and North and three were specialist HAs for older people, BME communities and rural communities. Two of the latter group also operated mainly in London and the South; giving a total of six out of ten in London, South East and South West.

Table A below provides a summary profile of this panel.

Information about the project was e-mailed to all panellists including:

- The identity of the funder, L&Q
- A summary of the aims and objectives of the Social Mix in Housing project
- All Delphi panellists and their organisations would remain anonymous
- Profile characteristics of individuals and their organisations such as position, size and geography would be included in the final report.
- Participants' rights to withdraw at any stage of the programme

<b>TABLE A: DELPHI SOCIAL MIX - PANEL PROFILE</b>						
<b>Org Number</b>	<b>Phone Interviews</b>	<b>Respondent Position</b>	<b>Size* (No of properties)</b>	<b>Geography</b>	<b>Areas of operation</b>	<b>London G15 Member</b>
1	✓	CEO	Large 25 000+ properties	London, South and South East	40+ LAs	✓
2	✓	CEO	Medium 15000 +	North West	1 LA	
3	✓	Director/ Head	Large	National	100 +	✓

		Strategy	25 000+ properties		LAs	
4	✓	Director/Head Strategy	Large 20 000+	South West	10+ HAs	
5**		CEO	Small >10 000	Midlands	10+ LAs	
6		CEO	Medium 10 000+	Midlands	JO20+ LAs	
7		CEO	Large 20 000+	London and South East	35+ LAs	✓
8	✓	CEO	Small >10000	Midlands	5+LAs	
9		CEO	Large 30 000+	London and South East	100+ LAs	✓
10	✓	CEO	Small >10 000	National (rural)	70+ LAs	
11		Head/ Director Strategy	Large 25 000+	London	20+ LAs	✓
12	✓	CEO	Small >10 000	London	1 LA	
13		CEO	Large 35 000 +	National	70+ LAs	
14		Assistant CEO	Large 20 000 +	West Yorkshire	1 LA	
15**		CEO	Large 35 000+	National (London, East Midlands, East England)	100+ LAs	✓
16		CEO	Large 25 000+	London Essex, South East	40+ LAs	✓
17	✓	Director/ Head Strategy	Large 30 000+	Midlands	50+ LAs	
18	✓	CEO	Medium 15 000 +	National	150+LAs	
19	✓	CEO	Small >10 000	London	10+ LAs	

**\*Size – number of properties managed:**

Large: 20 000 +

Medium: 10 – 20 000

Small: >10 000

**\*\* Online surveys not completed or submitted by the deadline for this report**

## Distribution and Response

The survey was designed and piloted in April 2016 by members of the Housing and Communities Research Group and L&Q's research team. Amendments were made after the pilot, and the final survey was sent out in early May to the Delphi panel, with just over a week given to complete the survey. After an extension of the completion deadline and a number of e-mail reminders, the survey was closed after 16 days to meet the project plan delivery date with 17 of 19 responses achieved, a response rate of 89%.

## Structure and key themes

The questionnaire was structured around 5 main sections to investigate:

- The values of not-for-profit housing providers
- The purpose of social mix
- The impacts of recent national policies on achieving social mix
- Practices to promote social mix
- The outcomes of social mix practices

## Question types

The questionnaire mainly used a 7-point scale, in which each 'point' was indicated with a square.

Respondents were advised to use the whole of the scale to reflect their strength of views on each topic, to enable meaningful comparisons to be made of all panellists' responses.

## Data Checking and Cleaning

A preliminary analysis of responses was undertaken to ensure that the survey had been completed correctly, that instructions had been followed and validation procedures had worked within the BOS analysis package (e.g. allowing only one response per scale). Further checking of the interpretation of questions and instructions will be undertaken as part of the follow up telephone interviews (see below).

## Analysis

Once the survey was closed the data was evaluated using a number of different views, including individual responses as well as collated analyses of mean, mode, standard deviation and outliers for each question. Text responses were also examined thematically.

## Next Steps: Interviews and Report Format

Following a presentation of preliminary results to the funder these results were shared with the panel and comments sought from respondents on the relationship between their own views and those of the panel as a whole. Ten follow up interviews were conducted to clarify the reasons for the overall pattern of responses, common perspectives and areas of divergence. These interviews lasted 45-75 minutes by telephone and were noted or recorded with short summaries of key themes produced and agreed with panel members for inclusion in Part B of this report. This has provided the opportunity to learn more about how organisations are currently approaching social mix to feed into the main stage of the L&Q study.

Part A of this report has been developed to take account of the dialogue outlined above. A more detailed account of the qualitative material from the telephone interviews is presented in the ten case studies in Part B organised by types of housing market context and types of organisation.

## Appendix B – Participant Information Sheet and Topic Guide for Telephone Interviews



### **Social Mix: Values, Purposes, Policies, Practices and Outcomes** Delphi Survey Follow up Interviews

#### **Participant Information Sheet**

**Purpose:** These follow-up depth telephone interviews with a sample of respondents to our panel survey on Social Mix are intended to establish the meaning and implications of the preliminary survey results. They will inform the development of a larger project being undertaken for L&Q by a research team based at the University of Birmingham comprising a literature review and case study research. **We are particularly keen to access any evidence that exists on the outcomes of social mix policy and practices from a tenants' and residents' perspective on your organisation's estates.**

**Method:** Panel members will be asked for their general comments on the report and its relevance to their organisation, on specific sections of the report and how their answers relate to those of the panel as a whole and on practical issues and evidence from their own organisation's experience.

**Structure:** The interviews will be semi-structured; following the order of questions in the five sections of the survey and focusing on particular questions where the respondents' views vary from those of the panel as a whole or where the question wording may have affected results.

**Anonymity and Feedback:** These interview discussions will be used to refine the text of the report and statements may be added to illuminate the text. These statements will not be attributed to any individual and the anonymity of panel members will be preserved. Where relevant, statements may be related to the size, type and areas of operation but no organisations will be identified. All panel members will receive the revised draft survey report with the additional material from these interviews for comment before it appears in any published output.

**Practical Arrangements:** One hour appointment slots have been booked in advance for these telephone interviews all of which will be undertaken by Professor David Mullins who has extensive experience of the method and the housing sector. All interviews will be completed within one hour and may be recorded to assist with notetaking. Interviews will begin by establishing your consent to take part on the basis explained above and this will be confirmed by **completing the attached Consent Form.**

**David Mullins, Professor of Housing Policy**  
**Housing and Communities Research Group**  
[d.w.mullins@bham.ac.uk](mailto:d.w.mullins@bham.ac.uk), 0121 414 3348

## TOPIC GUIDE (Script for Phone Interviews)

### General Introduction

**Do you have any questions about the project as explained in the Participant Information Sheet? Are you willing to sign the consent form? Thanks lets proceed.**

1. Thanks for completing the survey. Can I start by asking you for your **general reactions to the report** and how closely you felt it reflected the perspective of your own organisation? (As we go through the report we will focus on areas where your views appear to differ from the panel as a whole and try to find out why).
2. OK now can I ask you **how important an issue social mix is** for your organisation at present , compared to all the other issues you are facing (– **relate specifically to size, type and location of the organisation**).
3. **Now about the survey itself**. Can you tell me about any particular difficulties you experienced in **interpreting the questions and answering them** (we can focus on specific questions as we go through the report.)

*I will use your responses to these three questions (together with your individual survey results) to prompt and **focus later parts of the interview on aspects that require further discussion** (especially where your views vary from those of the panel as a whole or where questions were difficult to interpret or answer or results in the report are unclear). **There will not be time to discuss each section in detail.***

### Section 1: Values

4. Would you agree with the general conclusion of this section that social mix policies fit quite well with the blended social and commercial values of housing associations?- **How would you relate your own organisation’s approach to social mix to its value base?**

### Section 2: Purposes

5. We have already talked about the overall importance of social mix as a strategic objective; this section of the survey report identified two very important specific drivers for social mix policies as ‘cross-subsidy of social housing’ and ‘developing mixed tenure neighbourhoods’ and 10 further quite important drivers – **how does this compare with your ranking? How easy did you find Table 7 of the report to interpret?**

6. Some purposes appeared to be relatively unimportant drivers for social mix: ‘benefiting home owners’, ‘promoting the ‘right to place’’ and ‘enabling low income people to live closer to work opportunities’ – **do you agree and why do you think this is?**

### Section 3: Policies

7. Would you agree with the general conclusion that current policies are not conducive to social mix, with Section 106, starter homes and grant rates posing the most important challenges? – **why is this? – any specific examples from your organisation?**

8. Is voluntary right to buy less of a barrier to social mix – **if so why?**

#### **Section 4: Practices**

**9.** Would you agree that there is an increasing focus on mixed tenure schemes, and avoiding 'poor doors' but that mixed tenure blocks within schemes are a much lesser focus **(why is this the case in relation to your own organisation's developments?)**

**10.** Would you agree that social mix is currently more about social housing neighbourhoods becoming more mixed (through stock sales and less social housing after regeneration) rather than social and affordable housing tenants gaining access to market housing neighbourhoods **(how does this work in your own organisation?)**

#### **Section 5: Outcomes**

**11.** The four questions on satisfaction (Q9) seem to have been affected by wording - would you have answered differently if we had made the comparator clearer e.g. 'tenants in socially mixed communities are more satisfied with their housing **than those living in non-mixed communities**'. **GO THROUGH RESPONSES TO Q 9 WITH EACH INTERVIEWEE AND RECORD ANY DIFFERENCES IF CLEARER COMPARATOR ADDED**

**12.** We were surprised that shared owners were seen to be more satisfied with neighbourhoods than their housing when living in mixed communities (Q9b and 9c) **(have you any suggestions why this may be?)**

#### **Evidence**

**13.** L&Q are particularly keen to locate evidence on the impacts of social mix policies from the perspective of tenants and other residents (e.g. in relation to satisfaction, employment prospects and well-being) - the survey responses suggested that little hard evidence exists – **Can I ask whether your organisation has gathered any evidence as to the value of mix in relation to your own estates? AND WHETHER YOU WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE THIS AVAILABLE TO THE PROJECT<sup>10</sup>**<sub>1</sub>

**We are now coming to the end of the interview. Is there anything else you would like to add to inform our understanding of social mix practice and outcomes?**

**Thanks very much for your time, we will send you a draft of the next version of the report based on these inter views for further comment.**

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<sup>10</sup> <sub>1</sub> NO LINK WOULD BE MADE TO YOUR ANONYMOUS SURVEY REPOSES ANY EVIDENCE YOU PROVIDE WILL BE CONSIDERED IN THE SECONDARY EVIDENCE REVIEW BEING UNDERTAKEN IN ANOTHER PART OF THE PROJECT



## Appendix C – Full Survey Results Summary

### Delphi Research - Mixed Communities in Housing - May 2016

Showing 17 of 17 responses

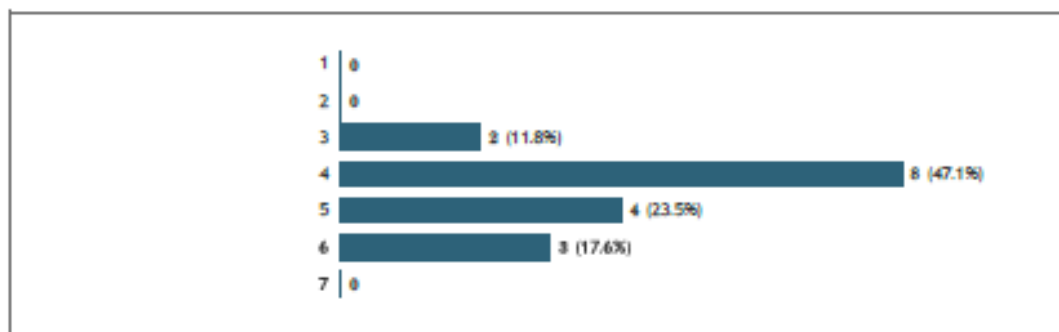
Showing all responses

Showing all questions

Response rate: 89%

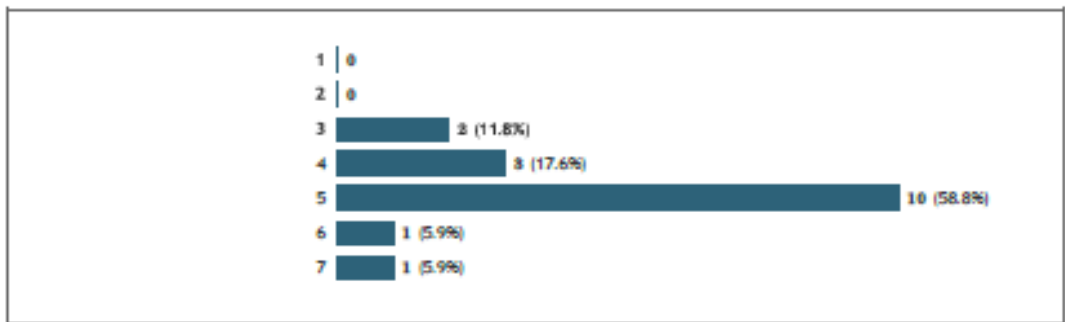
- 1 Below are pairs of statements to describe the core values of organisations. Please indicate on the scales the extent to which one value is currently more central to the core values of your organisation than the other. Please select a position on each scale that best describes your own organisation. The more that you think the left value predominates for your organisation, the nearer you tick to the left of the scale. The more that you think the right value predominates, the nearer you tick to the right end of the scale. If neither value predominates, please tick in the middle of the scale.

