LEABHARLANN CHOLÁISTE NA TRÍONÓIDE, BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH Ollscoil Átha Cliath

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN The University of Dublin

Terms and Conditions of Use of Digitised Theses from Trinity College Library Dublin

Copyright statement

All material supplied by Trinity College Library is protected by copyright (under the Copyright and Related Rights Act, 2000 as amended) and other relevant Intellectual Property Rights. By accessing and using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you acknowledge that all Intellectual Property Rights in any Works supplied are the sole and exclusive property of the copyright and/or other IPR holder. Specific copyright holders may not be explicitly identified. Use of materials from other sources within a thesis should not be construed as a claim over them.

A non-exclusive, non-transferable licence is hereby granted to those using or reproducing, in whole or in part, the material for valid purposes, providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. Where specific permission to use material is required, this is identified and such permission must be sought from the copyright holder or agency cited.

Liability statement

By using a Digitised Thesis, I accept that Trinity College Dublin bears no legal responsibility for the accuracy, legality or comprehensiveness of materials contained within the thesis, and that Trinity College Dublin accepts no liability for indirect, consequential, or incidental, damages or losses arising from use of the thesis for whatever reason. Information located in a thesis may be subject to specific use constraints, details of which may not be explicitly described. It is the responsibility of potential and actual users to be aware of such constraints and to abide by them. By making use of material from a digitised thesis, you accept these copyright and disclaimer provisions. Where it is brought to the attention of Trinity College Library that there may be a breach of copyright or other restraint, it is the policy to withdraw or take down access to a thesis while the issue is being resolved.

Access Agreement

By using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you are bound by the following Terms & Conditions. Please read them carefully.

I have read and I understand the following statement: All material supplied via a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of a thesis is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. You must obtain permission for any other use. Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone. This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

IMMIGRANTS IN 'INVESTMENT HOUSES': A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF IMMIGRANT LIFE IN THE PRIVATE RENTED SECTOR IN A RURAL IRISH TOWN.

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D

2015

MAIRÉAD FINN, BA, MSc.

UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN
TRINITY COLLEGE

TRINITY COLLEGE

2 9 JUL 2015

LIBRARY DUBLIN

Theois 10676

Declaration

I, Mairéad Finn, declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work.

I agree to deposit this thesis in the University's open access institutional repository or allow the Library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright Legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgement.

Signed:

Mairéad Finn

Marread R

April 2015

Summary

This thesis explores the housing and settlement experiences of immigrants living in a rural region of Ireland. The research was initiated in 2009, when a period of increased in-migration to Ireland from 1994 – 2009, was coming to an end. A feature of this in-migration to Ireland was that immigrants dispersed beyond the cities, to towns and rural areas around Ireland. This time also signified changes in the policy landscape within housing. Retrenchment in the supply of local authority housing; a growth in the stock of private rented dwellings; developments to regulate the private rented sector; and a move towards meeting housing need via the private rented sector, were events which formed a backdrop to this research.

The study adopted a constructionist approach, aligning itself with recent trends in housing research which have employed the concept of the housing pathway. In doing this, it prioritised the subjective responses of immigrants to their housing situations and incorporated the broader aspects of their lives, of which housing is just one part. This was combined with a focus on the changes occurring in the broader housing system, with a primary focus on the private rental sector.

Thirty-four immigrants, 10 males and 24 females, aged between 21 and 68 years, were recruited to the study. They were recruited using a range of strategies in order to obtain as diverse a sample as possible. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews, incorporating a retrospective research design and in-depth questions, and supported by a survey questionnaire. A community assessment process and non-participant observation were also used as tools to gather data. The voices of the immigrant participants were foregrounded, reflecting the constructionist stance of the study. The privileging of participants' agency, situated within a structural context, opened up the possibility of understanding how they assessed and weighed up their choices and possibilities through their experiences and interactions within the study town.

The findings illustrated the complex range of factors that play a role in immigrants' housing experiences within housing systems. These were highly complex, overlapping, and not easily dichotomised, at the macro-, meso- and micro- level. At a global, macro-level, the growth of the private rented sector and its spatial diffusion were intimately linked to broader social and economic processes. Restructuring across political and economic spheres impacted on the arrival of immigrants, an arrival which was facilitated at the meso-level by networks of recruiters aiding migration to Ireland. There were strong links between recruiters and property owners, who were instrumental in the housing of migrant labour. Likewise, policies of dispersal for the

direct provision of needs to asylum seekers, meant that rural housing systems received refugees leaving the direct provision centres. Immigrants' movements through the housing structure, illustrated their objective 'placing' within the housing system itself. Interrogations of the immigrant participants' subjective experiences of moving through housing then illuminated their varying choices and possibilities. Their uses of the private rental sector, related to broader processes, were conceptualised as 'anchoring'; 'moving through'; 'seeking escape' and 'constructing mobility'.

Immigrants constructed their lives in the private rented sector in varying ways. The culture of the sector permeated their narratives and their constructions of self. The social construction of the growth of the private rental sector emerged strongly from the study, as residents categorised housing estates as 'rental' or 'residential'. Immigrants' relationships with their landlord were central to their assessments of the experience of private rented accommodation. Responses to landlords diverged, with 'evaders' and 'negotiators' emerging as key analytical constructs, impacting on participants' engagement with the sector. Different networks also emerged in accessing properties to rent, demonstrating the creation of sub-markets in the town. Discourses on properties as living places told of life in 'investment houses'. The reality of making a life in a 'house for investment' permeated participants' accounts of their living situations. The findings revealed that tenants had little faith in formal contractual arrangements, preferring trusted relationships with landlords.

Participants' construction of self and the pursuit of identity permeated their housing pathways. Varying patterns of housing use reflected different *life projects* which related to both the resources available to study participants, and to their sense of place. Some oriented themselves transnationally, and their choice of private rented sector accommodation was related to their own transience in Ireland, already having secure properties in their country of origin. Others oriented themselves towards Ireland, and part of their construction of self was about building a new life within the study town. Yet, uncertainty in relation to both housing and the future of the economy generally framed the discourses of the participants, and against this they constructed possible futures. Rooted in a setting of political and economic change, the study participants created their *selves* across dwellings, across the geography of Irishtown, and across Ireland and their country of origin.

Finally, the participants' accounts highlighted the role that the private rented sector plays in people's lives and in the broader housing system. Drawing on these conclusions, policy implications are discussed in the final chapter.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I am deeply grateful to the thirty four participants who generously gave of their time to partake in this study. Not only did they take the time to participate in an interview, but several also made substantial efforts to promote the study and to help in the recruitment of further participants. I sincerely hope that the output and findings of the study reflect their voices adequately and does justice to their participation.

Special thanks are also due to Therese, Michelle, Natalya, Kany, Trina, Mark and Joe for their support for the study throughout the fieldwork. I thank them for their engagement with the study, for opening up access to physical spaces for the conduct of the fieldwork, and for all of the conversations and advice given throughout my time in 'Irishtown'. I would like to thank the staff of the Education Institution, of the HSE Early Childcare Services, and of the Local Authority in Irishtown, for facilitating the study both in terms of desk space and in terms of advice and information. I am also indebted to Josephine and Dan, who generously homed me as I prepared to enter the field and to Neil, who transcribed some of my interviews with rigour and discretion.

My supervisors, Anthony McCashin and Paula Mayock, at Trinity College Dublin, provided inestimable advice, time and support throughout the study and I am forever grateful to them for this. I thank Anthony McCashin for his expertise on all matters related to housing policy. And I am indebted to Paula Mayock for her skilled supervision on all matters of qualitative research; in engaging with social theory; and on the practical aspect of the huge task of conducting PhD research, all of which guided this project to completion. Her approach towards all students, professionally, pastorally and personally, goes consistently beyond the regular call of duty and is something I would seek to emulate in my own future work. I would also like to thank all in the Library and at the School of Social Work and Social Policy, Trinity College, Dublin. Finally, this research was made possible by the financial support of the Private Residential Tenancies Board, for which I am very grateful.

Several colleagues provided great support and friendship throughout my time at Trinity. Thanks are due to Alana, Kate, Jenny, Mark, and Ann, with a special thanks to Sarah, Dovile and Kate for their company and encouragement in the office in the final few months of writing, and for proofing earlier drafts of chapters. I would also like to thank Philip O'Connell and Merike Darmody at the ESRI for their informal interest in, and for conversations about, the research.

I am very lucky to have many friends who were always there when needed, especially with Louise, Deirdre, Aoibheann and Olga who were sources of great strength in the final few months. Laura and Eimear, who were my housemates during the course of the fieldwork, became firm friends, providing welcome down-time and diversion, and were crucial to the success of the study in this way. Likewise, all at the Trinity Triathlon Club were great company when taking much needed breaks from the desk.

Finally, and most especially, my family were an incredible source of support throughout the entire process. My parents Helen and Michael have, throughout my life, supported me in all that I do, and have always set a great example through their own lives. I would like to extend particular thanks to my father for his backing along the way, with words of encouragement and advice when needed and detailed attention given to proofing the final draft. And my brothers Fergal and Cormac provided continuous encouragement, care, and good cheer during this extensive process. I am very lucky to have them as my family.

Table of Contents

Declaration	i
Summary	
Acknowledgements	iv
List of Tables	ix
List of Figures	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING IN THE IRISH CONTEXT	6
Introduction	
Immigration to Ireland	
Composition of the Immigrant Population	
Immigration and Asylum Policy	
Housing in Ireland	
The Private Rented Sector – A Brief History	
Social Profile of the Private Rented Sector	
The Revival of the Private Rented Sector	
Reform of the Sector - The Residential Tenancies Act, 2004	
Minimum Standards and their Enforcement	
The Role of Private Rented Sector in the Broader Housing System	
Conclusion	
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE	28
Introduction	28
Background and Context: The Chicago School of Sociology	28
Race, Community and Conflict	
Contemporary Trends	30
New Geographies of Migration	31
Contemporary Research on Housing and Migration	
Housing Careers	
Housing and Immigration - The Theoretical Landscape	
Social Constructionism and Housing Research	
Location of the Current Study	
Conceptualising the Research 1 - Housing Pathways	39
Research Employing the Housing Pathways Concept	
Conceptualising the Research 2 – Theories of Practice	
Anthony Giddens and the Theory of Structuration	
Pierre Bourdieu: Practice, Habitus and Field	
Conceptualising the Research 3 – Race and Ethnicity	
Research on Race, Ethnicity and Housing	
Conceptions of Race and Ethnicity	
ConclusionConclusion	
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCHING IMMIGRANTS' HOUSING EXPERIENCES	
Introduction	
Researching Immigrants' Housing Experiences	
Researching Immigrants' Housing Experiences - A Place Based Study	E7

Researching Immigrants' Housing Experiences - The Housing Pathway	58
Researching Immigrants' Housing Experiences - Grounded Theory	60
Choosing a Setting - Considerations of Place	
Processes of Accessing the Site and Participants	62
Accessing Irishtown: An Ongoing and Multi-Faceted Negotiation	
The Sampling and Recruitment of Participants	67
Sampling Strategy	67
Procedures for Recruitment	68
The Early Recruitment of Participants	69
Adapting Recruitment throughout the Fieldwork	70
Denied Access	72
The Payment of Participants	74
Concluding Recruitment and Leaving the Field.	75
Description of the Final Sample Achieved	76
Data Collection - Procedures and Instruments	
Collecting Data through the Community Assessment Process	77
Published Reports and Statistical Sources	78
Non-Participant Observation	78
Semi-Structured Depth Interviews	
Location, Researcher Biography, and Power in the Interview Process	80
Administration of the Structured Questionnaire	82
Ensuring Ethical Standards in the Field	82
Researching within a Community	84
Researcher Reciprocity	84
The Management and Analysis of the Data	85
Managing and Analysing the Interview Data	85
Ensuring the Reliability and Validity of the Research	
Summary and Conclusions	88
CHAPTER FOUR: INTRODUCING IRISHTOWN AND THE STUDY PARTICIPANTS	00
Introduction	
Irishtown: A History of Economic and Social Change	
The Population and People of Irishtown	
Super-Diversity in a Rural Idyll	
The Social Profile of Housing in Irishtown	
Firm and Visible Walls	
Around the Town Centre	
Estate Clusters around Irishtown	
The Town's Housing System	
National Policy Changes Visible in Irishtown	
Meeting Housing Need through the Private Rented Sector in Irishtown	-
Inspections in the Private Rented Sector	
The Study's Participants	
Demographics, Family and Time in Ireland	-
Employment, Education and Training	
Housing Characteristics and Housing Careers	
Arriving into Ireland	
Macro-Level Change: Political and Economic Restructuring	
Meso-Level Processes: Networks of Arrival	
Conclusion	121