#### 1.1 Business Ethos vs Social Ethos



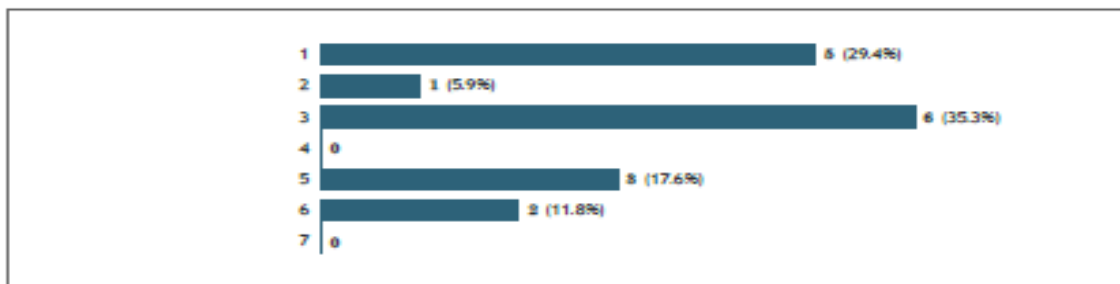
Mean rank	4.47
Median	4
Variance	0.84
Standard Deviation	0.92
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	5

1.2 Public Sector Ethos vs Private Sector Ethos



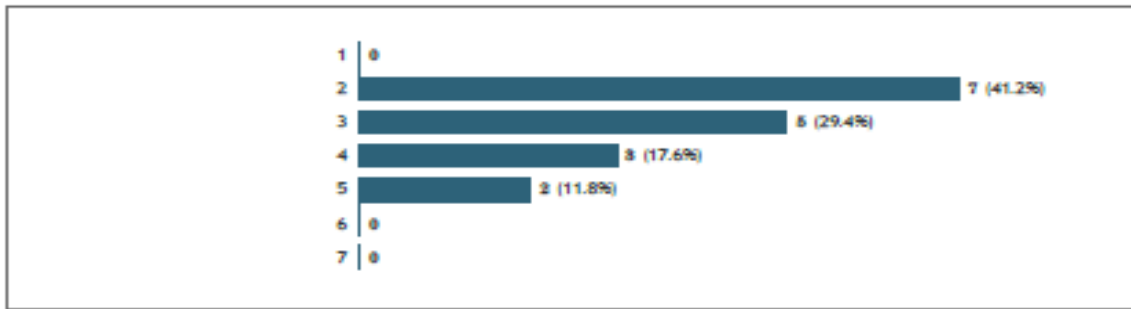
Mean rank	4.07
Median	5
Variance	0.89
Standard Deviation	0.94
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	5

1.3 Tied to Specific Localities vs Not Geographically Tied



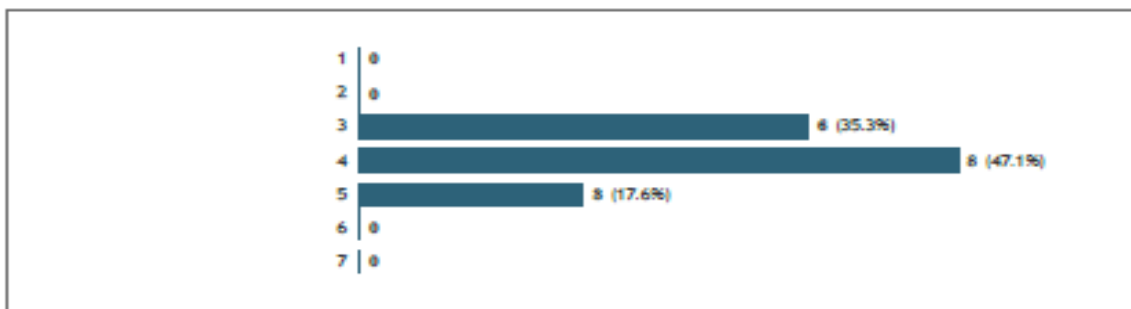
Mean rank	3.06
Median	3
Variance	3.0
Standard Deviation	1.73
Lower Quartile	1
Upper Quartile	5

#### 1.4 Setting Own Priorities vs Meeting Government Priorities



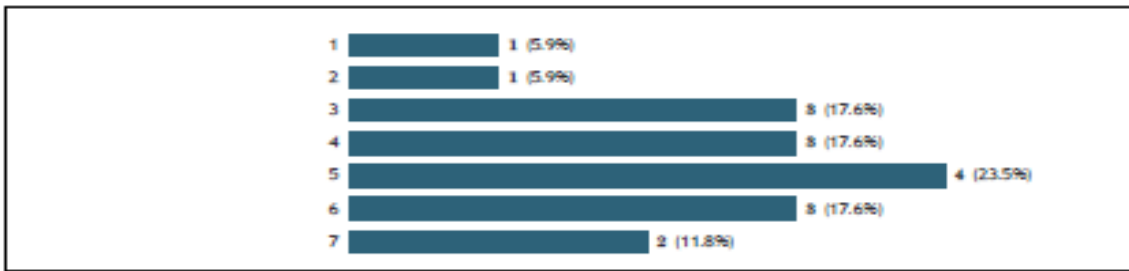
Mean rank	3.0
Median	3
Variance	1.06
Standard Deviation	1.03
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	4

#### 1.5 Welfare Orientation vs Entrepreneurial Orientation



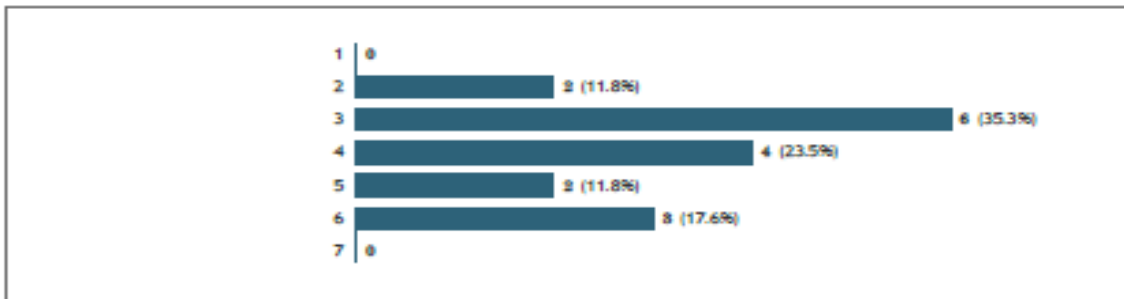
Mean rank	3.82
Median	4
Variance	0.5
Standard Deviation	0.71
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

1.6 Charity vs Social Enterprise



Mean rank	4.47
Median	5
Variance	2.72
Standard Deviation	1.65
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	6

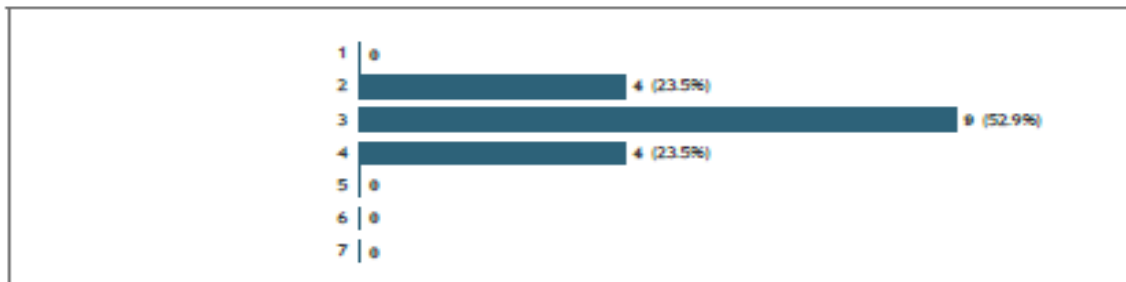
1.7 Community Led vs Market Led



Mean rank	3.88
Median	4
Variance	1.63
Standard Deviation	1.28
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	5

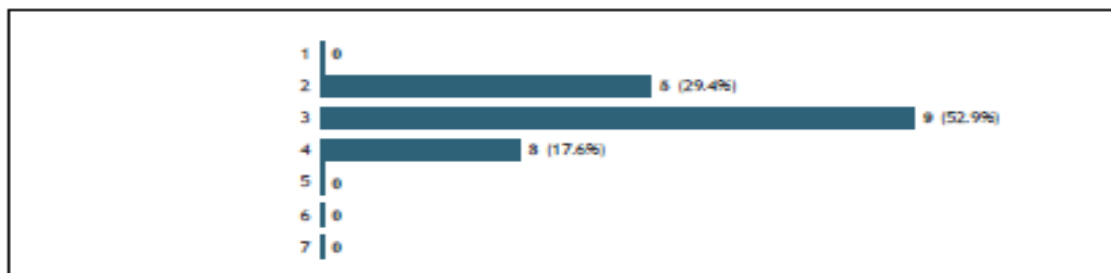
**2** How has the importance of social mix changed as a driver for the way in which your organisation fulfils its tasks over the past five years?

**2.1** Very big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	3.0
Median	3
Variance	0.47
Standard Deviation	0.69
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	3

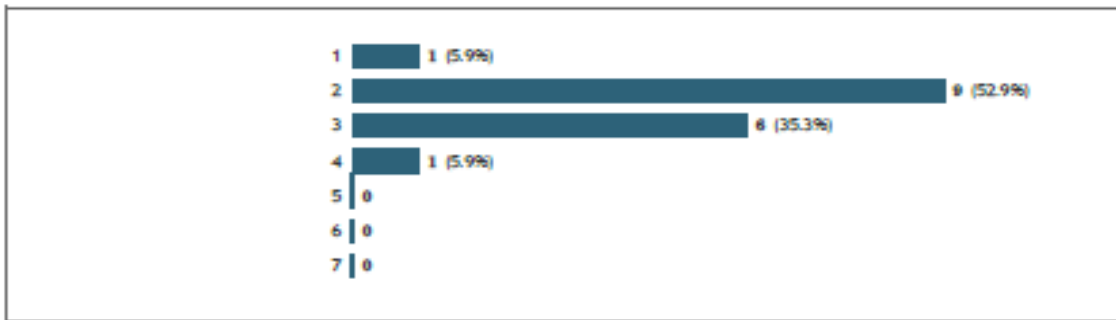
**2.2** Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver



Mean rank	2.88
Median	3
Variance	0.46
Standard Deviation	0.68
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	3

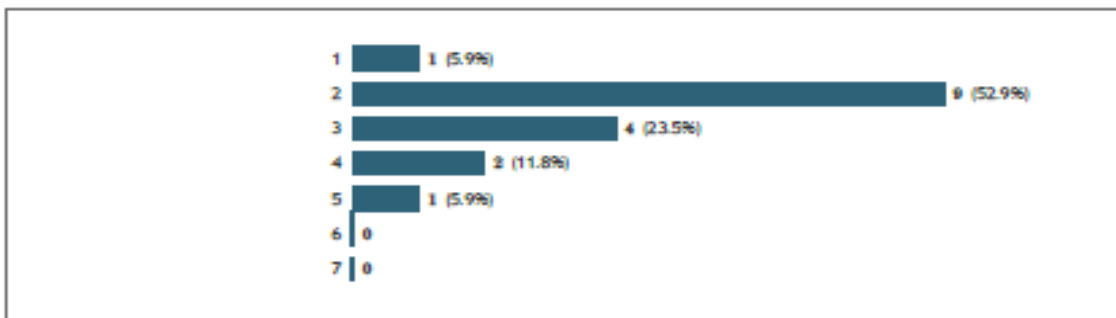
2.a As an income stream to cross-subsidise social rented housing

2.a.1 Very Big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	2.41
Median	2
Variance	0.48
Standard Deviation	0.69
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	3

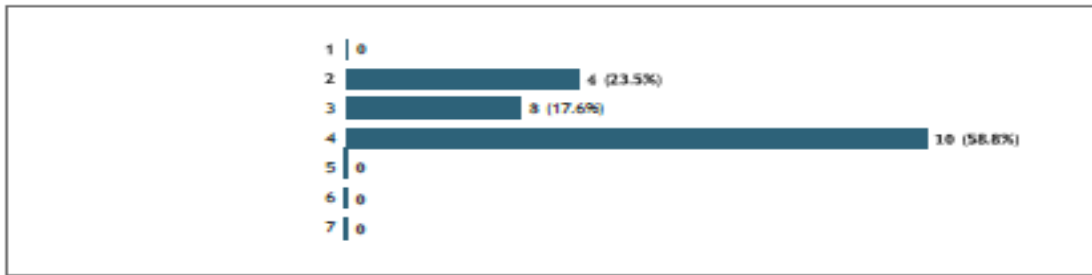
2.a.2 Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver



Mean rank	2.59
Median	2
Variance	0.95
Standard Deviation	0.97
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	3

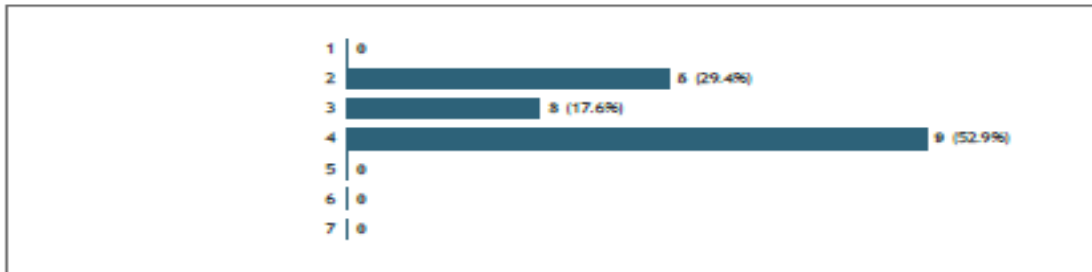
2.b To increase financial returns from investing on high value land

2.b.1 Very Big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	3.35
Median	4
Variance	0.7
Standard Deviation	0.84
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

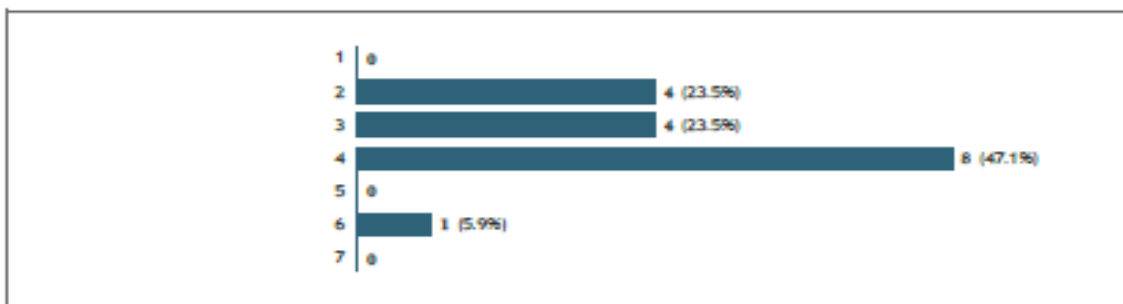
2.b.2 Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver



Mean rank	3.24
Median	4
Variance	0.77
Standard Deviation	0.88
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	4

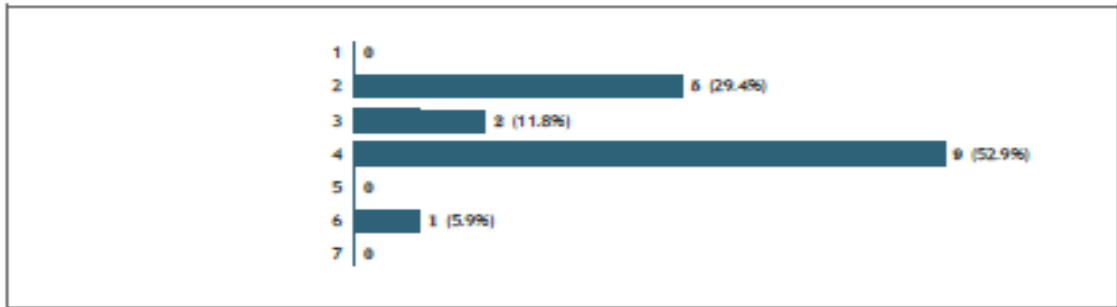
2.c To increase social returns from investing on high value land

2.c.1 Very Big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	3.41
Median	4
Variance	1.07
Standard Deviation	1.03
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

2.c.2 Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver

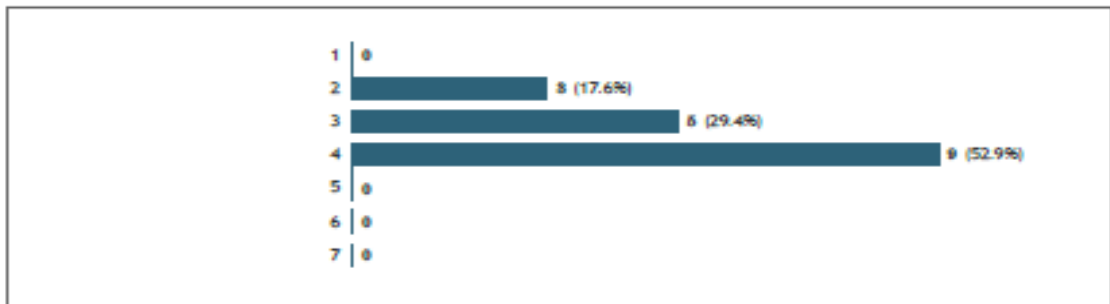


Mean rank	3.41
Median	4
Variance	1.18
Standard Deviation	1.09
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	4



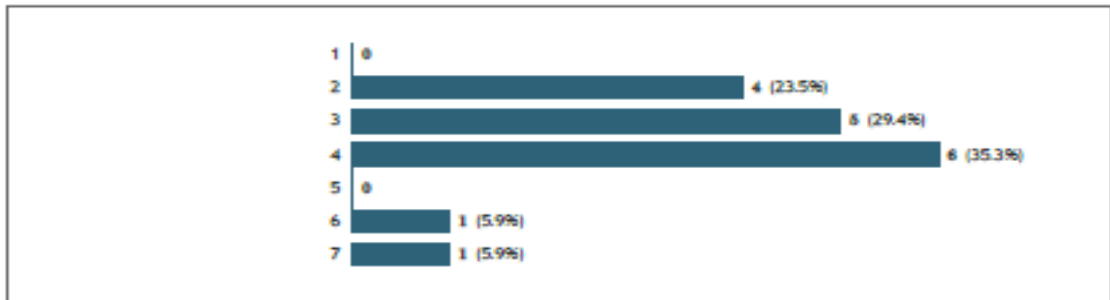
2.d As a way to enable tenants to find work

2.d.1 Very Big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	3.35
Median	4
Variance	0.58
Standard Deviation	0.76
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

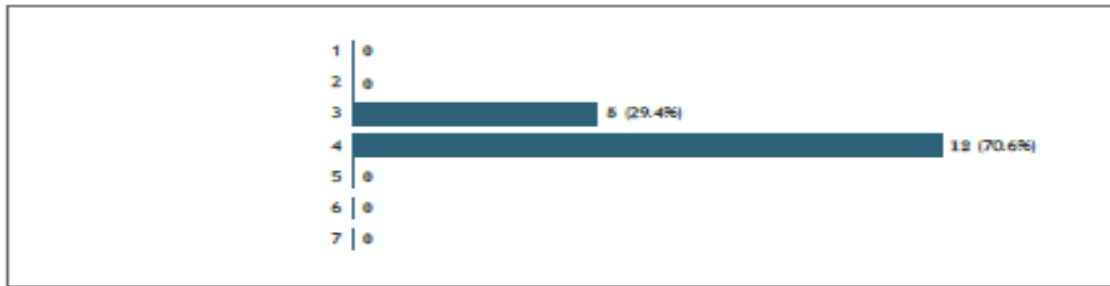
2.d.2 Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver



Mean rank	3.53
Median	3
Variance	1.78
Standard Deviation	1.33
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

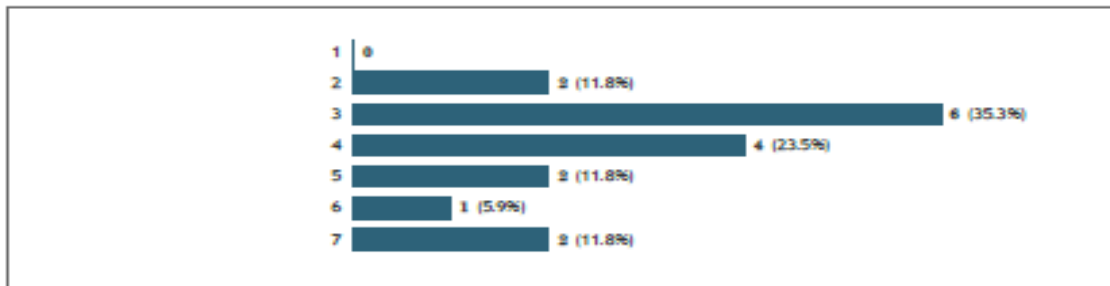
2.e To enable lower income people to live closer to work opportunities in high cost areas

2.e.1 Very Big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	3.71
Median	4
Variance	0.21
Standard Deviation	0.46
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

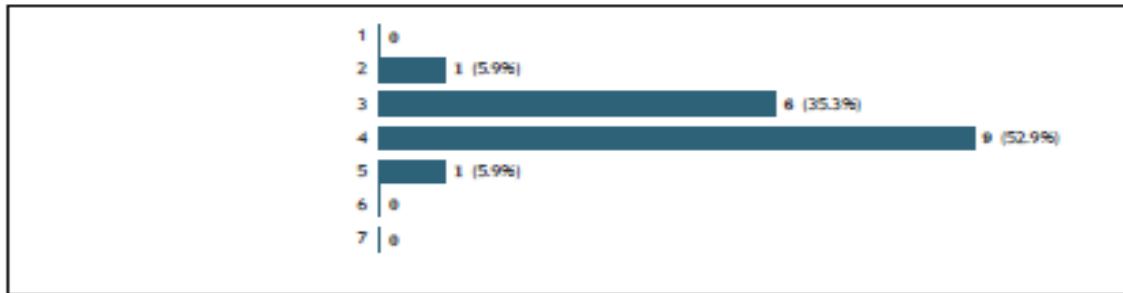
2.e.2 Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver



Mean rank	4.0
Median	4
Variance	2.24
Standard Deviation	1.5
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	5

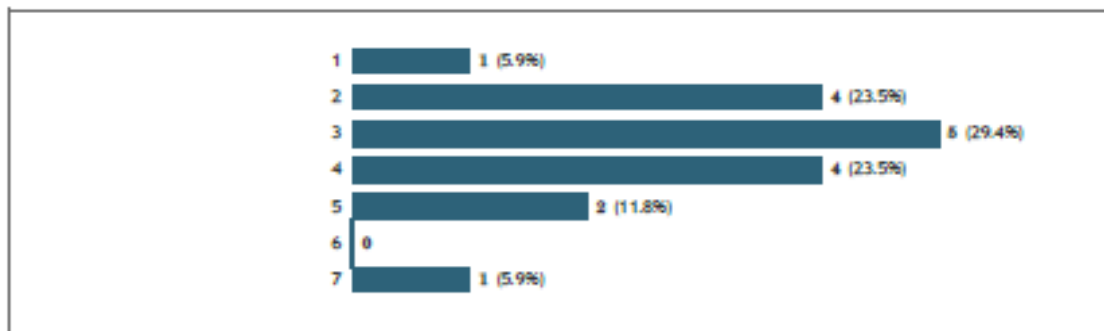
2.f To benefit tenants of social rented housing

2.f.1 Very Big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	3.59
Median	4
Variance	0.48
Standard Deviation	0.69
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

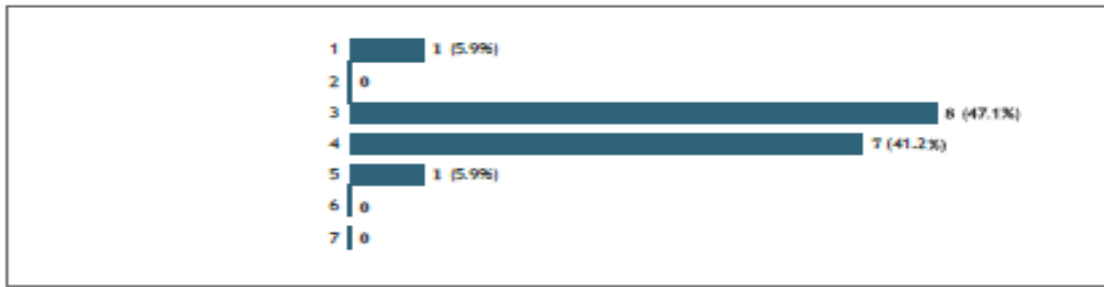
2.f.2 Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver



Mean rank	3.35
Median	3
Variance	1.99
Standard Deviation	1.41
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	4

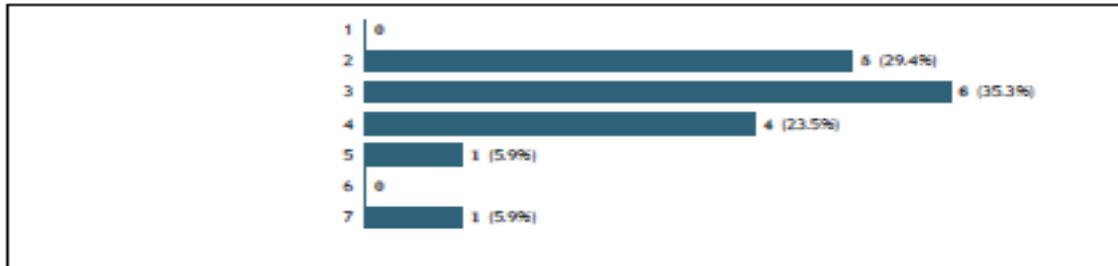
2.g To benefit tenants of 'affordable' rented housing