CHAPTER FIVE: INTO AND THROUGH HOUSING	123
Introduction	123
'Into Housing' - First Experiences and Processes	. 124
'Recruited' into Housing - The Housing of Migrant Workers	
'Dependant Entry' to Housing - Spousal Migrants	
'Institutional Entry' to Housing - The Process of Leaving Direct Provision	
'Into Housing' - Continued Interactions and Networks	
Public Advertisements	
'Professional' Avenues: Estate Agents	
Employer Networks	
Networks of Ethnicity	
State Networks	
Routes through Housing: An Introduction	
The Housing Paths of the Study Participants	-
Pathway 1- Continued Renting in the Private Rented Sector	
Moving through the Private Rented Sector	
Anchoring in the Private Rented Sector	
Constructing a Mobile Life through the Private Rented Sector	
Seeking to Escape the Sector	
Pathway 2 - Renting with a Rent Supplement	
Moving through Rent Supplement Properties	
The Circumstances of Acquiring a Rent Supplement	
Varying Orientations towards Rent Supplement	
Pathway 3 - Into the Rental Accommodation Scheme	
Entering the Rental Accommodation Scheme	
Understanding of the Rental Accommodation Scheme	
Pathway 4 - Into Home Ownership	
Embracing Economic Context and Home Ownership Culture	
Conclusion	155
CHAPTER SIX: LIFE IN THE PRIVATE RENTED SECTOR	159
Introduction	. 159
Life in the Private Rented Sector	.160
Describing Early Living Places in and around Irishtown	160
Living Conditions in the Private Rented Sector	163
Interactions around Living Conditions	_
Life on Estates in the Private Rented Sector	
Searching for a Home in an Investment Market	
The Private Rented Sector in Housing Estates	-
Interactions with Neighbours	
Diversity and Discrimination	
Conclusion	
CHAPTER SEVEN: IDENTITY, MOBILITY, HOUSE AND HOME	185
Introduction	. 185
Conceptualising Home	
The Self and the Home	
Creating a Home in the Private Rented Sector	
Coming Home to the Self and Building the Self	
Home as Family, History and Relationships	
At Home in Different Worlds	ノイ

Self and Nationhood	
National and Transnational Roots	197
Mobility and Identity	
Creating the Self through Place	201
The Future	203
Housing Uncertainty	203
Economic Uncertainty	205
Conclusion	206
CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS	208
Introduction	208
Constructing Migration and Housing in a Time of Change	209
Looking beyond 'Immigrant' in Housing Research	
Housing Experiences within Mutually Embedded Processes	
Constructing a Life in 'Investment Houses'	
Migration, Housing and 'Self' Change	
Policy Implications	217
Recommendations for Future Research	220
Concluding Remarks	221
References	222
APPENDIX A: PHOTOGRAPHS	
APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION LEAFLET	
APPENDIX C: CAP INFORMATION LEAFLET	
APPENDIX D: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM	
APPENDIX E: CAP CONSENT FORM	
APPENDIX F: PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	
APPENDIX G: PARTICIPANT SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE	
APPENDIX G2: PARTICIPANT HOUSING HISTORY CHART	302
ADDENDIV II. CAD INTEDVIEW CCHEDIU E	

List of Tables

Table 1:	Non-Irish Nationals Living in Ireland 2002 – 2011	8
Table 2:	Housing Tenure in Ireland. 1946 ~ 2011.	12
Table 3:	Number of Private Rented Households as a % of all Households 1946 – 2006	14
Table 4:	Social Characteristics of Tenants and Landlords in the Private Rented Sector	15
Table 5:	% Satisfied with Certain Living Conditions (Watson and Williams, 2003)	16
Table 6:	Minimum Standards Inspections in the Private Rented Sector	22
Table 7:	Factors Influencing Immigrant Housing Outcomes	35
Table 8:	Final Sample Achieved	76
Table 9:	Population of Irishtown: 1996 – 2011	93
Table 10:	Usually Resident Population of Irishtown by Nationality	95
Table 11:	Usually Resident Population of Irishtown by Place of Birth	95
Table 12:	Households by Nature of Occupancy	105
Table 13:	Number of Private Rented Dwellings Inspected in Irishtown	108
Table 14:	Economic Status of the Study Participants	111
Table 15:	Housing Tenure of Research Participants at Time of Interview	113
Table 16:	Factors Affecting Moving Decisions (Based on Interviews)	115
Table 17:	Year of Arrival and Number of Moves	139
Table 18:	Factors Contributing to Renters Moves through the Private Rented Sector	141
Table 19:	Factors Contributing to Moves in the Rent Supplement Market	148
Table 20:	Concepts of Structure and Agency	212

List of Figures

Figure 1:	Components of Annual Population Change 1987 – 2009	7
Figure 2:	Map of Irishtown	91
Figure 3:	Housing Estate Developments in Irishtown	97

INTRODUCTION

This study is about immigrants living in Ireland, their housing, and the way the way in which both are bound up in processes of change within the housing system. The research is qualitative, adheres to a constructionist epistemology, and examines the housing histories and journeys of immigrants in a rural town in Ireland. It retrospectively captures migrants' experiences of housing in a rural town from the time of their arrival in Ireland approximately ten years previously. The research was initiated in 2009, at a time when a 'new' wave of migration to Ireland was coming to a close, with little knowledge about the consequences for housing of this rapidly changing environment. The conduct of this research also coincided with a period of unprecedented change in the private rented sector in Ireland. With a roll-back of state supported housing, the sector was growing in terms of meeting the housing need of an increasingly mobile workforce, as well as lower-income tenants with a social housing need.

Immigration has become a permanent feature of life in Ireland, although the nation was largely mono-ethnic prior to the mid-1990's. The wave of migration that spanned 15 years from the mid-1990's coincided with changing migration patterns across Europe and the United States, and the emergence of new-immigrant gateways (Waters, 2005). It also marked the development of patterns of migration to non-urban areas, as suburbs and rural areas began to witness incoming migration for the first time. In Ireland, immigrants settled in towns and rural areas across the country, and not just in large or medium-sized urban centres. This trend brought about increased demand for private rented sector housing across the country. The study is set in a rural town in the West of Ireland which, like many other towns across the country, witnessed a substantial amount of immigration in this time period.

The core aim of the research was to explore the housing experiences of immigrants in a changing housing system during the wave of immigration from 1998 – 2008. Of particular interest was the aim of capturing the experiences of a broad range of immigrants, including individuals from different countries, with very different backgrounds in terms of language, education, and cultural heritage, and arriving via different routes in the immigration system. The study was undertaken in the context of a paucity of research on immigration outside of urban centres in Ireland and aimed to provide a rigorous and detailed account of the housing experiences of immigrants in one rural town. This focus is of considerable importance since migration to towns throughout Ireland was a significant feature of the country's immigration experience.

The bulk of research on the housing experiences of immigrants, in Ireland and internationally, focuses on particular nationalities and on lower income immigrants. It typically researches these people's housing experiences from the standpoint of the risk of social exclusion and/or the integration of immigrants. While the question of how immigrants 'fit' against the societal totality is important, it does not consider how their experiences are themselves a part of the societal totality and are contextualised within broader social changes. Furthermore, there are many different ways in which immigrants engage with housing systems: they are not just tenants, but can also be landlords, for example; they are not just settling in one place, but can move frequently for work or other reasons.

This study sees the physical spaces in which immigration and housing developments take place as sites for the investigation of immigrant housing experiences. Constructing the research through the lens of place allows for the full range of opportunities and constraints, views, activities and interactions to be explored. The study conceives of immigrants as active agents in the construction of their own identity, of which housing is just one part. Their journeys through housing, framed by varying life events, are seen as potentially demonstrating shifting orientations towards housing that vary according to their needs and across time.

The study approach is closely aligned with that of scholars from the Chicago School of Sociology, a form of sociological investigation that examines particular phenomena as part of the societal totality. Conceptually, the research draws on the work of Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu to frame the perspectives and experiences of the study's participants in terms of their housing and life journeys. Giddens' concept of *structuration* is quite prominent in research on the housing experiences of immigrants while Bourdieu's concept of habitus is deployed to examine processes within the housing system itself. The concepts of choice and constraint have become prominent within the discipline of housing studies over the past decade (Ratcliffe, 2009), although these studies have tended not to contextualise broader social changes. In order to understand the complexity of immigrants' housing journeys and the diverse ways in which immigrants use housing and respond to their situations, there is a need to prioritise their own interpretations of their situations and experiences. The privileging of immigrants' accounts, including their understandings, motivations and responses, foregrounds their experiences as social actors, thereby permitting an understanding of their actions and practices within the housing system. This study therefore opens up the possibility of thinking about the relationship between 'agency' and 'structure' in a way that eschews a limited dichotomy between individual and structural factors.

This study prioritises the notion of agency, immigrants' resourcefulness and initiative, as they navigate the housing system and negotiate their housing pathways. It does not seek to reject the linkages between immigrant housing experiences and policy concerns but nonetheless questions the completeness of this framework for conceptualising housing situations among immigrant communities. Equally, the study does not view immigrants as operating within an individualised framework of action, whereby they rationally assess, weigh up and calculate their housing choices at each and every juncture. Rather, their housing decisions are viewed as part of the wider social context, linked to their experiences and interactions within the study town.

It follows that the emphasis in this interpretivist study was on the perspectives of the immigrant participants. The study's methodological approach relied on individual in-depth interviews as a core data collection method. These interviews were supported by a community assessment process and by non-participant observation within the study site. The fieldwork took place between April 2011 and July 2012, during which thirty-four individual in-depth interviews were conducted. Nine interviews with housing professionals and other relevant actors were carried out as part of the community assessment process, as well as extensive notes based on observations and other informal conversations throughout the data collection phase. The study emphasised lived experience in an attempt to demonstrate the meaning and significance of housing experiences as part of life in the town. The focus then was on immigrants' first-hand accounts, impressions and interpretations of their everyday housing experiences. Qualitative research that foregrounds the worldview of immigrants can provide insight into the processes related to their housing transitions, including both the social experiences that structure their biographies and their role as active agents in their own life projects.

This dissertation is organised into eight chapters. The literature review, which provides a critically important backdrop to the study, is divided into two chapters. Chapter 1 describes the landscape of the immigration and housing systems in Ireland. It details the history and culture of the housing system, with a particular focus on the private rented sector. Chapter 2 focuses on the theoretical literature. It introduces the tradition of the Chicago School of Sociology and situates the current study against this. It then explores some of the theoretical approaches that have contributed to current understanding of the housing experiences of immigrants. This chapter also reviews sociological perspectives on race and ethnicity, and the development of grounded theory, a methodological approach suited to generating conceptual insights during research. It is argued that it is necessary to consider concepts as processual and emerging, and to examine the *everydayness* of experiences in order to better frame and conceptualise immigrants' housing experiences in a rural town.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed account of the study's methodological approach, including the tasks of recruiting research participants, and engaging and interviewing a varied group of immigrant residents within the study town. This was not a straightforward endeavour. Methodologically, there were clear challenges of access and the establishment of trust and rapport took time. The chapter explains the core methodological principles of the study and describes how the research was undertaken and conducted in the field. It provides an account of the difficulties encountered, the position of the researcher within the study site, and the relationships established with study participants. This chapter also outlines the analytic procedures and principles and discusses the representation of immigrants' lives and experiences.

Chapter 4 is the first of four chapters to report the findings of the research. It introduces the study town, describing its geography and development over time. The profile of different areas of the town is set out in some detail. The study's participants are then introduced, and the sample is described in terms of age, gender, nationality, and ethnicity, family situation, housing and living situation, educational achievement and employment history. Participants' immigration routes to Ireland are then documented and these accounts help to locate experiences in the study town within broader patterns of change at the global level.

Chapter 5 focuses on the housing journeys of the study participants. It first describes their entry routes to the housing system, examining the social processes that frame the varying paths that the participants traversed into housing. It then traces the different housing pathways of the study participants, which are conceptualised in terms of destination, that is, the tenure in which they are residing at the time of interview. The chapter focuses strongly on the responses and reactions of the study participants to their situations along their housing pathways. This focus on the different junctures in the housing system allows for a detailed analysis of the circumstances, contexts and subjectivities influencing immigrants' orientation to housing over time.

Chapter 6 places life in the private rented sector centre-stage in an attempt to situate the study participants' lives within the culture of the sector. Drawing on a wide selection of accounts of interactions and exchanges with landlords, neighbours, friends and acquaintances, the analysis identifies an array of resources and networks that play an important role in immigrants' housing pathways. The analysis avoids causal inferences, but draws attention to ways in which immigrants' life circumstances and social interactions frame their housing transitions and play an important role at junctures in the housing system.

Chapter 7 turns to the relationship between housing, transnationalism and identity. The relationship between these components is set against a time of economic uncertainty. Against

this backdrop, the chapter examines participants' conceptions and understandings of home. By demonstrating how ideas of home operate at a symbolic level, organised around notions of 'self' at a number of different levels, the analysis highlights the role that the consumption of housing plays in the process of defining a lifestyle and identity as part of the migration project.

Chapter 8, the final chapter, draws the study findings together, focusing in particular on the broader context of identity, beyond that of immigrant. The discussion returns to an exploration of structure and agency, and considers the contribution of the research to these concepts, and to the broader field of housing studies. It also considers the culture of the private rented sector and how its growth has been bound up with social processes within the immigration industry. The chapter concludes by considering how the participants' *life projects* relate to both their migration stories and to their housing stories. This chapter includes suggestions for possible areas of future research and discusses the policy implications arising from the study findings.

CHAPTER ONE: IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING IN THE IRISH CONTEXT

Introduction

The composition of Irish society changed radically in the first decade of the 21st Century. With economic prosperity lasting from 1994 to 2007 and the enlargement of the European Union in 2004, Ireland witnessed its first period of immigration in the history of the State. Up to this point a mono-ethnic, mono-cultural society, this immigration altered the face of Irish society. Immigrants arriving in Ireland came from a wide range of countries, worked in a wide range of occupational sectors and resided in urban and rural areas throughout the country. This made the nature of immigration to Ireland quite distinctive in that it was extremely diverse for a first wave of immigration to a country which, heretofore, had had a largely mono-ethnic population.

"The Irish case is distinct in part because a large influx of immigrants has not been super imposed on pre-existing patterns of ethnic segregation and in part because..[...]...the human capital advantage of immigrants is exceptionally strong"

(Fanning and Fahey, 2009: 3).

This heterogeneous group, in terms of nationality, ethnicity, immigrant status and occupational status have had varied experiences in terms of their work and the places they live and conduct their lives. Within the Irish housing system, the private rented sector has been the tenure immediately accessible to arriving immigrants. Some studies have examined the housing experiences of these new arrivals (NCCRI, 2008; Pillinger, 2009). These focused on urban areas and were empirical in approach, examining immigrants' immediate experiences and any policy implications. A common trend in research on the housing experiences of immigrants is to focus on particular nationalities, a phenomenon evident in the UK, and also employed by Pillinger in the Irish case (2008).

Immigration to Ireland

Between 1995 and 2008, Ireland experienced a period of inward migration to the state for the first time. Historically a country of emigration, this turnabout brought lasting changes to Irish society, demographically, economically and socially. Figure 1 below illustrates population change in terms of natural increase and net migration for the period 1990 – 2014. The consistent and strong rise

in immigration over this period comes to an abrupt halt in 2008. By 2009, Ireland had returned to net emigration, a trend which prevailed up to 2014.

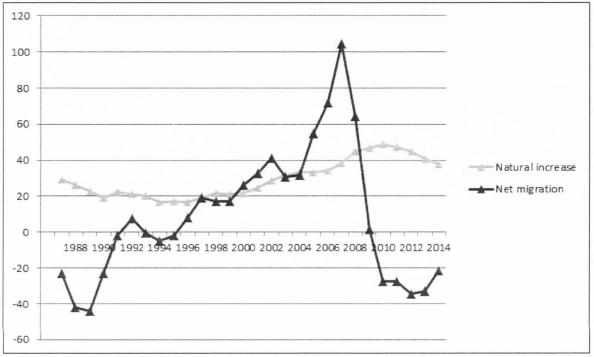


Figure One: Components of Annual Population Change 1987 - 2014

Source: Central Statistics Office, Various Years

Composition of the Immigrant Population

Looking to the Census of Population for details on the immigrant population in Ireland, the largest group of non-Irish nationals were, historically, nationals of the United Kingdom. This was surpassed for the first time in 2011 by nationals of Poland (CSO, 2012c). In 2011, 122,585 people of Polish nationality were recorded in the Census of Population, representing a percentage increase of 5,671% since 2002. After UK nationals, nationals of Lithuania, Latvia, Nigeria, Romania, India and the Philippines are the most numerous non-Irish nationals residing in Ireland.

¹ UK nationals are not frequently singled out in qualitative research because Ireland's historical, political and cultural ties with the UK have very specific characteristics and differ from the migration patterns witnessed in the last two decades.

Table 1: Non-Irish Nationals Living in Ireland 2002 - 2011

	2002	2006	2011	Increase	% Increase
Poland	2,124	63,276	122,585	120,461	5,671.40
UK	103,476	112,548	112,259	8,783	8.5
Lithuania	2,104	24,628	36,683	34,579	1,643.50
Latvia	1,797	13,319	20,593	18,796	1,046.00
Nigeria	8,969	16,300	17,642	8,673	96.7
Romania	4,978	7,696	17,304	12,326	247.6
India	2,534	8,460	16,986	14,452	570.3
Philippines	3,900	9,548	12,791	8,891	228

Source: CSO, Various Years.

The Census also provides details on the geographic spread of immigrants in Ireland. Towns across Ireland have an average rate of 15% of their population who are non-Irish nationals. By contrast rural areas record 6% of the population as non-Irish nationals (CSO, 2012c). Details on country of origin, geographic distribution, housing and demographic characteristics, living arrangements, and education and economic characteristics of all non-Irish nationals living in Ireland were published by the CSO in 2012 (CSO, 2012b). In relation to housing, immigrants, particularly from the 10 EU accession states, are much more likely to rent and to reside in newer dwellings, than Irish nationals. A higher proportion of migrants also live in flats and apartments than Irish do. While UK-national headed households are likely to be family type households, one-person households were more common among migrants from the EU15. Profiles of national groups provided in the report reiterated these points, illustrating that the majority live in rented accommodation.² Another publication (Duffy, 2007) entitled *The Housing Tenure of Immigrants* in Ireland: Some Preliminary Analysis explores owner occupancy and headship rates among immigrants. The study found, unsurprisingly, that immigrant households have much lower owner occupancy rates than native households. There is some other analysis of the census on the spatial dimensions of migrant settlement (Paris, 2005), which reveals that the bulk of immigrants have settled into cities and towns. Paris (2005) found that that those born in Asia were heavily concentrated in Dublin and other major cities, while those born in Africa were more widely dispersed throughout smaller towns and cities, possibly as a result of deliberate dispersal of asylum seekers. Paris also identified a strong link between immigration and housing demand, with several demographic and economic factors fuelling house price inflation. Immigration

² Exceptions to this were nationals of the United Kingdom, the United States, France and Germany, where there are a higher proportion in owner occupied housing.

played a part in this, but was not the only factor: "[t]he relationships between immigration and the housing boom represent cumulative causation rather than simple one-way cause and effect" (2005: 302). Of particular importance in relation to the immigrant population and housing demand, was the age composition of migrants, who were predominantly between 25 and 34, as well as the relatively high level of return Irish migrants.

Immigration and Asylum Policy

Turning towards immigration and asylum policy, Ireland's immigration policy has been characterised as laissez-faire (Minns, 2005) and during the period of economic growth in Ireland it was quite relaxed in order to satisfy high labour demand in the country. Overall, a number of specific categories of migrants arriving in Ireland can be distinguished:

- 1. Return Irish migrants
- 2. In-migration from other EU and EEA countries
- 3. Asylum-seekers
- 4. Programme refugees
- 5. High-skilled in-migration from non-EEA countries
- 6. Other in-migration from non-EEA countries
- 7. Those entering under family reunification arrangements.

Of this group, the first two categories are legally entitled to live and work in Ireland, and this includes access to housing markets and to social housing provisions provided other stipulations are met. However EU citizens and returned Irish emigrants must satisfy the 'Habitual Residency Condition' and prove that they have been in the State for two years before they are entitled to any social benefits, including access to social housing and any other housing assistance (Quinn et al, 2014). Asylum seekers have few rights until they are granted asylum, but once granted it, they, along with programme refugees are given the same rights as EU citizens. The latter two groups are made up of workers from outside the EU. They are not entitled to any social assistance in relation to housing and rely completely on the private market. Ireland operates a Green Card permit and a work permit scheme and utilises a system based on job offers in skills shortage areas rather than quotas or points based systems, as in the UK (O'Sullivan, 2002). Ireland's system is divided into the following categories:

- 1. Green Card Permit System
- 2. Work Permit System
- 3. Intra-Company Transfer Permit Scheme

4. Spouse/Dependent Permit Scheme

Currently non-EEA migrants in Ireland on work permits are reviewed after two years initially and every three thereafter. Those on Green Cards are reviewed after two years and no further renewal is necessary as long term residence is welcomed. These permits are issued in tandem with residency requirements and a delay with one may impact on the other. This uncertainty makes it difficult to plan for home ownership and can prolong time spent in the private rental market instead (NESC, 2006). Migrant workers with Green Card Permits tend to be in higher-skilled, higher-paid employment than those on work permits. Ireland has relied more on a work permit rather than a Green Card Scheme. Work Permits are issued to immigrants in jobs across the following sectors: Agriculture and Fisheries, Catering, Domestic, Education, Entertainment, Industry, Medical and Nursing, Service Industry and Sport. Within the work permit scheme, employers must demonstrate their need for the worker in question, meaning that the worker is not free to seek work elsewhere and is dependent on the employer. Many migrants on temporary work permits are in low-paid work, restricting their market access to quality accommodation. Low pay and lack of permanency make buying, or long-term renting, difficult. With higher pay, those on work visas are positioned for better quality accommodation in the private rented sector, and in some cases, to purchase their own house (O'Sullivan, 2002). More recently, spousal/dependent permits and intra-company transfer permits have been introduced. EEA migrant workers are also required to certify that they continue to work in the State every three months. Furthermore, immigration stamps and work permits both need to be renewed and a problem with one can impact on the other. Immigration stamps are evidence of permission to remain in the Irish State and are issued by the immigration authorities. The different types of stamps reflect different categories of immigrants, for example: students; those on a work permit; and those who are spouses.3 According to Mac Éinrí (2000), a distinguishing characteristic of Ireland's work permit and work authorisation scheme was that selection was entirely labour market driven; social and economic rights were limited; and family reunification rights were either limited or non-existent.4

As mentioned, migrant workers in Ireland are also affected by the Habitual Residence Condition, whereby they must prove they have been living in the State for two years before becoming eligible for social assistance, child benefit and supplementary welfare allowance (Quinn at al, 2014). The

³ Details of the immigration stamps are available on the website of the Irish immigration authorities, at: www.inis.gov.ie/en/INIS/Pages?Stamps

⁴ However these conditions were improved for those on the work permit system in 2007.