2.g.1 Very Big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	3.41
Median	3
Variance	0.71
Standard Deviation	0.84
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

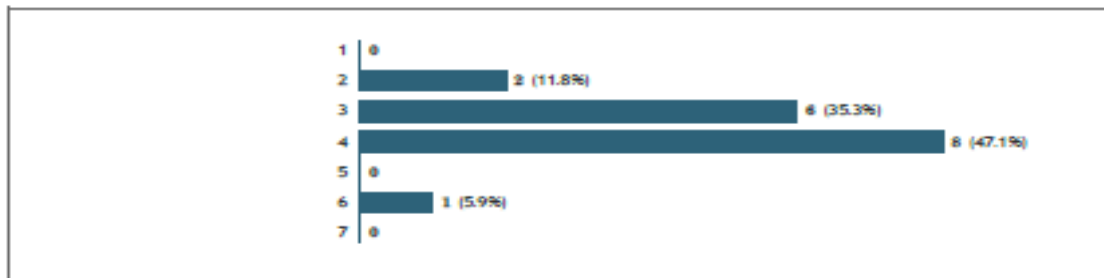
2.g.2 Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver



Mean rank	3.29
Median	3
Variance	1.62
Standard Deviation	1.27
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	4

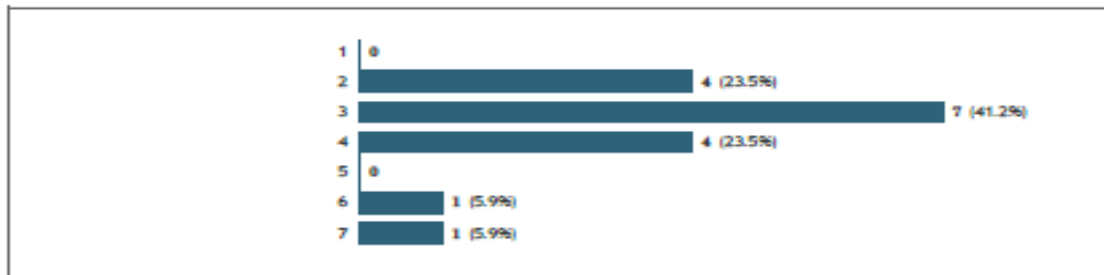
2.h To benefit shared owners

2.h.1 Very Big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	3.53
Median	4
Variance	0.84
Standard Deviation	0.92
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

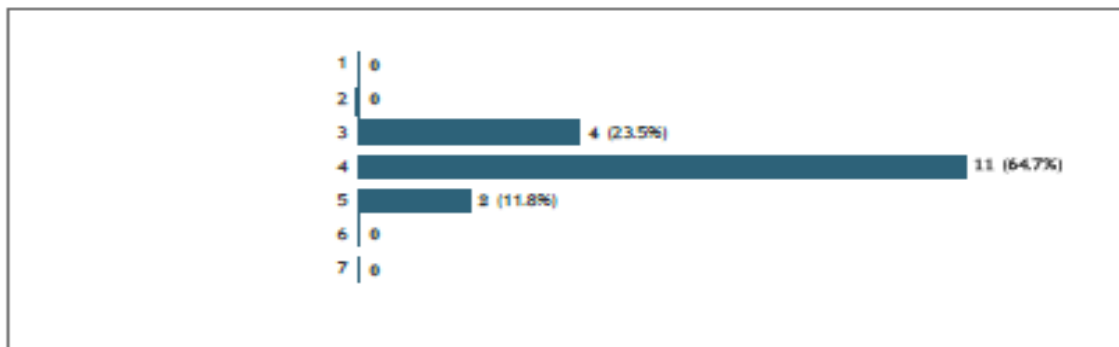
2.h.2 Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver



Mean rank	3.41
Median	3
Variance	1.77
Standard Deviation	1.33
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

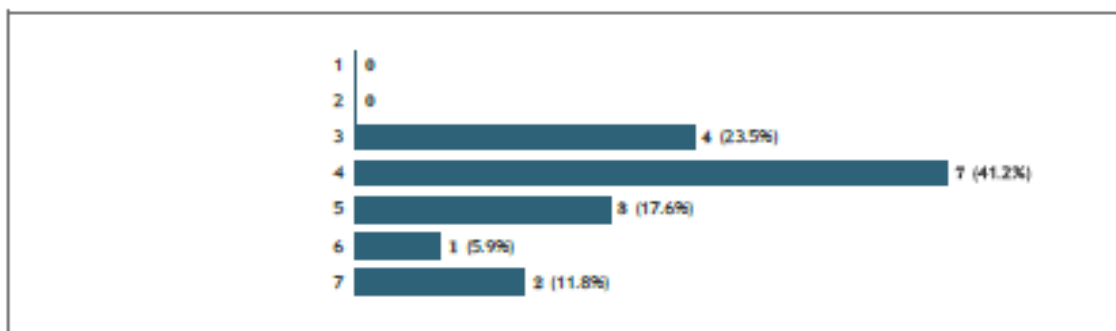
2.i To benefit outright owners and those buying with a mortgage

2.i.1 Very Big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	3.88
Median	4
Variance	0.34
Standard Deviation	0.58
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	4

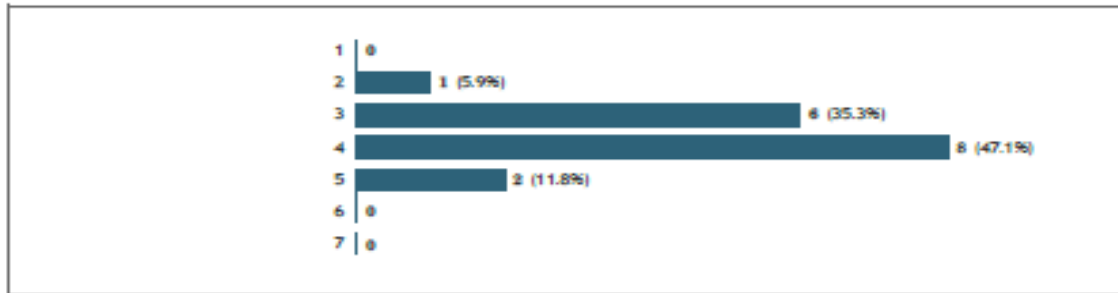
2.i.2 Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver



Mean rank	4.41
Median	4
Variance	1.54
Standard Deviation	1.24
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	5

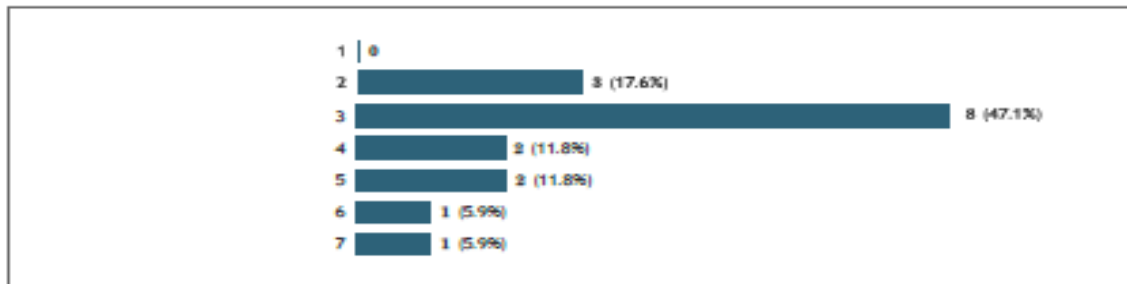
2.j To benefit the wider community

2.j.1 Very Big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	3.65
Median	4
Variance	0.58
Standard Deviation	0.76
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

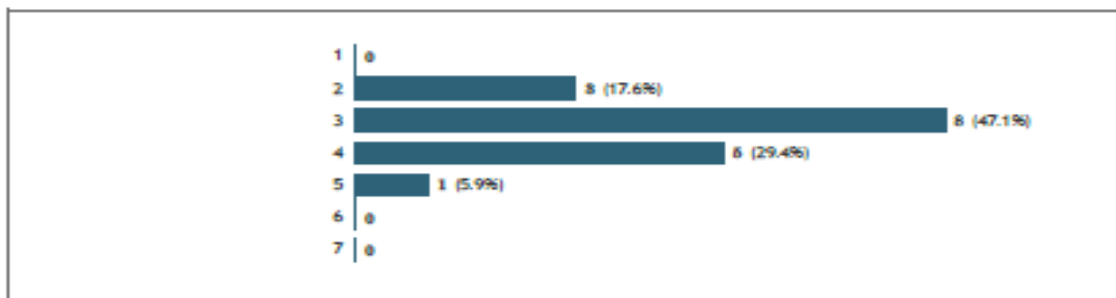
2.j.2 Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver



Mean rank	3.59
Median	3
Variance	1.89
Standard Deviation	1.37
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

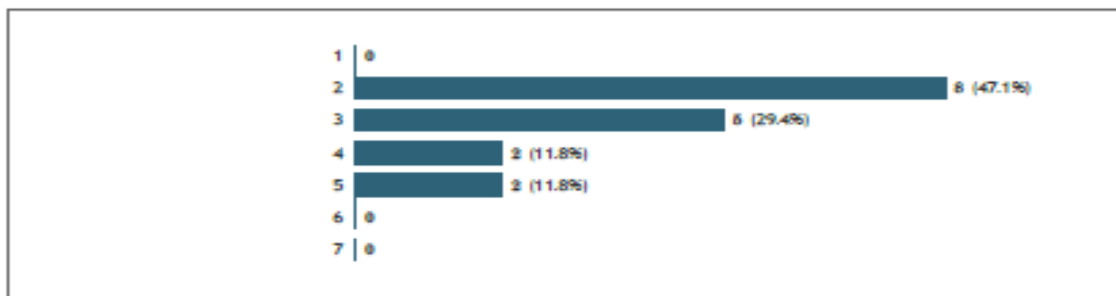
2.k To promote mixed tenure neighbourhoods:

2.k.1 Very Big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	3.24
Median	3
Variance	0.65
Standard Deviation	0.81
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

2.k.2 Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver

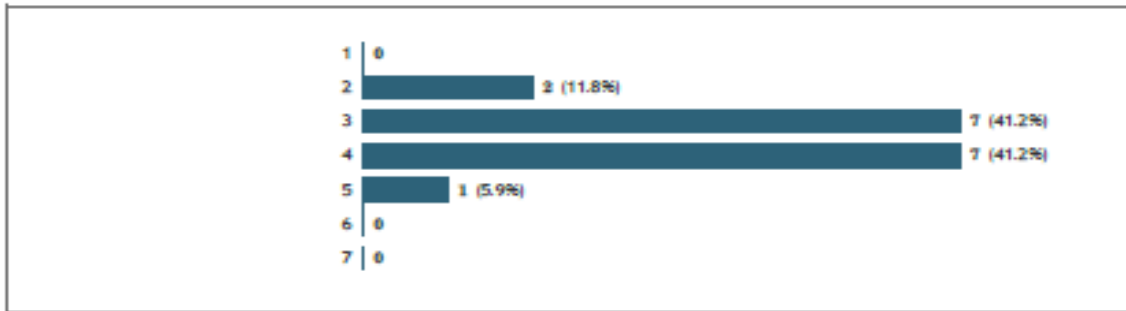


Mean rank	2.88
Median	3
Variance	1.04
Standard Deviation	1.02
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	3



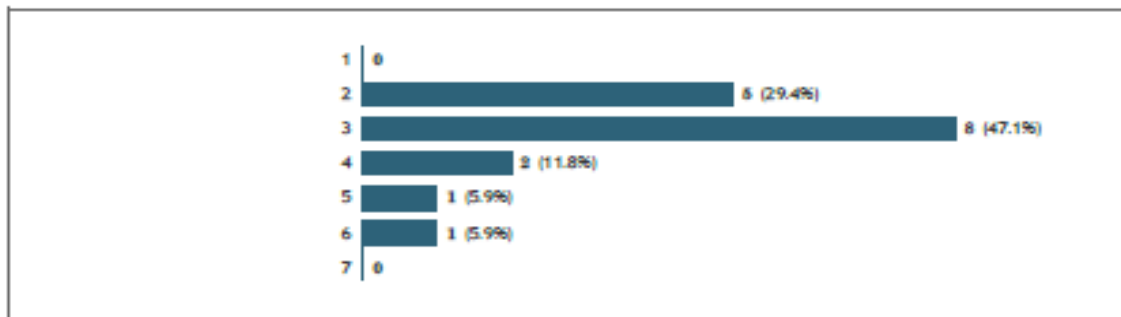
2.1 To promote mixed income neighbourhoods

2.1.1 Very Big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	3.41
Median	3
Variance	0.6
Standard Deviation	0.77
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

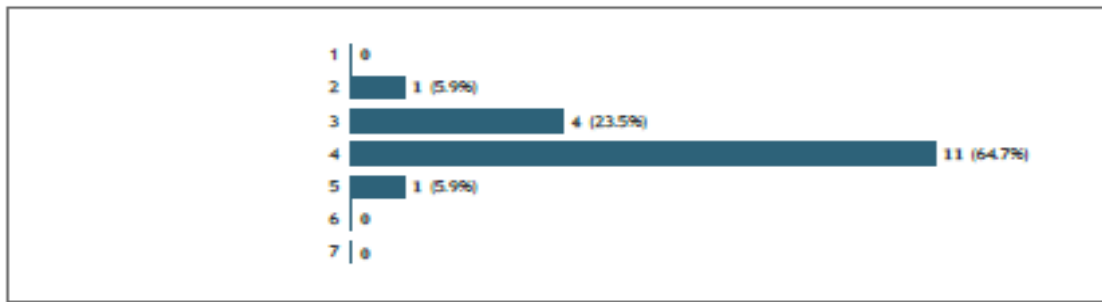
2.1.2 Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver



Mean rank	3.12
Median	3
Variance	1.16
Standard Deviation	1.08
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	3

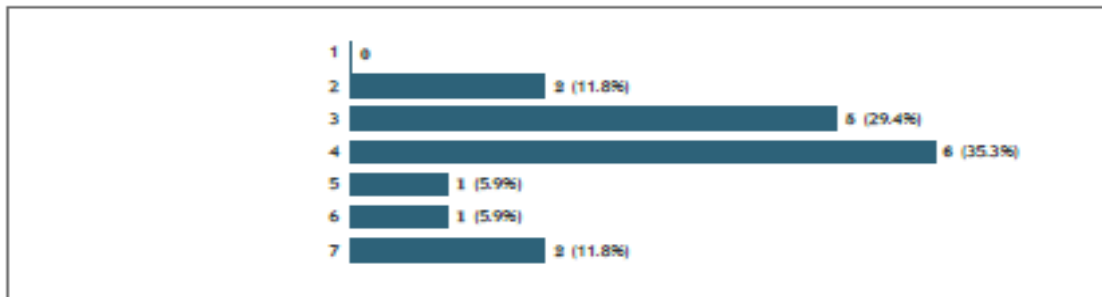
2.m To promote 'the right to place'

**2.m.1** Very Big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	3.71
Median	4
Variance	0.44
Standard Deviation	0.67
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

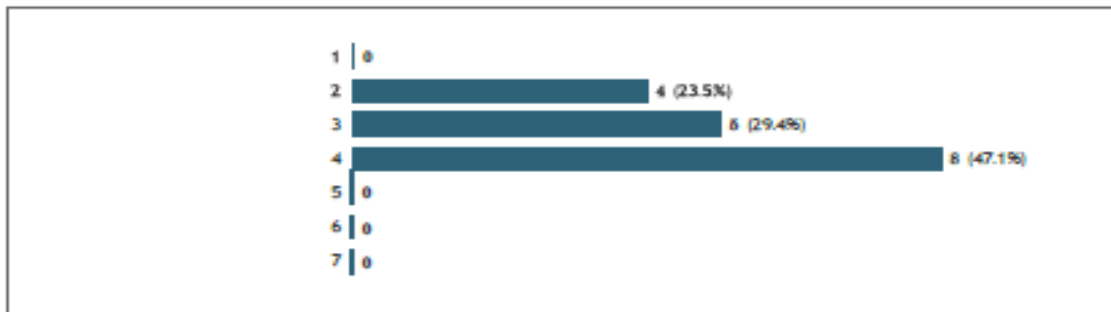
**2.m.2** Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver



Mean rank	4.0
Median	4
Variance	2.12
Standard Deviation	1.46
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

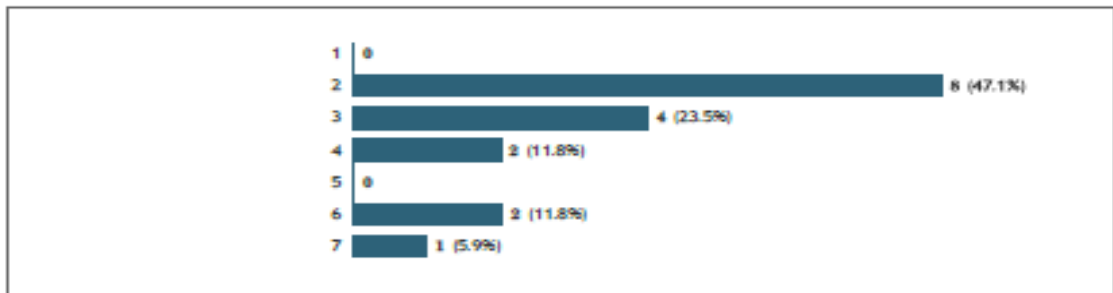
2.n To reduce 'welfare dependency' and concentrations of poverty

2.n.1 Very Big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	3.24
Median	3
Variance	0.65
Standard Deviation	0.81
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

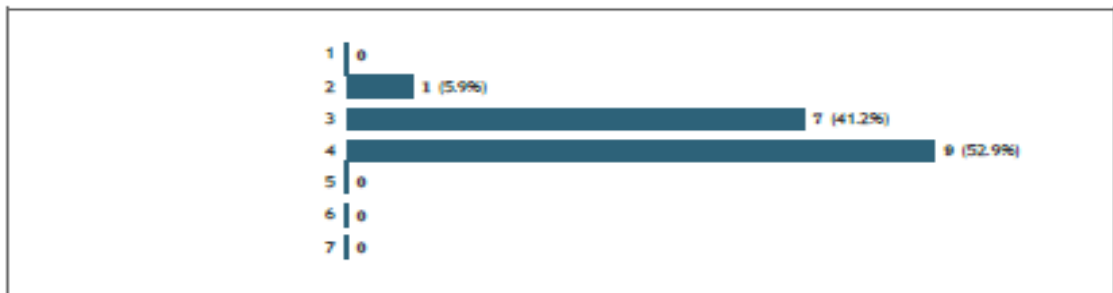
**2.n.2** Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver



Mean rank	3.24
Median	3
Variance	2.53
Standard Deviation	1.59
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	4

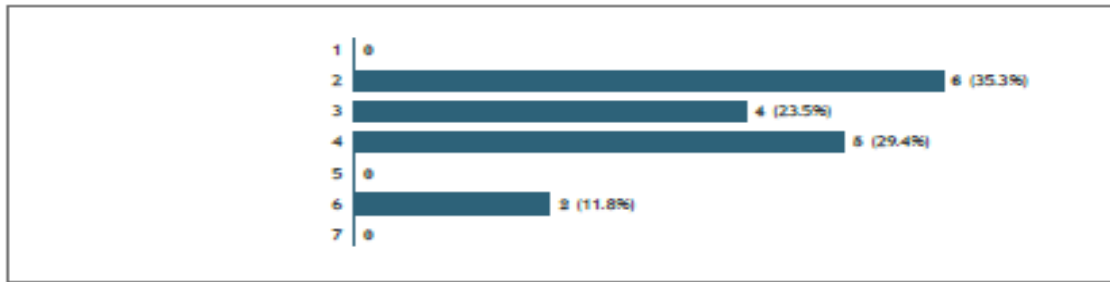
**2.o** To strengthen the 'social fabric'

**2.o.1** Very Big Increase vs Very Big Decrease



Mean rank	3.47
Median	4
Variance	0.37
Standard Deviation	0.61
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

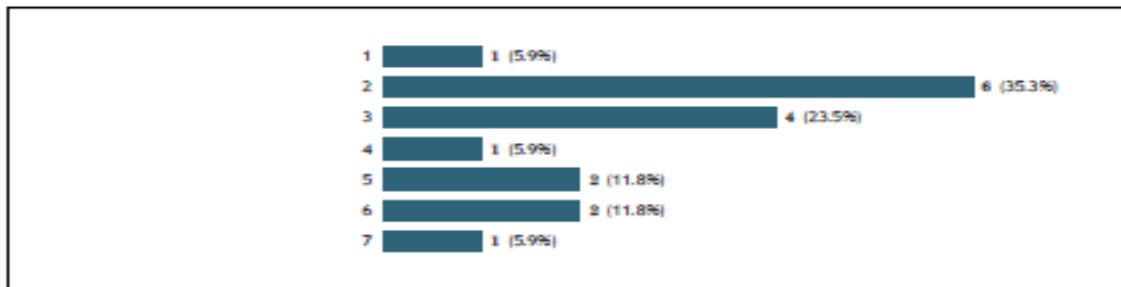
**2.o.2** Very Important Driver vs Very Unimportant Driver



Mean rank	3.29
Median	3
Variance	1.62
Standard Deviation	1.27
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	4

**3** Is it becoming harder or easier to promote social mix through housing association development activity?

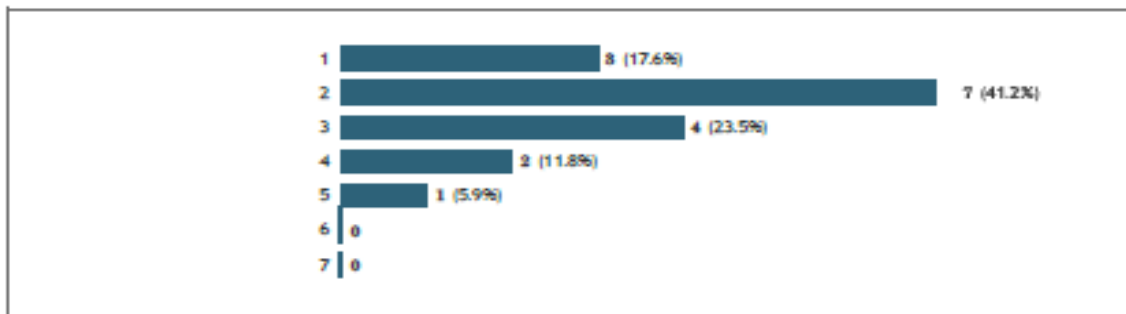
**3.1** Harder vs Easier



Mean rank	3.41
Median	3
Variance	2.95
Standard Deviation	1.72
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	5

4 Has recent change in Section 106 policy and practice made it harder or easier to promote social mix?

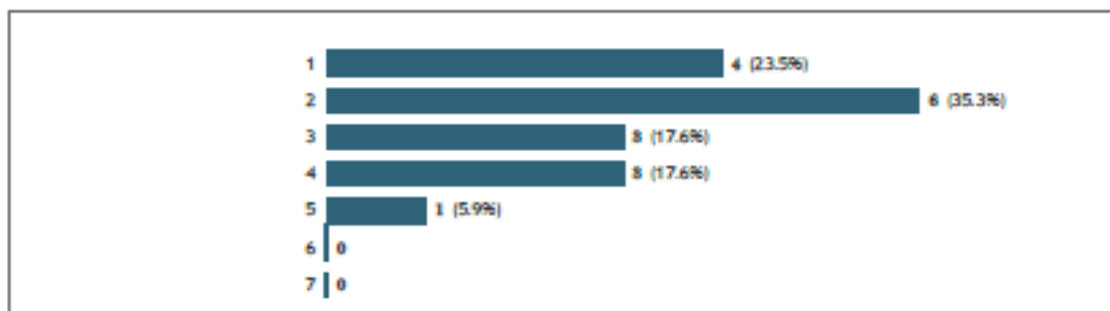
4.1 Harder vs Easier



Mean rank	2.47
Median	2
Variance	1.19
Standard Deviation	1.09
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	3

5 Has the reduction in social housing grant made it harder or easier to promote social mix?

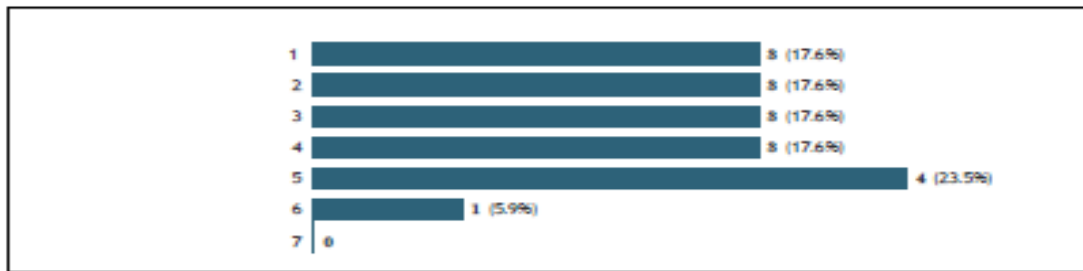
5.1 Harder vs Easier



Mean rank	2.47
Median	2
Variance	1.43
Standard Deviation	1.19
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	3

6 Will the voluntary right to buy scheme make it harder or easier to promote social mix?

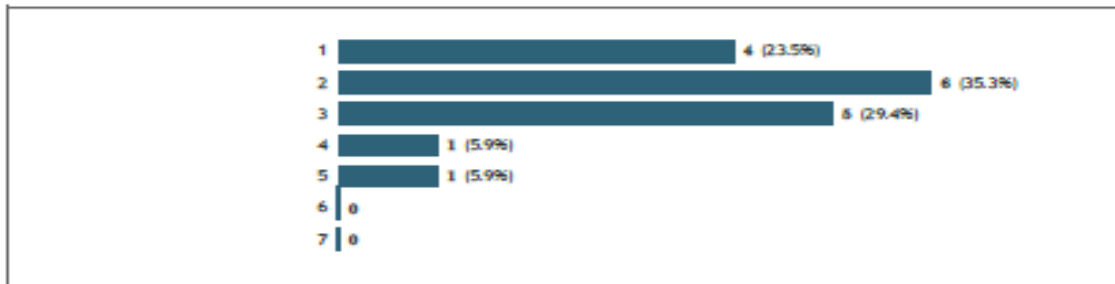
6.1 Harder vs Easier



Mean rank	3.29
Median	3
Variance	2.44
Standard Deviation	1.56
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	5

7 Will the shift in Government housing priorities from rented housing to home ownership through programmes such as starter homes make it harder or easier to promote social mix?