Habitual Residence Condition has 5 determining conditions:

- Length and continuity of residence in Ireland
- Length and purpose of any absence from Ireland
- Nature and pattern of employment
- Applicant's main centre of interest
- Future intentions of applicant as they appear from all the circumstances.

The Habitual Residency Condition was introduced following the accession of the ten post-communist countries to the EU in 2004, to discourage welfare tourism. Eligibility for Social Assistance, Child Benefit and Supplementary Welfare Allowance are now dependent on having been habitually resident in the state for two years. Rent Allowance, as part of the Supplementary Welfare Allowance, is included in these criteria. This section has reviewed the immigration system; how it overlaps with both the housing and social welfare system in Ireland; and the relevance of this for immigrants living in Ireland. The next section turns to focus on housing specifically.

Housing in Ireland

The Government's current housing policy statement (DoEHLG, 2011: 1) envisions a housing system "based on choice, fairness, equity across tenures and on delivering quality outcomes for the resources invested". This builds on its 2007 housing policy statement "to enable every household to have available an affordable dwelling of good quality, suited to its needs, in a good environment and, as far as possible, at the tenure of its choice" (DoEHLG, 2007: 17). Housing in Ireland is provided for using a combination of mechanisms incorporating both the market and the State (O'Sullivan, 2004). Increasingly, and in line with other housing systems across the EU and the Anglo-Saxon world, the housing system is undergoing much restructuring, with a greater reliance on market mechanisms to meet housing needs (NESC, 2014). This has resulted in a greater breadth in the mode of housing provision, including some more recent direct input by non-profit agencies (Brooke and Clayton, 2007). Until the early 1960's, housing was provided roughly equally by both market and State but by 2004, market provision accounted for about 90% of all new housing (O'Sullivan, 2004). By far the dominant tenure, home ownership accounted for 75% of housing, down from a peak of 80% in 1991. Table 2 below outlines the changing proportions of housing tenure from 1946 to 2011:

Table 2: Housing Tenure in Ireland. 1946 ~ 2011.

	1946	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002	2006	2011
Local Authority Rented	n/a	18.4	15.9	12.7	9.7	6.9	7.2	7.8
Private Rented	42.6	17.2	10.9	8.1	7	11.1	9.9	18.5
Owner Occupied	52.7	53.6	60.7	67.9	80.2	77-4	74.7	69.7
Other	4.7	10.8	12.5	11.2	3	4.6	8.2	4

Source: Census of Ireland, various years.

Table 2 shows that from 1946 until 1991 there was one clear prevailing trend. 'Owner Occupied' housing steadily rose, reaching a peak of 80% in 1991, with a corresponding consistent fall in 'Local Authority' rented and in 'Private Rented'. From 1991 onwards, this pattern altered. For the first time, the proportion of the private rented stock increased, while local authority rented and home ownership continued to fall.⁵ While there has been a slight drop in home ownership rates since the early 1990's, it has consistently remained the favoured tenure. Economic, political and cultural explanations lie behind this high rate (O'Connell, 2005). From the foundation of the Irish State in 1922, the Government prioritised the private provision of housing and over the decades has implemented a range of policies promoting home ownership through direct and indirect supports for house purchase, the transfer of dwellings from rental to owner occupation and fiscal supports for owner occupation to both induce households into the sector and to encourage them to remain (O'Connell, 2005). McCashin (2004) summarises these developments as:

- 1. The abolition of taxation of income paid by the occupier to the owner in the 1960's.
- 2. The abolition of taxation of residential property in the late 1970's.
- 3. Mortgage interest relief permitted in full to taxpayers at their marginal rate of income tax.

⁵ 'Other', which includes rented from a voluntary body, increased substantially from 2002 until 2006 and it is likely that these results are slightly incorrect. The Census recorded around 50,000 households in this category, when the actual figure for households renting from a voluntary body is between 18,000 and 19,000, representing an over-estimation of 31,500. This number is also supported by tenancy registrations in the PRTB. The actual number of private rented households in the Census reduced from 2002 to 2006, something highly unlikely given the developments of the economy and housing market in this time period. If the figures for 2002 and 2006 are adjusted accordingly (with 2002 adjusted because the Census count includes voluntary organisations), the increase was from 10% to 12%, which is much more realistic. (Cornerstone, June 2007). Unclear question wording in relation to the private rented question most likely contributed to the incorrect self-classifications, resulting in the under reporting of private rented and the over estimation in 'local authority rented' and 'other'.

- 4. The exemption of Capital Gains Tax on the sale of principal private residences.
- 5. The introduction of cash grants for first time buyers of new homes in 1977 (abolished in 2002).
- 6. Generously discounted sales of local authority dwellings to sitting tenants.

This policy setting framed housing choices in Ireland, where home ownership has been considered the optimum tenure to the detriment of other tenure forms. With little priority given to the creation of true tenure mix in the housing system, high rates of home ownership prevailed where people were ineligible for social rented housing and unable or unwilling to face high rents and insecurity in the private rental market (O'Sullivan, 2004). By contrast to owner occupied housing, the private rented sector experienced a strong decline until the 1990's and "the weakened demand for renting was further undermined by the total absence of regulation in the sector until 1992" (McCashin, 2004: 231). Up until the 1990's, the growth of large scale local authority housing provision for low-income families also impacted negatively on the growth of the private rented sector, as the provision of social rented housing was seen to be a more favourable option for housing provision for low income groups. At this time, voluntary, non-profit housing also played a negligible role.

The Private Rented Sector - A Brief History

The private rented sector was traditionally a residual sector in the Irish housing system, meeting the housing needs of those households requiring temporary abode and of those households on lower incomes who did not qualify for State housing. A series of policies from the 1940's onwards led to the dilapidation of the housing conditions in the sector (Galligan, 2005). Use of the sector dwindled, indeed in a 1982 report, it was termed "The Forgotten Sector" (O'Brien and Dillon, 1982). Owner occupation and state-provided housing were considered, both in policy terms and among the general population, to be the only tenures that could reasonably meet long term housing needs. However, the sector has experienced something of a revival since the period of economic growth from the mid-1990's onwards. An increasing population (CSO, 2012a) and renewed incentives to encourage investment in the private rented sector (MacLaran and Williams, 2005), brought an increased demand for private rented accommodation, as young single immigrants came to work in Ireland, as couples delayed buying a home, and as an increasing number of people were priced out of the home ownership market where house prices were rising significantly. Table 3 below shows the number of private rented households, in real numbers and as a proportion of all households, for the years 1946 to 2011.

Table 3: Number of Private Rented Households as a % of all Households 1946 - 2006

Year	No. of Private Rented Households	% of all households
1946	173,000	26.1
1961	116,300	17.2
1971	96,700	13.3
1981	90,300	10.1
1991	81,400	8
2002	141,459	11
2006	145,317	10
2011	3°5,377	18.5

Source: CSO, various years.

In 1946, the sector made up 26.1% of the housing stock in Ireland, declining quite rapidly to 8% by 1991 (MacLaran and Williams, 2005). In real numbers, the stock reduced from 173,000 units to 81,400. The strongest decline was from 1946 - 1961, when economic stagnation and unemployment brought little demand for rented accommodation. At this time, in the 1950's and 1960's, demand was met by digs and lodgings and the conversion of houses into 'houses of multiple occupations'. Several of the rented properties in Dublin neighbourhoods such as Ranelagh and Rathmines were converted in this way. Planning legislation introduced in 1963 allowed the continuation of the functions and levels of occupation which had predated this legislation, and the phrase "pre'63 HMO's" came to signify these properties. By the 1980's and into the 1990's, there was grave concern for the condition of these dwellings and the levels of tax compliance by landlords (MacLaran and Williams, 2005). In 1993, minimum standards regulations were legislated for and the 1997 Finance Act introduced tax relief on the upgrade of wear and tear on properties. There is an absence of published literature available on trends and characteristics outside of urban areas, but it is possible to assume that by and large, in smaller rural towns, the sector does not cater to a mobile workforce as it does in cities. Irish recipients of rent supplement are less likely to be in urban centres (Coates and Norris, 2006b), hinting at the possibility that tenants outside of urban centres are largely those on low incomes and unable to move into home ownership.

Social Profile of the Private Rented Sector

In its 2000 report, the Commission on the Private Rented Residential Sector identified the various characteristics of landlords and tenants in the private rented residential sector. Table 4 below lists these characteristics:

Table 4: Social Characteristics of Tenants and Landlords in the Private Rented Sector

	Tenant Characteristics		Landlord Characteristics
1	Valued employees assigned to a location for a temporary period (high range).	1	Professional individual landlords.
2	Persons with a known requirement for temporary accommodation (contracted employees in midrange accommodation).	2	Commercial landlords.
3	Young persons for whom residing in the family is a feasible option.	3	Resident landlords.
4	Persons (generally elderly) who have resided in the rented sector long-term.	4	Investor landlords.
5	Persons who entered the sector as a temporary measure but stayed longer due to perceived benefits or inertia. (Mid-level accommodation).	5	Circumstantial or accidental landlords.
6	Aspirant house purchasers who have had to defer purchase.	6	Short-term developer landlords.
7	Students.		
8	Persons for whom residing in the parental home is not an option.		
9	Households included in the waiting list for social housing.		
10	Persons renting for reasons which require non-hotel type accommodation for very short periods.		
11	Lodgers.		

The sector caters to a wide diversity of socio-economic groups and housing needs – from short-term stays for a mobile high-skilled workforce, to long-term provision for those who cannot access other tenures. Tenants in the sector represent a wide cross-section of society and indeed it is a microcosm of general inequality in society (Punch, 2005). The diversity in landlord interests also has implications for the general characteristics of the sector; as well as professional landlords, there are a large number of accidental ones and a high proportion of these are one-off landlords who let properties either for investment purposes or as a result of inheritance.

In relation to the quality of the stock, the introduction of Section 23/27 tax incentives has improved the conditions of the sector (MacLaran and Williams, 2005). However, many problems with quality do remain, and are primarily experienced more acutely by low-income tenants and by those living in older dwellings. A 1996 study by KPMG found that many properties in

designated Urban Renewal areas were too small with inadequate storage and lighting (KPMG, 1996). Threshold (1998) surveyed 333 tenants and found serious deficits in basic standards. This finding was strengthened by a 1999 Combat Poverty Agency report which showed that rent supplement tenants live in physically unfit accommodation. This finding is echoed in the Irish National Survey of Housing Conditions:

"The experience of housing deprivation varies by housing tenure. According to the Irish National Survey of Housing Conditions (Watson and Williams, 2003), private renters (17%) and social renters (33%) are significantly more likely to experience difficulties with their dwelling conditions than owner-occupiers (6%)."

(Coates and Feely, 2007a: 7).

Key indicators of housing quality were examined by Watson and Williams (2003): housing costs and affordability, dwelling size and rooms available, services and utilities, heating, energy use, and problems, repairs and upgrades. On average, across these indicators, local authority housing fared the worst and the private rented sector fared less well than owner occupation. Table 5 below cites statistics from this report on the proportion of people who reported to be 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' with general living conditions. Responses from those in the private rented sector are consistently second lowest within each category, with the lowest responses recorded by local authority tenants.

Table 5: % Satisfied with Certain Living Conditions (Watson and Williams, 2003)

Tenure	General Condition	Area/Neighbourhood	Privacy	Running Cost
Own Outright	93	97	97	87
Purchasing	96	96	95	89
Local Authority Renter	74	81	81	73
Private Renter	83	90	90	74
Other	89	94	94	85

The Revival of the Private Rented Sector

Changing economic conditions in the early 1990's led to an increased demand for the private rented sector. Demographic change, economic prosperity and a shortage of housing for home ownership and social housing brought an upward demand for rented accommodation, the expansion of which was fuelled by Section 23 tax incentives (McLaran and Williams, 2005). Prior to the 1990's, the sector had traditionally catered for long-term poor households, students and other groups seeking temporary accommodation, but increased demand signified a shift towards

more well off households seeking to meet more temporary housing needs (Galligan, 2005). At the same time, cutbacks in Local Authority housing provision forced local councils to meet their housing obligations to low income families through the private rented sector also.

At this time significant housing policy statements were made by the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government through the publication of two key documents: *A Plan for Social Housing* (1991) and *Social Housing: The Way Ahead* (1995). These documents laid out certain minimum standards and registration requirements for landlords to meet, offset by a variety of financial incentives. This referred to the capital expenditure based tax relief (Section 23) of the 1981 Finance Act, which was to stimulate the sector in particular and the construction industry in general. In 1986, the Urban Renewal Act gave Section 23 a more geographical focus, through its use as an instrument of urban renewal in nine designated areas across Ireland's five main cities of Dublin, Cork, Galway, Limerick and Waterford. This was later extended to major towns. However significant investment was not generated until the 1990's. Section 23 provided for tax relief on construction, conversion or refurbishment of buildings, on condition that the property be let for ten years.

"However, the overall increase in rental units in the 1990's far outstripped new build under Section 23 and thus owed more to investors buying accommodation to rent on the basis of house price inflation, high tenant demand and the availability and cost of borrowing, than to the impact of urban renewal schemes."

(Galligan, 2005: 108).

In response to the general increase in demand for housing in all tenures throughout the 1990's, Peter Bacon & Associates published three reports on housing:

- An Economic Assessment of Recent House Price Developments (1998),
- The Housing Market An Economic Review and Assessment (1999)
- The Housing Market in Ireland An Economic Evaluation of Trends and Prospects (2000).

These were central to the formulation of policy and were legislated for in subsequent Finance Acts. However their specific impact on the private rented sector is difficult to establish, given an absence of empirical evidence or data. The aspects of the reports which specifically related to the sector were: a package of measures aiming to use fiscal policies to stabilise supply and demand by reducing the role that property investors play in the market and to assist first time buyers (1998), measures to boost supply by promoting increased residential densities (1999) and maximising housing output through additional taxation charges (2000) (MacLaran and Williams, 2005). In this setting, four principal policy changes were employed to encourage supply

of private rented accommodation:

- 1. <u>Capital Expenditure Relief for Landlords</u>: This came under Section 23 of the 1981 Finance Act. Changes were made to this in 1998 as part of the new urban renewal policies. Relief was extended in 1999 under Section 50 of the Finance Act (student accommodation) and in 2000, to the 'Living over the Shop Schemes'. This also applied to residential units at park and ride facilities.
- 2. <u>Tax Relief Regarding Interest on Borrowings:</u> This was on borrowings to purchase, improve, or repair residential property for rental income. Removed in 1998 to favour first time buyers, it was restored again in 2002 over fears that investors would withdraw from the market and industry pressure. This relief was a deductible item in calculating tax on rental income.
- 3. Stamp Duty: In 1998, this was altered for second hand homes and was introduced for the purchase of new houses or apartments for non-owner occupiers. In 2000, a flat rate stamp duty of 9% was introduced for investors.
- 4. <u>Capital Gains Tax</u>: In the 1997 December budget CGT was reduced from 40% to 20% for rented property and development land. This was intended to increase the supply of residential development.

(MacLaran and Williams, 2005)

These policy measures were introduced within a favourable market environment of house price inflation, historically low interest rates and buoyant demand for rented accommodation, characteristics which all contributed to the growth in small scale landlords buying one or two properties to let, to supplement other income. Despite these policy changes, affordability remained a problem, with the continuation of rent increases and house price inflation. Support for purchasers, through assisted loans or grants, tended to be absorbed at the higher end of the market (MacLaran and Williams, 2005). Indeed, these incentives led to modernisation of the stock only at the upper end of the rental market and was not sufficient to offset the long-run decline in the existing stock (McCashin, 2004).

Reform of the Sector - The Residential Tenancies Act, 2004

During this period the private rented sector was framed by a body of legislation that defined the respective rights and obligations of landlords and tenants and there was little by way of regulation. This legislative regime was historically problematic in that it provided little security

of tenure for tenants, rent setting practices did not provide stability and mechanisms for resolving disputes between landlords and tenants were complicated and laborious. In 2000, a Commission on the Private Rented Residential Sector was set up to consult on changes to be made to the sector. The aims of the Commission were to make recommendations on the improvement of tenant security of tenure, to maintain a fair and reasonable balance between the respective rights and obligations of landlords and existing and future tenants, and to increase the investment in and supply of residential accommodation for renting (DoEHLG, 2000). Following a year long period of consultations, submissions and debates on the reform of the sector, the Commission submitted a report to the Minister for Housing and Urban Renewal on the 1st June, 2000. Recommendations were made on a wide array of issues in the private rented sector: dispute resolution, security of tenure, rent setting, investment incentives, registration of rental property and how to deal with former rent controlled dwellings. Reform of the sector was formally introduced in 2004, under the Residential Tenancies Act, 2004. The Act fundamentally altered landlord - tenant relationships for the better. The recommendations on rent setting and security of tenure were implemented, and the Private Residential Tenancies Board (PRTB), in operation since 2001, was put on a statutory footing to redress disputes.

However concerns and critiques remained from tenant interest groups who felt that the reforms implemented did not go far enough, especially in relation to the experiences of people on low incomes. It was felt that the provisions on security of tenure were conditional and there were misgivings about the fact that the market remained central to the setting of rents and the absence of rent regulation. There was also disappointment at the failure to address the frequency and size of rent increases, a failure which was seen to effectively undermine improvements in security of tenure (Punch, 2005). An alternative approach could have been to index rent increases with inflation rates.

Local authorities are now responsible for the registration of tenancies, enforced through fines and threat of imprisonment. Changes were also made to the Supplementary Welfare Allowance (SWA) Rent Supplement, which was considered more appropriate for short term needs. For longer terms needs, the local authority rents from landlords on behalf of low income tenants, via the Rental Accommodation Scheme, a move which offers greater security of tenure to low income tenants (Hayden et al, forthcoming). A more recent policy development has been the establishment of the Housing Assistance Payment (HAP). It has been introduced for people who have a long-term housing need and who qualify for social housing support. The payment is administered by housing authorities and is intended to eventually replace long-term Rent Supplement. It was introduced via the Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2014. It replaces

Rent Supplement for people with a long-term housing need, though Rent Supplement will continue to be available for people who need short-term support towards their rent. It differs from Rent Supplement in that people on HAP will be able to take up full-time employment, subject to the conditions of the scheme. It was introduced on a pilot basis in 2014, with a phased roll-out to all local authorities in 2015.

Minimum Standards and their Enforcement

Since the market is relied upon to provide private rented accommodation, the enforcement of minimum standards is based on the principle of rectifying a market failure (Punch, 2005). Minimum standards are in place in order to maintain satisfactory living conditions in the sector, and to implement protection for tenants. Punch (2005: 119) sees the peripheral role of the State in enforcing minimum standards as "regulating the worst defects of the market and private capital". Minimum standards were not legislated for but were specified in the bye-laws of only a small number of local authorities, introduced under the aegis of the Housing Act 1966 (Coates and Feely, 2007b).

"It was not until the Housing (Private Rented Dwellings) Act 1982 that central government began to assert a direct regulatory influence in this area in order to develop a comprehensive set of national standards."

(Coates and Feely, 2007b: 26).

Until 2009, minimum standards were governed by the Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 1992. This Act had a significant impact on housing provision and introduced a degree of regulation to the sector. It gave tenants a legal right to a rent book; and a minimum notice to quit; obliged landlords to register their properties with the local authority; subjected rented properties to minimum standards; and gave local authorities the right to inspect the properties and enforce the standards.

In 2009, further measures were taken for the improvement of minimum standards in private rented accommodation, through the Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2009. This Act set out issues from the 1992 Act in greater detail. Two of the most significant changes, were the introduction of a strengthened sanctions regime and a new definition of what constitutes a 'proper state of structural repair'. In relation to the first, landlords would face *Improvement Notices* and *Prohibition Notices* where they are in breach of their obligations. In relation to the second, there is now a comprehensive list of components against which a dwelling can be assessed, and for the first time this includes the external appearance of the dwelling:

"Sound, internally and externally, with roof, roofing tiles and slates, windows, floors, ceilings, walls, stairs, doors, skirting boards, fascia, tiles on any floor, ceiling and wall, gutters, down pipes, fittings, furnishings, gardens and common areas maintained in good condition and repair and not defective due to dampness or otherwise"

(Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2009).

While the regulation of minimum standards is legally determined by central government, the enforcement of these standards is carried out by local government. The inspections are funded by registration fees paid to the PRTB. In an evaluation of the delivery of the enforcement service by local authorities, Coates and Feely (2007b) found it to be ad-hoc in nature, with wide variations across local authorities. They found that the necessary structures to implement the inspections were quite weak. Coates and Feely (2007b) evaluated the monitoring and enforcement of minimum standards by local authorities along criteria of efficiency and effectiveness and examined inputs, outputs, activities and results. At the time of this examination, inspections were governed by the 1992 Act, prior to the Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2009. For measures of performance they used the following criteria:

- Responsiveness to complaints received and the timeliness of these responses.
- The output targets for inspections and legal actions set (locally and nationally) and the outcome, with a comparison between the expected and actual activity.

Information on both these activities is neither publicly available nor routinely collected and the researchers relied on interviews with local authority officials and documentary research. Table 6 below sets out the total number of inspections, the numbers that failed and the number of legal actions, in the entire State from 2001 to 2013. The number of inspections increased steadily every year, with a higher increase from 2006 onwards. However there was no corresponding increase in the numbers failing to meet minimum standards, with no clear pattern to the number of legal actions taken either. 145,317 private rented households were recorded in the 2006 Census (with possibly another 30,000 which had mistakenly been classified as voluntary rented), and so inspections from 2007 onwards represented about 10% of the housing stock, surpassing this proportion in 2008. Rates of inspections were higher between 2008 and 2013, but did fluctuate annually.

Table 6: Minimum Standards Inspections in the Private Rented Sector

Year	Number of Inspections	No. failed Minimum Standards	Legal Actions***
2001	3,685*	1,964	49
2002	5,059*	2,558	17
2003	4,703*	1,753	11
2004	7,232*	2,106	4
2005	6,815*	2,048	11
2006	9,835*	1,697	36
2007	14,008**	2,397	25
2008	17,202**	2,854	8
2009	19,801***	4,306	3
2010	21,614***	4,706	20
2011	19,820***	6,284	8
2012	19,616***	7,348	40
2013	21,223***	9,952	11

^{*}Coates and Feely (2007b)

http://www.environ.ie/en/Publications/StatisticsandRegularPublications/HousingStatistics/

The Annual Housing Statistics Bulletin (2008) attributes the large increase in inspection activity from 2006 onwards to the impact of the Government's Action Programme on Standards, launched in 2006; to the implementation of the Rental Accommodation Scheme, which meant local authorities needed to inspect accommodations for the scheme; and to the increased funding available through the registration of tenancies with the PRTB. Inspections are funded by fees from the registration of tenancies with the PRTB. There is no discussion as to why there is no corresponding increase in the numbers of dwellings failing to meet minimum standards or for the drop in legal actions but Coates and Feely (2007b) put forward the suggestions that failure rates have gotten lower, proportionally. It is likely that these cases of non-compliance are driven by older units, as a large proportion of the private rented stock was built since the early 1990's, and already meets minimum standards. This higher concentration of older stock is mostly in inner urban areas. In relation to the low level of legal actions taken, explanations are that there has either been a genuine improvement in standards, or there has been poor responsiveness by local authorities to complaints received.