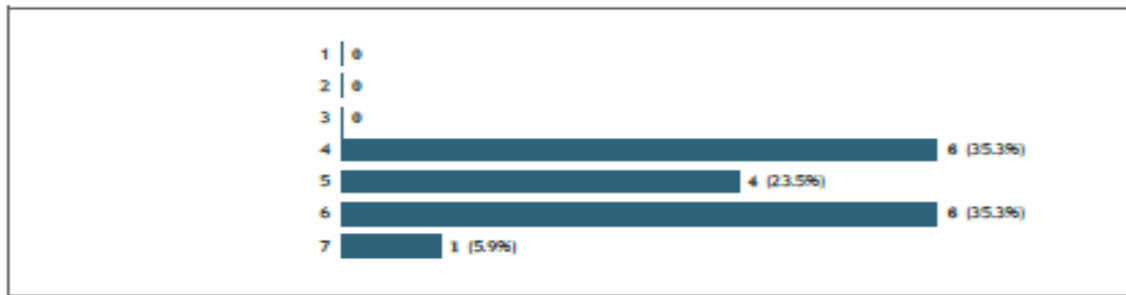
7.1 Harder vs Easier



Mean rank	2.35
Median	2
Variance	1.17
Standard Deviation	1.08
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	3

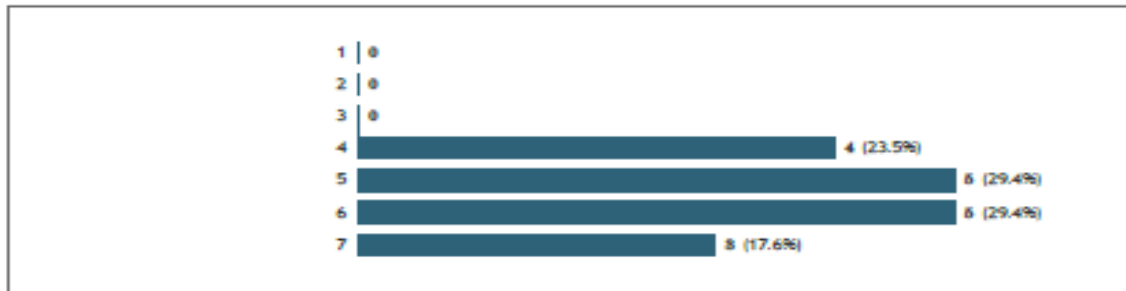
## 8 Increased focus on mixed tenure schemes

### 8.1 In the last five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	5.12
Median	5
Variance	0.93
Standard Deviation	0.96
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	6

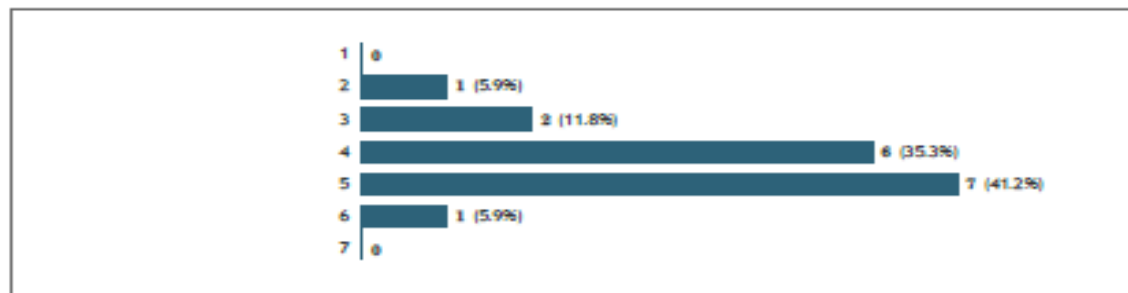
### 8.2 In the next five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	5.41
Median	5
Variance	1.07
Standard Deviation	1.03
Lower Quartile	5
Upper Quartile	6

### 8.a Increased focus on mixed tenure blocks within schemes

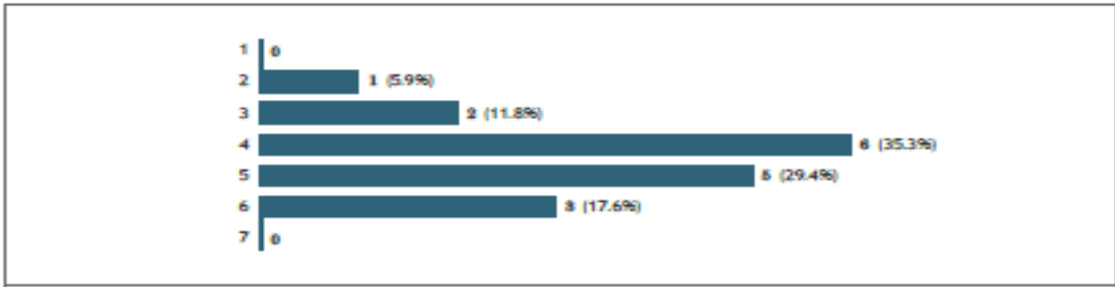
#### 8.a.1 In the last five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	4.29
Median	4
Variance	0.91
Standard Deviation	0.96
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	5



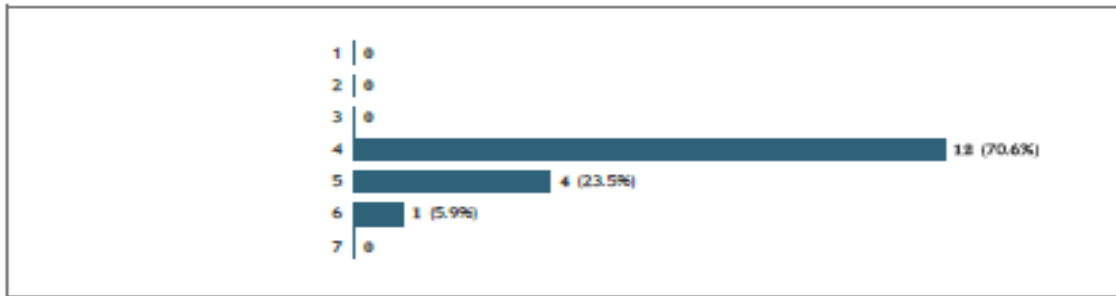
**8.a.2** In the next five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	4.41
Median	4
Variance	1.18
Standard Deviation	1.09
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	5

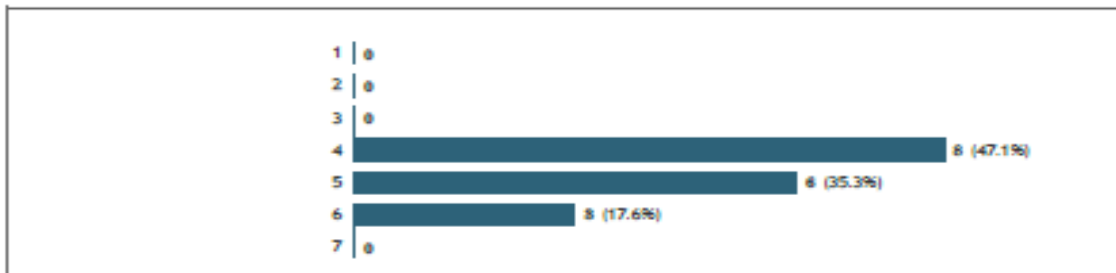
8.b Designing in social integration within mixed tenure schemes (e.g. avoiding "poor doors" and separate access to different parts of the scheme)

8.b.1 In the last five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	4.35
Median	4
Variance	0.35
Standard Deviation	0.59
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	5

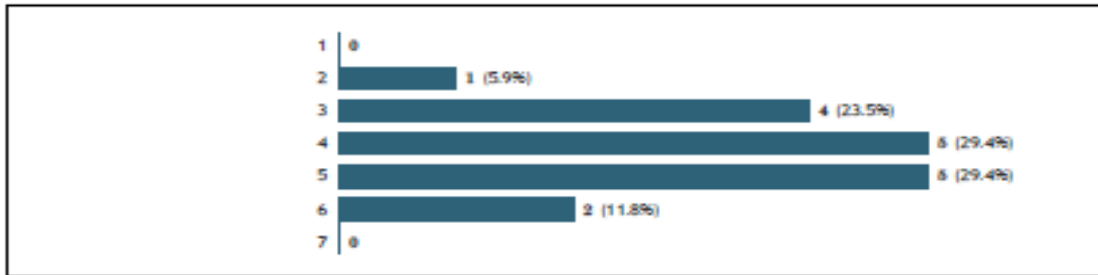
8.b.2 In the next five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	4.41
Median	5
Median	6
Variance	1.18
Standard Deviation	1.09
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	5

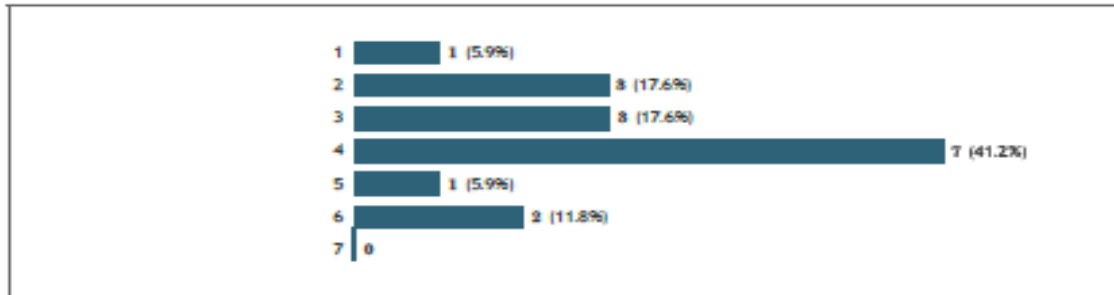
8.o Building new social and affordable homes in high cost areas

8.c.1 In the last five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	4.18
Median	4
Variance	1.2
Standard Deviation	1.1
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	5

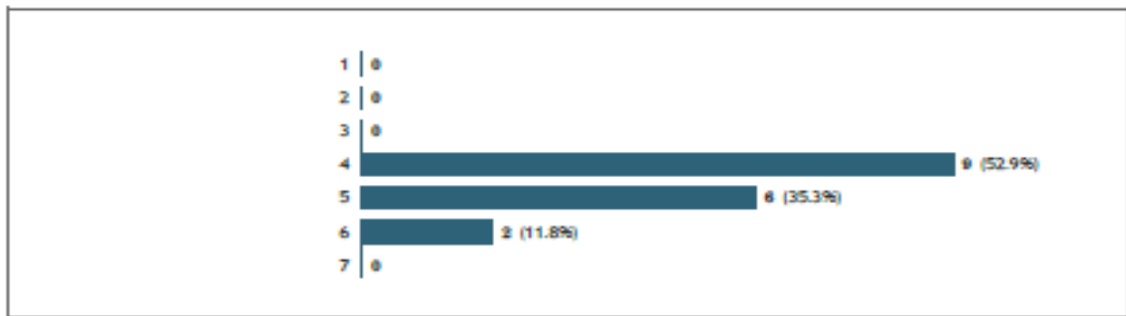
8.c.2 In the next five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	3.59
Median	4
Variance	1.77
Standard Deviation	1.33
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

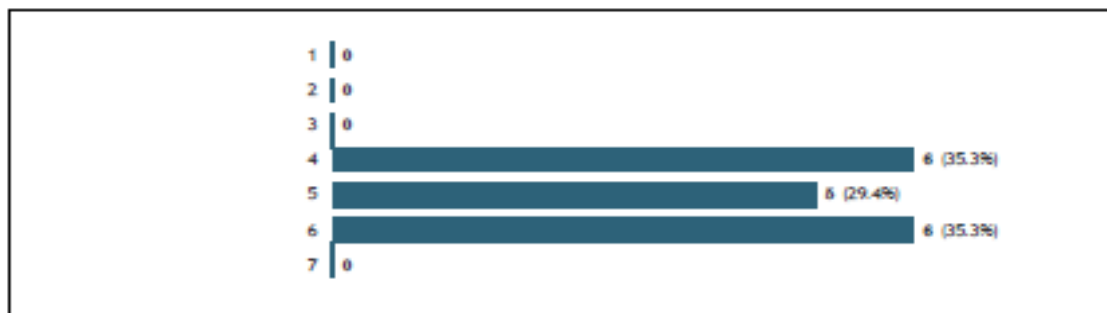
8.d Building new market rent homes and housing for sale in former social housing areas