^{**}DoEHLG Annual Housing Statistics Bulletin (2007 and 2008)

^{***}Source: Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government, House Building and Private Rented Statistics:

Overall, there has been a rise in inspections over the years. The key problems remaining in relation to inspections are their ad-hoc nature; the lack of response to complaints; and issues around target-setting. According to Coates and Feely (2007b), the necessary structures to address these are weak, and there is a paucity of information from which to meaningfully evaluate the situation.

The Role of Private Rented Sector in the Broader Housing System

In a review of the role of the sector in different countries, the Commission on the Private Rented Residential Sector (2000) summarised four main functions of the sector. It was seen as providing:

- 1. Mainstream housing for those who have traditionally lived in private rented accommodation
- 2. Housing for young, mobile, newly-formed and re-formed households
- 3. Employment based accommodation
- 4. A residual tenure of last resort.

There are three main sets of interests in the private rented sector – the Government, landlords and tenants, and Galligan (2005) presents the power between these three competing interests as a central concept in an analysis of the sector. According to Galligan (2005), of key concern to the Government is the facilitation of the free market to operate with minimal regulation while granting tenants modest protection from unscrupulous landlords. The primary interest of landlords is the minimal regulation of their activities in an environment which encourages maximum investment return. Finally, tenant interests lie in quality and affordable accommodation with security of tenure. In this context, general patterns of societal inequality are reflected in the microcosm of the private rented sector. There is a mix of high grade accommodation occupied by high income households from upper middle class or elite groups, salaried workers, and younger households having to postpone becoming home owners. These groups have considerable social advantages in their labour market and educational trajectories. In contrast, low income and disadvantaged households with limited job opportunities, face high rents for low quality dwellings and insecure tenancies.

The sector plays a major role in meeting the housing needs of low income groups, since demand for Local Authority housing has outstripped supply. In 1982, Threshold published a major study of the private rented sector in Dublin City, based on an analysis of their case material over the previous four years (O'Brien and Dillon, 1982). Major issues that arose for low income tenants in the sector were problems around entry, rents, evictions, tenant rights, maintenance and repairs.

The study did not find any evidence to support the contention that the sector was a stepping stone into home ownership - it principally catered to single people and to transient and vulnerable households. Overall, at this time, the private rented sector was not considered to be indispensable by policy makers.

In 2005, 60,176 people were claiming Rent Supplement, of whom 57,535 were eligible for the Rental Accommodation Scheme (Coates and Norris, 2006), with the 2005 numbers represented an increase of 89.2% in recipients from 1995. More than 37% of rent supplement claimants live in Dublin City, Fingal County Council and South Dublin Country Council. Foreign nationals are most likely to be in Dublin City and County (but not the Greater Dublin Area), whereas Irish claimants are less likely to be in urban centres (Coates and Norris, 2006b).

The strength of Rent Supplement lies in the rapid response it provides to situations of need, the support it provides to those who are unable to access social housing lists (e.g. single people) and the fact that accommodation which accepts Rent Supplement is often located in the city centre. However, this accommodation is often of modest or poor quality and it can be difficult for tenants in receipt of Rent Supplement to establish their first tenancy. Tenants on rent supplement frequently experience discrimination and difficulties finding landlords to accept them. In 2002, the situation was made more difficult when tenant contributions to rent were increased and a maximum rent allowance was set across different geographic areas. The possibility that Rent Supplement may underpin rent increases across a housing stock of variable quality is problematic. For some, Rent Supplement represents a disjointed and inarticulate response to housing need (Punch, 2005: 134). McCashin (2000) cites a number of problems and anomalies with the rent allowance supplement. These are:

- It is discretionary. While there are guidelines, the practice varies from area to area. So identical cases will receive differential treatment in different areas.
- Even after the 1992 legislation, the link between the allowance and the regulations was still unclear. There were few inspections or enforcements. "In effect, the escalating rent allowance budget was increasingly subsidising demand in a poor quality, badly regulated segment of the rental market" (2004: 240).
- As expenditure and recipient numbers grew, the effect of the allowance became a concern. Its impact on demand at the lower end of the rental market may have exacerbated rising rent levels, and benefitted landlords through higher rents.
- As its role grew, the allowance was not integrated with the wider housing services for those on low incomes. For example, rent allowance was based on employment status, while local authority rent subsidisation was based on income.

- Regulations required that applicants demonstrate housing need by applying for local authority housing, but this was not done in practice.

Thus, the allowance was an inherent poverty trap. Several policy documents have articulated the regressive nature of housing subsidies, which benefit those on higher incomes the most (Fitzgerald, 1999; NESC, 1988; Commission on Taxation, 1982). In recent years, the administration of the rent supplement has been transferred from the Department of Social Protection to the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government, to be administered by local authorities as a Housing Assistance Payment.

An alternative model is being implemented through the Rental Accommodation Scheme. Under this scheme the Local Authority assumes responsibility for long term housing need for those who have been on rent supplement for over 18 months. Rent supplement will remain in use for short term housing needs only. The Rental Accommodation Scheme is a new system to be used for those who are deemed to have a long term housing need - that is those who have been in receipt of rent supplement for longer than 18 months. This involves the local authorities entering into medium and long-term leases with landlords on behalf of tenants. Local authorities assume responsibility for paying rent to the landlords in full and tenants of the Rental Accommodation Scheme then pay the local authority a contribution to this rent.

Overall, this time period has been one of substantial change, to both the diversity of the population in Ireland, and to policies related to the private rented sector in Ireland. This diversity came in many forms:

- A growing mobile workforce and increase in the numbers of people of working age.
- Immigrant families who either did not want to or could not buy a house and were using the private rented sector to meet their familial housing needs.
- Labour migrants whose principle financial commitment was to home, and who were keen to keep their housing costs down for their stay in Ireland.
- Cultural diversity: the rapid increase in ethnic and cultural diversity in Ireland impacts
 on the housing system where certain behaviours and expectations of housing may not
 coincide with norms in Ireland (for example in relation to cooking, heating, adequately
 ventilating the apartment, drying clothes etc.).
- The number of asylum seekers and refugees whose housing needs were being met through the private rented sector.

Housing Ethnic Minorities in the Private Rented Sector

In relation to the housing of immigrants and ethnic minorities, best practice is set out in a Government policy document. Good Practice Guidelines in Housing Management. Guidelines for Local Authorities. Housing Minority Ethnic Communities, Facilitating Inclusion⁶, published in 2011, provides a full range of policy recommendations in relation to the housing of immigrants and minority ethnic communities. The report recognises the diversity in approach and practice among different local authorities and sets out a series of recommendations for local authorities. All of this is framed by the Government's policy statement on housing in Delivering Homes, Sustaining Communities (Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, 2007) and its more recent 2011 policy statement⁷, which situates the Government's activities in the context of the housing crisis. Other guidelines on Housing Refugees (Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government, 2003) and on Building Integrated Neighbourhoods (Silke et al, 2008) have also been published. The four main recommendations from the Good Practice Guidelines are as follows:

- To be cognisant of the unintended consequences of existing policies and practices
- To provide staff briefing on ethnic diversity issues
- To include information on minority ethnic communities in strategic planning
- To review existing material or policy to ensure anti-racism and discrimination statements are included.

Specific reference was made to the private rented sector and to the enforcement of standards, as a priority, since this is the sector in which most members of minority ethnic communities reside. Policy aims in relation to the private rented sector relate to questions of access, quality and affordability. The report recommends working on issues at a local level via 'Strategic Policy Committees', which are supported by the Director of Housing Services. Recommendations related to the private rented sector that were put forward were:

- Enforcement of standards and regulations in the private rented sector
- Development of anti-racism policies on estates and plans to implement these policies
- Provide clear and accessible information for MEC's on housing
- Pre-tenancy training
- Mixed tenure and integration through social leasing
- Any unintended barriers to home ownership that could be addressed

⁶ This report is available online at http://housing.ie/Housing/media/Media/Publications/11 o4 13-Good-Practice-Guidelines-in-Housing-Management Housing-Minority-Ethnic-Communities 2011.pdf

⁷ Available at: https://www.housing.ie/Regulation/Housing-Policy-Statement-2011.pdf

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter reviewed the history of migration to Ireland, with an analysis of the stock and flow of the migration population in Ireland, and an outline of migration policy. The landscape and context of Irish housing policy was also detailed. The chapter explored the characteristics of the broader housing system and described the character and role of the private rented sector within this overall system. The next chapter now turns to the broader conceptual and empirical literature on the housing experiences of immigrants.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter turns to the broader empirical and conceptual literature on immigration and housing. It includes research within the discipline of housing studies, and also looks more widely towards sociological perspectives on housing and migration. The chapter begins with an introductory account of the Chicago School of Sociology, which specialised in urban sociology and examined the social processes of action and interaction situated within geographic contexts. It then turns to contemporary research on housing and immigration, reviewing the empirical findings of research on the topic within the discipline of housing studies. Following this, the absence of theory in the field of housing studies is acknowledged, before turning to consider the efforts to bring theory into housing research, with a special focus on the epistemological approach of social constructionism. The chapter then sets out the rationale for the approach to the current study.

The latter half of the chapter turns to the conceptual developments within housing studies, introducing Clapham's concept of the housing pathway. It then reviews the substance of the 'Theories of Practice' that have been developed by Giddens and Bourdieu, theories which inform much of the literature reviewed earlier in this chapter. The chapter then considers conceptualisations of race and ethnicity, and how their lenses may be employed in research on mobility and diversity. The chapter concludes with a review of the development of Grounded Theory, a methodology which emerged from Chicago School sociology and which is used to generate analytical constructs from field data.

"Research without theory is blind, and theory without research is empty".

(Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 162).

Background and Context: The Chicago School of Sociology

The Chicago School of Sociology' is the term used to describe the institution of sociology as a discipline in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago in the 1920's (Ritzer, 2007). A central premise of its approach was that the city acts as a microcosm in which to examine the impact of the environment on human behaviour, and its proponents sought to

⁸ The field of housing studies is often criticised for lacking in theory and researchers frequently borrow from sociology and political science for analytical substance (Somerville and Bengsston, 2002; Bengsston, 2009; Clapham, 2009; King, 2009).

establish a theory of evolution in the social world akin to that of evolution in the biological world. Dozens of studies within this tradition were carried out in the early part of the 20th Century (For example: Park, 1915; Anderson, 1923; Park, Burgess and McKenzie, 1925; Wirth, 1928; Frazier, 1932), with some studies stretching into the 1950's and 1960's (Hawley, 1950; Janowitz, 1952; Banfield and Wilson, 1963; Burgess and Bogue, 1967.), including that of Rex and Moore (1967), which examined race, housing, and community conflict. The Chicago School of Sociology was the birthplace of the ethnographic approach to social research and the precursor to the development of Grounded Theory. Theoretically, these studies reflected the prevailing wisdom of their era, seeing the social world as an ecological and organised microcosm, into which inhabitants were sorted (Bell and Newby, 1975). The Chicago School of Sociology pioneered the field of Urban Sociology, and was the origin of the discipline of sociology in the United States. Sociologists such as Robert Park, Louis Wirth, and Ernest Burgess developed various theories of urban life, taking micro-scale social interaction as the primary focus of interest. The approach waned by the 1960's, in part due to the departure of some of its main proponents and in part due to emerging competition within sociology from universities on the east coast of the United States (Ritzer, 2007).

Race, Community and Conflict

In 1967, John Rex and Robert Moore carried out a seminal study of race relations in the housing system in Birmingham, in the United Kingdom (Rex and Moore, 1967). Entitled *Race, Community and Conflict*, the study was the first sociological analysis of the processes at work in the housing system in the UK, in this case, processes that sorted people into different segments of the housing system according to their 'race'. The study was ethnographic, drawing on the tradition of the Chicago School of Sociology, and was situated theoretically within the sociology of the Zone of Transition.9 The study was rooted in a Weberian approach to class, where class theory is based on the notion of groups of people sharing the same life chances because of their economic power in labour markets and other markets (Beider, 2009). In relation to housing markets, Rex and Moore wanted to examine the way in which different housing classes had been created between different ethnic groups. Racism by local authority staff in allocations of good quality public sector housing was replicated by landlords operating in the private sector and

⁹ The Zone of Transition is one of the urban zones in Park, Burgess and McKenzie's Concentric Zone Model of *The City* (1925). The Zone of Transition signifies the industrialising and residentially declining, and thus transitioning, part of the city. This zone is one of six in the model, which, from the centre out, are: The Central Business District, The Factory Zone, The Zone of Transition, The Working Class Zone, The Residential Zone, and The Commuter Zone.

pushed minorities into the occupation of poor quality housing in areas of social and economic decline (Zones of Transition). This trend was the premise for their study.

This research was the first to thoroughly examine the experience of race, immigration and housing within the context of the societal totality and was the only study within this tradition to explicitly examine housing rather than broader social processes. Nevertheless, many weaknesses have been identified in Rex and Moore's work (Beider, 2009). It was criticised for being culturally deterministic in that the researchers made grouped assumptions about minorities according to culture and behaviour. These 'common sense' assumptions were seen as racist stereotyping, since minorities are not passive recipients, nor are they to be reified into groups or ascribed collective behaviour based on assumed cultural preferences. Secondly, concerns were expressed about the fixed assumptions of housing classes and the idea that minorities are set in the same rigid housing market over a period of time. The research did not take into consideration enhanced mobility as a result of increased prosperity and assistance from housing organisations. Thirdly, there was no consideration of the way in which the State could respond to meet the needs of these minorities. Social housing organisations were forced to address the problem of racism and meet the needs of these groups and this was not conceptualised in Rex and Moore's study (Beider, 2009). Overall, the study was powerful in its approach but also viewed structures and social groups as static, monolithic entities. The institutions of housing and race were reified at the expense of actions, processes and meanings at the individual level and at the expense of non-conformity to, or diversity within, these groups.

Contemporary Trends

As an approach, these community studies lost their appeal from the late 1960's onwards, reflecting in part the departure of its main proponents, and in part the development of structural functionalism, a trend which overrode the idiosyncrasies of the symbolic interactionist approach of the Chicago School. An era of positivism and empiricism dominated social sciences in the 1990's (O'Neill, 2008). Yet, the ethnographic sensibility endured as a research approach, and there are a substantial number of contemporary studies examining social life at the micro level in the fields of both housing and migration (Cloke, May and Johnsen, 2010; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters, 2004; Kibria, 2003; Levitt, 2001; Mahler, 1995; Rogaly and Taylor, 2009; Waters, 1999). While the approaches of these studies owe their roots to the Chicago School, their theoretical frames have altered, reflecting instead the sociological concerns of contemporary times. No longer concerned with social ecology and community power and conflict, these studies examine questions of identity

(Rogaly and Taylor, 2009; Waters, 1999), transnational communities (Levitt, 2001), and post-secularism in homeless cities (Cloke, May and Johnsen, 2010), themes which reflect a late-modern or post-modern era. The majority of these studies are based in urban areas; and yet, recently "while the focus has been largely on urban enclaves, the migration of Eastern European workers to rural areas to work in agriculture, has extended the discussion to different localities" (Flint and Robinson, 2008 in Bloch and Solomos, 2010: 214).

New Geographies of Migration

With the dispersal of immigrants across the United States becoming ever more far-reaching, the expression 'new immigrant gateways' was coined in the U.S. (Singer, 2004; 2013) to denote the new population centres and rural areas to which immigrants are migrating in an era of super-diversity (Phillimore, 2013; Vertovec, 2006) and population churn (Ratcliffe, 2009). A central underlying element of this trend is the restructuring of economies, the decentralisation of cities, and the growth of suburbs and rural regions as employment centres (Reeve, 2008), as well as the dispersal of immigrants seeking asylum to rural regions (Bloch and Solomos, 2010; Reeve, 2008). These trends illuminate a new context in sociology, which departed from the Chicago School's concern for the city as the loci of investigation but required similar research strategies to examine the changes taking place in these locations. Several studies have been carried out in the US, with markedly fewer conducted in the European context; those that exist have been carried out primarily in the UK (Waters and Jiminez, 2005).

A core backdrop to the concern for these social transformations and social changes in sociology is globalisation. In fact, Castles (2007) goes as far as to say that if 19th and 20th Century sociology was concerned with the emerging national-industrial society of that time, then 21st Century sociology should take as its starting point the major social transformations occurring at the beginning of the current new century. Globalisation – the flows of capital, commodities, ideas and people across borders – means that mobility has become the most powerful and most coveted stratifying factor in populations (Bauman, 1988: 9 in Castles, 2007: 360). Within this context, which Dufty-Jones (2012: 207) has termed "the mobility turn", social life is opened up (Giddens, 1981) and people take increased risks in their pursuit of self (Beck, 1992). The consequences of this for housing within localities therefore need to be researched.

Contemporary Research on Housing and Migration

The majority of research carried out on the topic of immigration and housing, empirically, focuses on the housing outcomes of immigrants compared to the indigenous population. Several quantitative studies across countries of the Anglo-Saxon world and Continental Europe have analysed the assimilation or segregation of immigrants within cities (Arbaci 2007b, 2009; Forrest and Poulsen, 2003; Jarowsky, 2009; Mendez, 2008). Other studies have examined the effects of housing policies and practices on immigrant populations (Harrison, 2003; 2005), while still others have analysed the factors in immigrants' lives and places of residence that play a role in the outcomes for immigrants in the housing system (Bowes et al, 2002; Bolt and Van Kempen, 2002; Lund, 2006; Murdie, 2002). Some studies have prioritised structural conditions and others have looked at ethno-cultural reasons for immigrant housing outcomes (Dhalmann, 2013; Ozuekren and Van Kempen, 2002), with more recent research attempting to merge the two.

At a macro level, a number of these studies have shown that immigrants' access to housing varies depending on whether it is provided by the market or the State. In the private market, access to housing is restricted only by income and wealth. On the other hand, access to State provided housing is restricted for migrants by nationality and by the immigrant category into which they fall.¹⁰ Furthermore, broader issues of commodification, decentralisation, and a lower political priority "raise questions on how and to which segments of the housing market these specific groups can access" (Edgar et al, 2004: 76). Typically, the private rented sector is the tenure to actively respond to new immigrant populations - with landlords, in some cases, purchasing property explicitly to rent to migrants (Reeve, 2008). For example, Reeve found a high correlation between the incidence of private rented accommodation and the in-movement of 'White Other' ethnic minorities (Reeve, 2007), a process also identified in the Irish context by both Pillinger (2008) and Vang (2010). The consequences of all of these changes depend on the market. In buoyant high-demand markets, increased demand resulting from new immigrant settlement can be problematic, but in declining markets the increased demand from new immigrants is welcome. This impacts on the integration of immigrants into the housing system. Broader policies on migration, legal status, social inclusion, anti-poverty, anti-discrimination, income and employment also affect integration outcomes (Pillinger, 2008).

It should be noted that the themes of urban ecology, community power, and conflict endure in contemporary Urban Sociology, influenced by ideas from political economy, and looking at the interplay of political and economic forces as the driving forces underlying urban activity. These

¹⁰ For example, workers' spouses may not have the same levels of entitlement as workers.

studies are largely statistical investigations of phenomena (Harsman, 2006; Iceland and Scopilliti, 2008; Johnsen, Forrest and Poulsen, 2001a; 2001b. Kesteloot and Meert, 2000). The assumptions of this body of work are that cities are situated in a hierarchical global system, and global linkages among cities help define the structure of the world system. The world system is one of competitive capitalism, wherein capital is easily moved, but the locations of cities are fixed. Politics and governments matter and people and circumstances differ according to time and place. This epistemology influences much European research in the field of urban studies and there are several statistical studies which analyse the segregation or assimilation of immigrants within this global hierarchy.

Studies that focus on ethnic minority or migrant housing at the neighbourhood level tend to examine issues such as the factors affecting settlement, the lived experience of immigrants and the social consequences of their settlement. Work in this area (Robinson and Reeve, 2006; Reeve, 2008), has examined the impact of new immigration on neighbourhood change. In countries with existing ethnic minority communities, there is a tendency for new immigrants to settle where established communities from the same country prevail. These neighbourhoods also attract migrants from ethnic groups with no settlement history in the neighbourhood because of the presence of community and religious facilities, local services accustomed to meeting the needs of diverse communities, relatively cheap housing, and the perceived safety associated with ethnically mixed neighbourhoods (Robinson and Reeve, 2006; Reeve, 2008).

Housing Careers

During the 2000's, a suite of empirical studies on the housing outcomes of immigrants developed, which attempted to progress explanations of immigrant housing outcomes in terms of the structural barriers immigrants face and the resources they draw on. This suite of research was guided by the concept of the housing career. The concept of the housing career provides a way of examining, over time, the choices and constraints that immigrants face in the housing markets in which they reside. It:

"Enables an exploration of how individuals negotiate their way through the housing choices and constraints they face, what factors influence their successive housing decisions, the cumulative results of their choices and the impact of policy at the individual level"

(Bowes et al, 2002: 383).

 $^{^{\}mathrm{u}}$ The concept of the career originally emerged within the Chicago School of Sociology, in Howard Becker's (1963) work on deviant careers.

These studies were largely based in European countries and published in the journal Housing Studies, with publications culminating in a special issue in 2002 (Ozuekren and Van Kempen, 2002). Employing this approach assists in explaining the less favourable housing conditions of immigrants, as the present situation is seen in the context of decisions taken earlier (Bolt and Van Kempen, 2002). Through this concept, the variety of social, economic and cultural factors that affect the housing experiences of immigrants are revealed, including employment opportunities, income, various forms of racism, and individual choices (Lund, 2006). For those immigrants who fare better in the housing system, the supporting factors have been shown to be more favourable local housing markets, better household characteristics (such as a better economic status), smaller family size, better English, and stronger social networks (Murdie, 2002). The economic circumstances of migrants at the point of migration are also important (Edgar et al, 2004). Discrimination, problems of market transparency, and access to information play a part in access, or lack thereof, to housing (Bosswick et al, 2007). Finally, more broadly, immigrant experiences often reflect the experiences of other disadvantaged groups in the housing system (Robinson et al, 2007). Research within this area sees the agency of immigrants in accessing housing as important:

"It is important to recognise that poorly housed people are not passive victims responding to macro social processes: when denied easy access to the private housing market or to social housing, immigrants can call upon reciprocal arrangements embedded in the social networks of their communities to access housing in the informal sector"

(Edgar et al, 2004: 57).

The resources available within ethnic neighbourhoods has also been documented (Byron, 1993; Kestleloot and Meert, 2000; Edgar et al, 2004), in studies based in countries with histories of immigration and established ethnic minority communities. Community networks aid the growth of ethnic entrepreneurship, and provide another means of gaining access to basic resources. The housing and labour markets influence the endurance of ethnic neighbourhoods: economic crises drive immigrants into ethnic entrepreneurship to escape unemployment, and this also makes living in ethnic neighbourhoods cheaper at the local level (Kesteloot and Meert, 2000). Soholt (2001) found variations in the networks and strategies used by different migrant groups, and these variations depended on the time of arrival, the composition of the family, and on the recognisable elements of culture of values, particularly in relation to money. But migrant networks can also become a barrier to contact and interaction with natives.

These networks play a role in facilitating immigrants' careers through housing, and are seen both as a cultural preference and as a defence mechanism (Ozuekren and Van Kempen, 2002). They are not strong enough to provide an explanation of immigrant housing outcomes but are

part of a broader process. Bolt and Van Kempen (2002) stress that cultural housing preferences could not adequately explain the housing conditions and careers of Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands. Instead, the less favourable housing circumstances of these national groups were caused by a difficult start in the housing market as a result of discrimination and their limited progress in their further housing career. No evidence was found of ethnic-specific preferences in relation to dwelling: rather, their experience was explained as a result of their weak socioeconomic position. A study by Robinson et al (2007) highlighted that the different rights and opportunities accorded to different migrants was a determinant of their housing experiences. Immigrant status and rights of access root the early housing careers of new immigrants in particular sectors of the housing system (Tomlins et al, 2002), affecting the structural positioning of different migrant groups (Ratcliffe, 2009). And yet elsewhere, "it has been suggested that race and ethnicity are at least as significant as immigrant status in determining access to the labour market and housing market" (Edgar et al, 2004: 103). Finally, the settlement patterns of immigrants can often reflect the actions of other players in the housing market: immigrants will typically fill voids left behind or avoided by other households.