8.d.1 In the last five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	4.59
Median	4
Variance	0.48
Standard Deviation	0.69
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	5

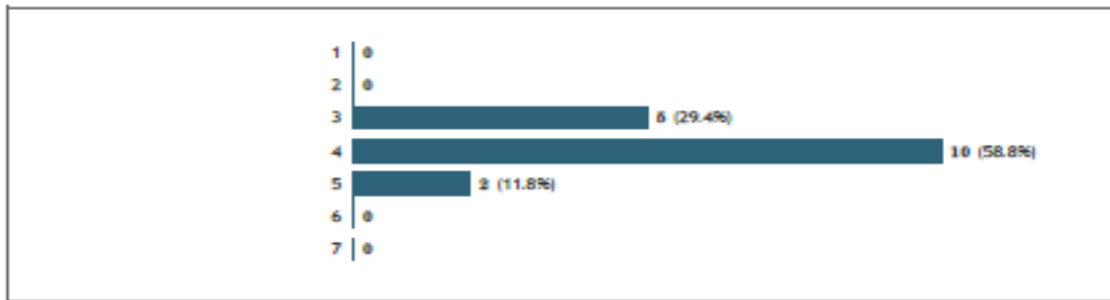
8.d.2 In the next five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	5.0
Median	5
Variance	0.71
Standard Deviation	0.84
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	6

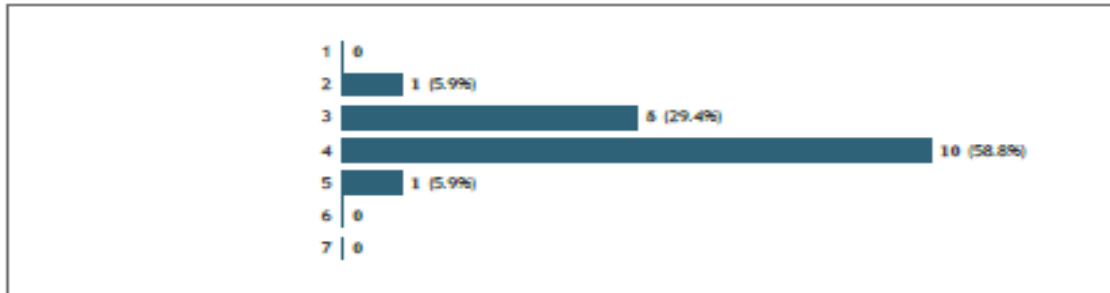
8.e Building integrated housing for people with disabilities in general needs schemes

8.e.1 In the last five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	3.82
Median	4
Variance	0.38
Standard Deviation	0.62
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

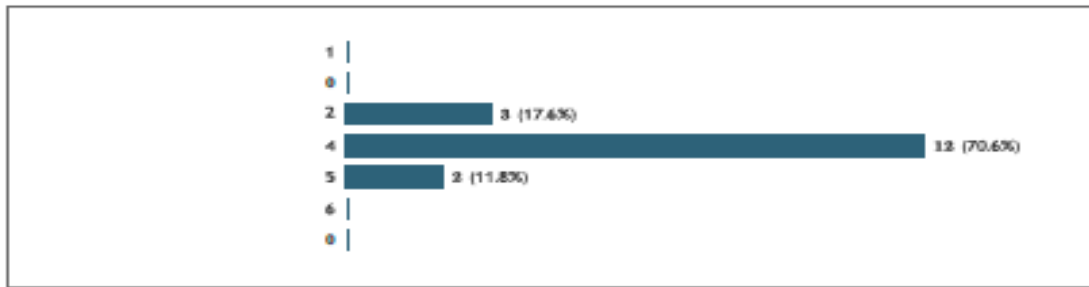
8.e.2 In the next five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	3.65
Median	4
Variance	0.46
Standard Deviation	0.68
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

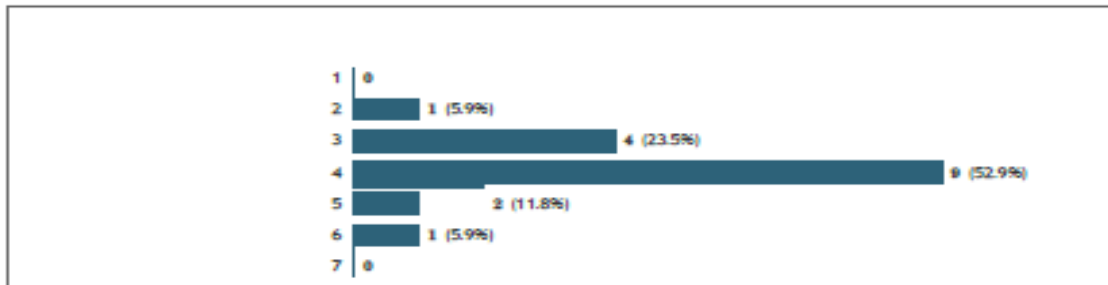
8.f Encouraging higher income households to stay in social housing neighbourhoods

8.f.1 In the last five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	3.94
Median	4
Variance	0.29
Standard Deviation	0.54
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	4

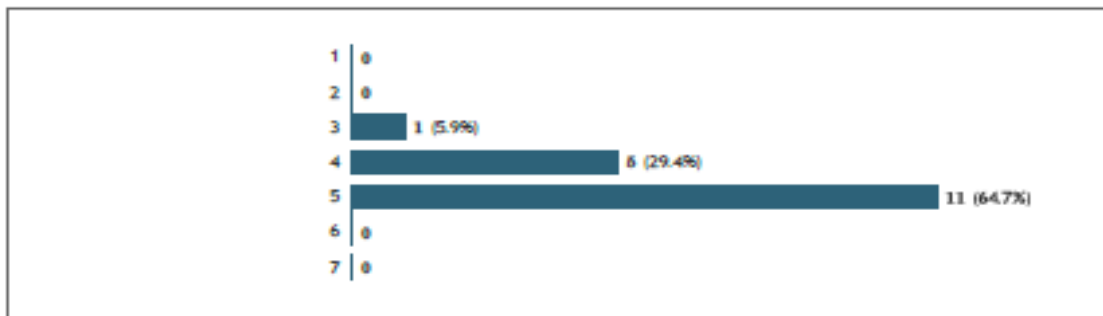
8.f.2 In the next five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	3.88
Median	4
Variance	0.81
Standard Deviation	0.9
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

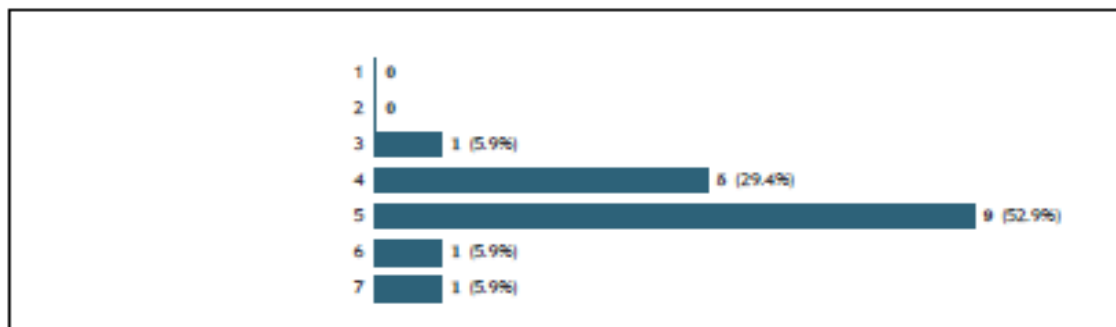
**8.g** Involving external partners such as schools and community groups to make mix work

**8.g.1** In the last five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	4.59
Median	5
Variance	0.36
Standard Deviation	0.6
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	5

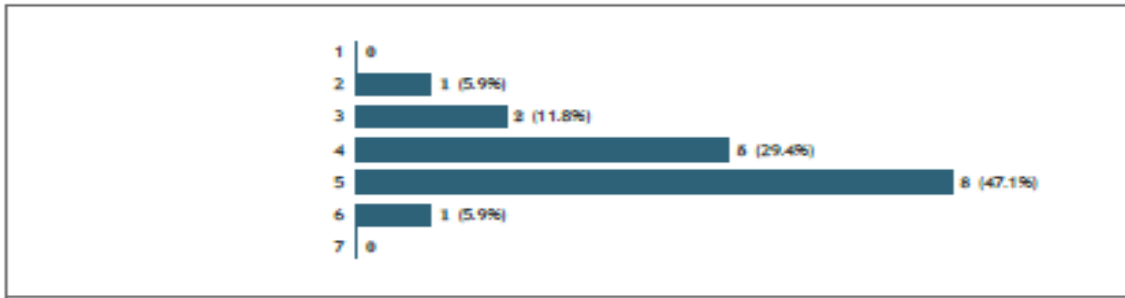
**8.g.2** In the next five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	4.76
Median	5
Variance	0.77
Standard Deviation	0.88
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	5

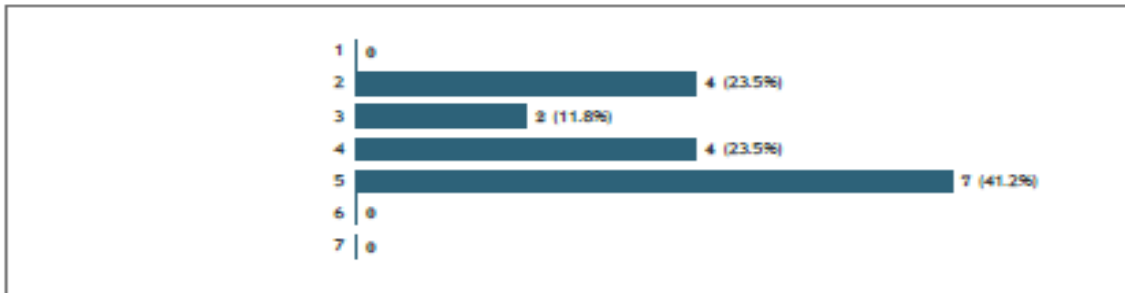
**8.h** Using S106 Planning Gain sites to build social rented homes as part of new market schemes

**8.h.1** In the last five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	4.35
Median	5
Variance	0.93
Standard Deviation	0.97
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	5

**8.h.2** In the next five years; Less vs More

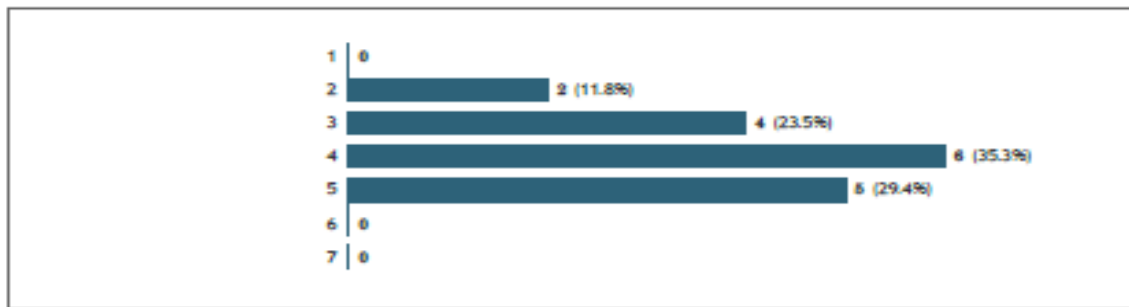


Mean rank	3.82
Median	4
Variance	1.44
Standard Deviation	1.2
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	5



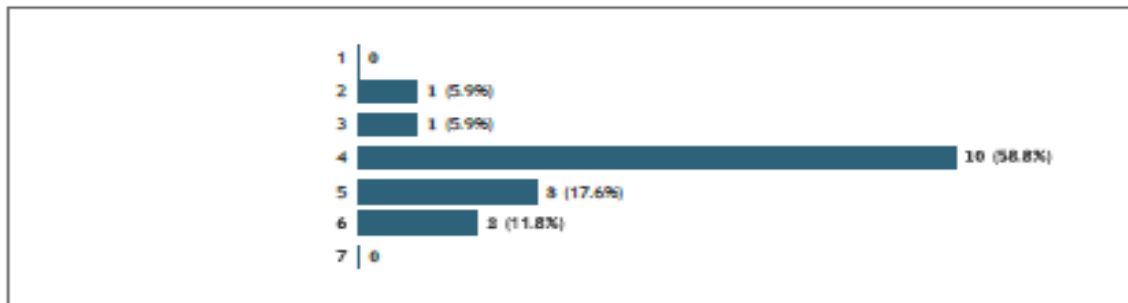
8.1 Selling social housing and replacing with market housing in predominantly social housing areas

8.1.1 In the last five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	3.82
Median	4
Variance	0.97
Standard Deviation	0.98
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	5

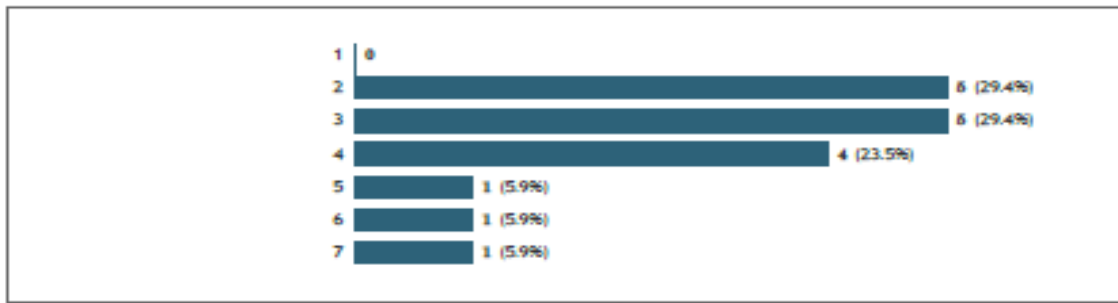
8.1.2 In the next five years; Less vs More



Mean rank	4.24
Median	4
Variance	0.89
Standard Deviation	0.94
Lower Quartile	4
Upper Quartile	5

**9** Tenants in socially mixed communities are more satisfied with their housing

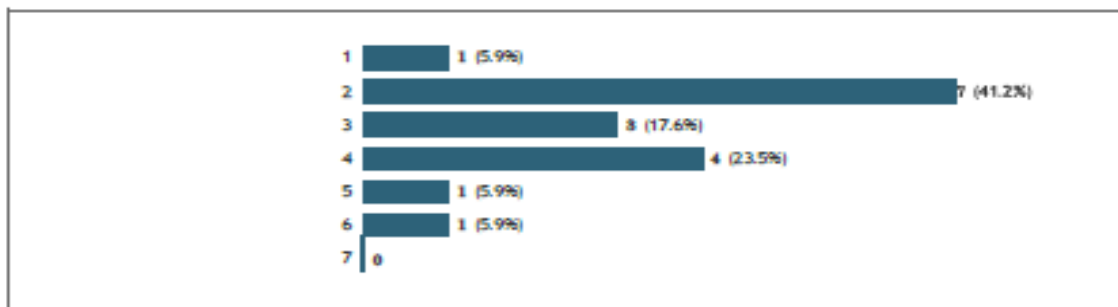
**9.1** Agree Strongly vs Disagree Strongly



Mean rank	3.47
Median	3
Variance	2.01
Standard Deviation	1.42
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	4

**9.a** Tenants in socially mixed communities are more satisfied with their neighbourhoods

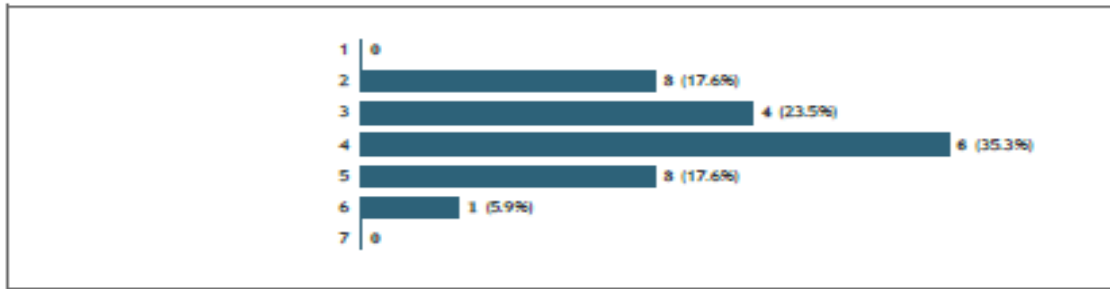
**9.a.1** Agree Strongly vs Disagree Strongly



Mean rank	3.0
Median	3
Variance	1.65
Standard Deviation	1.28
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	4

9.b Shared owners in socially mixed communities are more satisfied with their housing

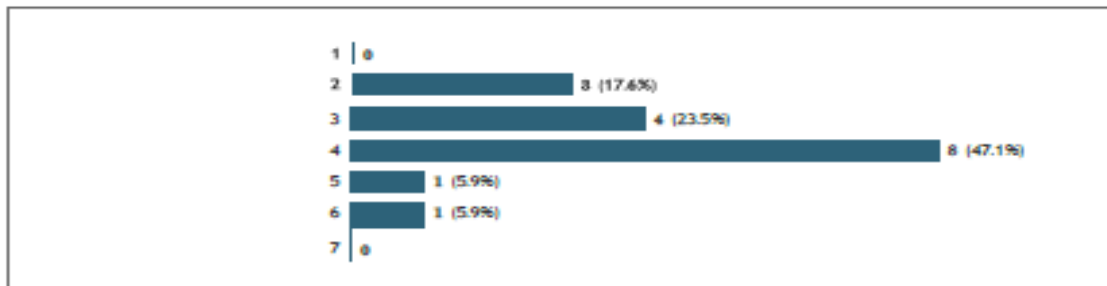
9.b.1 Agree Strongly vs Disagree Strongly



Mean rank	3.71
Median	4
Variance	1.27
Standard Deviation	1.13
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

9.c Shared owners in socially mixed communities are more satisfied with their neighbourhoods

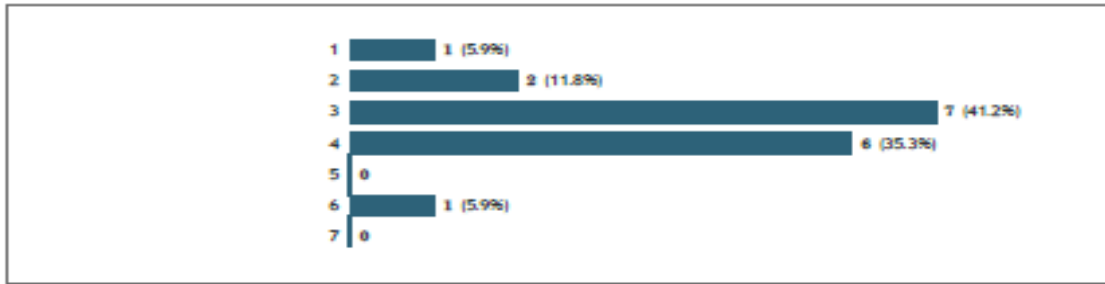
9.c.1 Agree Strongly vs Disagree Strongly



Mean rank	3.59
Median	4
Variance	1.07
Standard Deviation	1.03
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

9.d Social rent tenants' employment prospects are better in socially mixed areas

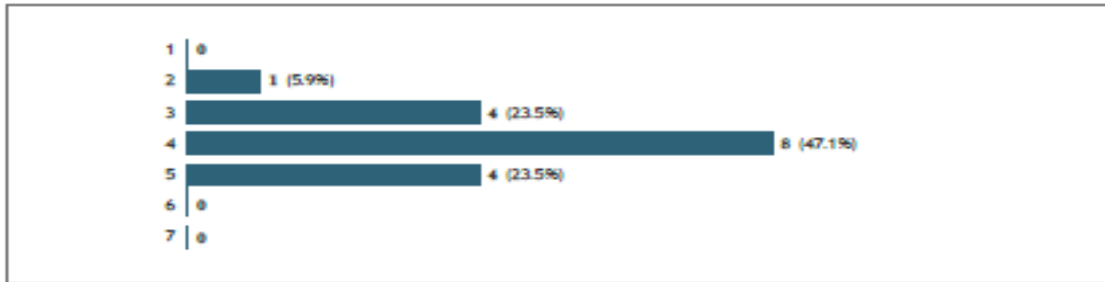
9.d.1 Agree Strongly vs Disagree Strongly



Mean rank	3.29
Median	3
Variance	1.15
Standard Deviation	1.07
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

9.e Social mix is often temporary, particularly in former social rented areas undergoing gentrification

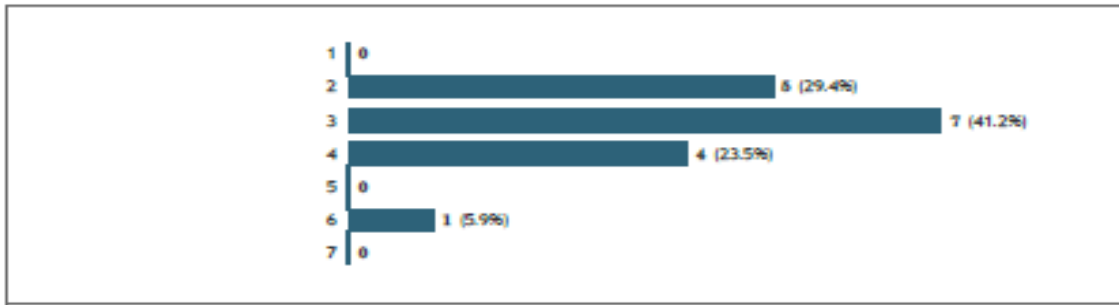
9.e.1 Agree Strongly vs Disagree Strongly



Mean rank	3.88
Median	4
Variance	0.69
Standard Deviation	0.83
Lower Quartile	3
Upper Quartile	4

9.f Social mix can be sustained into the future

9.f.1 Agree Strongly vs Disagree Strongly



Mean rank	3.12
Median	3
Variance	1.04
Standard Deviation	1.02
Lower Quartile	2
Upper Quartile	4

10 Please indicate any evidence that you have/ have used to support your responses to these propositions.

Showing all 17 responses	
I think social mix can be sustained in the future, provided that one builds a quality product and ensures that the responsibility for the overall management of the estate/development is done by one landlord. It is also important to assist social housing tenants with initiatives to find employment so that the vast majority of people in the area are economically active.	198216-198209-13942972
My responses to this are largely observed from the experience of others - I run a specialist housing association for older people so the questions are tangential for us	198216-198209-13947920
Our position is based on the business plans and work programmes, and the strategic plans of teams such as development, and community investment Our annual residents insight survey looks at residents' aspirations, such as their views on home ownership, the importance of social housing and other tenures, aspirations for their children's housing choices, and view on living in mixed communities,  we use the HACT social value approach to assess the impact on residents of community investment type activities, or regeneration schemes - this looks at sense of belonging with neighbourhood, neighbours	198216-198209-14039082
We have looked at research into mixed communities and wellbeing, employment outcomes and educational outcomes in London compared to other places.	198216-198209-14050308
None	198216-198209-14050618
Some partial evidence through surveying existing residents, however most responses are not evidenced	198216-198209-14048931
We have looked for research that proves mixed communities benefit the poorest but can't find any. They are more likely to benefit landlords and the state.	198216-198209-14086168
Star Survey gives some indication. feedback from tenants, turnover rates	198216-198209-14087322
Experience based. I think there is a lack of hard evidence in relation to a lot of the questions you pose which is why I gave neutral responses - I am not sure it is clear either way	198216-198209-14088384
In communities is an LSVT with experience of city challenge and introducing mix into mono-tenure areas, I have based some of our comments on that and the outcomes for development I can observe now from govt policy.	198216-198209-14096569
We have no evidence of this currently - am going to work on it.	198216-198209-14102516
No specific evidence	198216-198209-14106506
Personal observation	198216-198209-14120954
Rising resident satisfaction with increased mix Greater socio-economic diversity within engagement activities	198216-198209-14128839
Customer surveys	198216-198209-14252332
Survey responses and lesson learnt on project schemes that have been completed and occupied.	198216-198209-14279519
feedback from residents and staff	198216-198209-14349345

11 This is the end of the questionnaire. Please feel free to add any further comments below.

Showing all 4 responses	
I thought the survey questions were very thought provoking and I enjoyed completing it.	198216-198209-13942972
Section D & E were hard to fill out. It was not clear in section D more or less than what? and in Section E more satisfied than what. I think this needed to be clearer for me to take a view.	198216-198209-14050308
<p>Just want to make the following points;</p> <p>Mixed sites are getting smaller as we look for cross subsidy in most developments, we are looking at a revolving development pot that we invest on a site and return to the <u>organisation</u> on the sale of part of the scheme so we reduce our borrowing at any one time, will result in more mix, but fewer units.</p> <p>On outcomes for tenants, whilst I can see that satisfaction is greater away from large mono-tenure estates, I am not sure that outcomes for tenants in terms of income and employment are any different, just more masked by the surrounding area.</p>	198216-198209-14095569
The success of socially mixed communities will rely on much more than tenure mix, not only because of tenures progressive lack of demographic distinction, but moreover because it must be about the diversity of offer in the area. It is vital that housing supply is only part of that is under scrutiny, but industrial, cultural and environmental strategies are seen equally as defining an area and its ability to retain its cohesive mix.	198216-198209-14128839