This review has, thus far, summarised the literature and the range of factors that have been identified as playing a role in explaining immigrant housing outcomes. Yet the discussion remains relatively descriptive in listing and attempting to rank those factors that impact on immigrant housing outcomes. These studies tend to create a balance-sheet of constraints and choices that immigrants experience in their housing, weighing up the relative dominance of each (Ratcliffe, 2009). Table 7 below illustrates this exercise in ranking:

Table 7: Factors Influencing Immigrant Housing Outcomes

Choices	Constraints*
Tenure	Direct or Indirect Discrimination
Property Type	Socio-Cultural Considerations
Size	Physical Threat or Harassment
Layout	
Location	

^{*} Harrison with Davis (2003) in Ratcliffe (2009)

This approach, balancing choice and constraint, is seen by Beider (2009) as the most important theme in the race and housing literature. Overall, it reflects a positivist sensibility, seeing these elements as external to immigrants' understandings of their own situations. While there is a focus on choice, there is little focus on the attitudes and behaviours of immigrants, or the way in which they make sense of or respond to their situations. Furthermore, these opposing elements offer little room for taking a dynamic approach to structure and agency (Ratcliffe,

2000). Giddens was the first theorist to introduce dynamism to the structure and agency debate, suggesting that rather than being fixed and durable concepts, structure and agency are both subject to change over a period of time and are mutually interdependent. Structures both constrain and enable, and can themselves be changed and influenced through the actions of individuals.¹² The work of Giddens will be discussed later in this chapter.

Housing and Immigration - The Theoretical Landscape

The studies reviewed in the previous section draw predominantly on ideas of structure and agency, of assimilation and segregation, and of racism and social exclusion, but are not necessarily theorised. In Clapham's view (2005: 11), "approaches to the analysis of the housing field have failed to keep up with recent developments in sociology that have taken this agencystructure interface as the focus of their attention." The discipline of housing studies is noted for an absence of a grand theoretical approach, something which is of concern to many (Somerville and Bengsston, 2002; Bengsston, 2009; Clapham, 2009; King, 2009.). A special issue of the journal Housing, Theory and Society, was devoted to the question of theory in housing research in both 2002 and in 2009. Kemeny has made several efforts to theorise the system itself (Kemeny, 1992), as well as seeking to bring social constructionism into housing (Jacobs, Kemeny and Manzi, 2002). Nevertheless, grand theory in housing research remains "as elusive and as mired in confusion as ever" (Franklin, 2002: 139). Many look to sociology to address these theoretical deficits. Kemeny refers to this phenomena as 'Epistemic Drift', that is, the absence of charting or advancing the theoretical underpinnings of research on housing, with a deconceptualisation of social phenomena (O'Neill, 2008). Instead, housing research typically rests on a concern to address factual deficits or localised policy needs, and neglects theory. Research is more focused on policy outcomes, than on "theoretical exploration or adventure" (O'Neill, 2008: 166).

The phenomenon of migration is in a similar phase of theory development, lacking one overarching theory to explain the process. Massey et al (2010) review several theoretical perspectives on the causes of migration but the experience of migrants themselves within societies remains elusive. Castles (2007) calls for examinations of these processes and refers to the work of Portes (1999) and Merton (1957) in this:

¹² For example, in a 1989 study by Sarre et al, private lenders who prevented Italians in Bedford from securing competitive loans to buy homes lost this business as it moved to more progressive organisations. This influenced a change in the pattern of lending in Bedford (Mullins et al, 2007 in Beider, 2009).

"Portes argues for the idea of 'sociology as analysis of the unexpected' (Portes 1999). This implies returning to Robert K. Merton's concept of 'theories of the middle-range': 'special theories applicable to limited ranges of data* theories for example of class dynamics, of conflicting group pressures, of the flow of power and the exercise of interpersonal influence . . .' (Merton 1957: 9). Portes characterises this mid-range theory approach as: ". . . narratives about how things got 'from here to there' including the multiple contingencies and reversals encountered in the process. At this level of analysis, it is possible to delineate, at least partially, the structural constraints and other obstacles affecting a specific individual or collective pursuit" (Portes 1999: 13)."

(Castles, 2007: 365).

Castles (2007), Penninx, Spencer and Van Hear (2008) and Ratcliffe (2009) all argue for research which captures the broader social change occurring as a result of immigration and globalisation.

"A key task of sociology is to analyse the ways in which international migration (including incorporation in receiving countries or return to places of origin) affects social structures, institutions and relationships in all the localities involved (including sending, transit and receiving areas)"

(Castles, 2007: 355).

For Penninx et al (2008), the way in which migration is shaped by the societal totality, and in turn shapes it, is central. Thus, specific forms of sociality are to be analysed, including the broad universe of social actions and meanings. Studies that ask questions of how, and to what extent, migration has affected the core structures of receiving societies themselves are lacking.

"The social dynamics of integration and social cohesion are both necessarily embedded in the structural changes that are an outcome of the unintended and differentiated effects of international migration on the various realms of society"

(Penninx et al, 2008: 12).

These arguments mirror those noted in the previous section on the 'balance' sheet of choice and constraint offered to explain immigrant housing outcomes, rather than looking to conceptualise broader changes. Debates about migration, integration and multiculturalism have had little impact on core theories of social order and differentiation and empirical research needs to be linked to broader theories of social relations, structures and change (Castles, 2007).

Social Constructionism and Housing Research

The previous section outlined the theoretical context for the disciplines of housing studies and migration studies, drawing attention to the marked absence of guiding theories in both disciplines and the way in which attempts have been made by scholars to address this. In recent years, there have been initiatives within the discipline of housing studies to integrate a social constructionist epistemology into research on housing, a discipline which has traditionally been guided by objectivist principles. Kemeny (1984), Jacobs, Kemeny and Manzi (2004), and Clapham (2005) draw on this sociological tradition in their research on housing, which brings

interpretative accounts of human action to the fore. Clapham explains:

"With the establishment of sub-universes of meaning, a variety of perspectives on the total society emerges, each viewing it from the angle of one sub-universe. Each perspective will be related to the concrete social interests of the group that holds it, although it will not necessarily be a mechanical reflection of those interests as it is possible for knowledge to attain a great deal of detachment from the biographical and social interests of the knower. The nature of social order in the society will depend on the ability of people to be able to sustain a particular version of reality as being the objective truth. This depends on the sub-universe of meaning being legitimised through being available to people and being plausible. Therefore it will contain not only a description of the world but also explanations and justifications of why things are as they are and why people should act in a certain way."

(Clapham, 2005: 20).

Clapham makes the case for drawing on social constructionism because 'postmodern' societies stress the importance of individualism and the growing capacity of people to 'make their own lives'. Traditional collective social structures are no longer as important. This new context requires a research approach which situates individual and household perceptions, and the meaning they attach to housing, at the centre of the analysis. According to Clapham, no other approach gives sufficient focus to the behaviour of actors in the housing system, in particular households. Even where they are at the centre of the analysis, as is the case within geographic and economic perspectives, they are assumed to have simple and universal attitudes and motives. There is an assumption that households are rational and instrumental in their approach to housing decisions, with little empirical work that investigates and attempts to understand how different households perceive and react to the housing context facing them. These approaches assume 'social facts' to be uncovered by researchers using quantitative and empirical research methods. The housing field is portrayed as an objective reality, uncontentious and perceived in a uniform way by the actors within it. Clapham argues that this is inadequate in the context of a postmodern society and that, instead, the focus needs to be on "the linguistic and social construction of reality, on interpretation and negotiation of the meaning of the lived world" (2005: 21).

Location of the Current Study

Thus, having reviewed the landscape of empirical research on housing and immigration highlighting the deficit in the theoretical heritage on studies of housing, and reviewed initiatives to introduce social constructionism to the field, this section situates the need for and rationale of the current study. Empirically, little research has been carried out that examines the housing experiences of immigrants as part of the broader societal trends. While some studies have been set within geographic spaces (Reeve and Robinson, 2007; NCCRI, 2008; Pillinger, 2008), there is little examination beyond a contextualisation of housing structure. Theoretically, there is a need

to respond to these calls to see the experience of immigrants in the housing system situated against the broader social changes taking place, to examine the inter-relatedness of structure and agency in this and to research the responses of immigrants to their position within this situation. The current study is thus located in a context of emerging influence of social construction as a guiding epistemology for research on housing. In order to capture the broader context of the institutional and social milieu, and to research participants' responses to this, the study will be situated within one place, drawing on the legacy of the Chicago School of Sociology.

The next section sets out the conceptual traditions that frame this study. It looks first to the development of the concept of the housing pathway by David Clapham, a concept which prioritises the worldview of residents in their housing choices and decisions, and researches rather than assumes housing behaviour. Following this, the 'Theories of Practice' developed by Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu are explored. Conceptualisations of race and ethnicity and how they apply to the current study are then reviewed, before the chapter concludes with an explication of the development of Grounded Theory, a method for generating concepts and for theory development.

Conceptualising the Research 1 – Housing Pathways

Following on from the earlier introduction to social constructionism in housing research, this section takes the discussion further. It introduces the concept of the housing pathway, one developed by Clapham as a guiding tool for the analysis of housing behaviour. As part of his development of an analytic frame for researching the construction of people's housing behaviour, Clapham developed the concept of the housing pathway. The concept guides the investigation of people's consumption of housing, capturing the choices and constraints they face and sets this in the context of their pursuit of an identity and lifestyle. Clapham sees the concept of the pathway as a way to mediate between the general theory of structuration, relational power, and social constructionism, to analyse housing and its specific application. The concept of the pathway, for Clapham, owes much to Giddens' ideas of social practices and his borrowing of the time space geography of Hagerstrand.

"The housing pathway of a household is the continually changing set of relationships and interactions that it experiences over time in its consumption of housing. [....] What the concept is, is a way of ordering the housing field in a way that foregrounds the meanings held by

households and the interactions that shape housing practices as well as emphasising the dynamic nature of housing experience and its interrelatedness with other aspects of household life"

(Clapham, 2005: 27).

The concept of the housing pathway "builds on the concept of the housing career" (Clapham, 2002: 63) and allows for the examination of people's attitudes and motivations towards their housing, placing this in the context of the choices and constraints they face.¹³ It furthers the choice and constraint framework, "a balance sheet of 'choices' and 'constraints'" (Ratcliffe, 2009: 435), into a conceptualisation of people's identities and how their consumption of housing fits into their overall life projects. It also captures events that happen along a pathway, for example, the loss of a job, and how people respond to such events. In a post-modern world, all is in flux. Clapham defines the housing pathway thus:

"[P]atterns of interaction (practices) concerning house and home over time and space."

(2005: 27).

As well as the decisions that individuals take in pursuing their housing pathway, the factors that shape these decisions are also examined:

"These primarily take the form of discourses that shape not only the perceptions and attitudes of households, but the actions of other agencies involved in the production and consumption of housing. One of the most important of these agencies is the State, and discourses are intimately related to public policy mechanisms that influence the type and extent of opportunities open to households"

(Clapham, 2005: 3).

In response to criticisms that the explanatory power of social constructionism fails to recognise a material world outside of discourse (Gergen, 1999), Clapham incorporates elements of Giddens' Structuration Theory into the concept. He adopts an approach of 'weak social constructionism' (Sayer, 2000), which recognises this material world but argues that its nature and its impact on the social world can be understood only through its social construction (interaction, language and discourse). Social constructionism has been criticised for its tendency to focus on micro-level interactions without relating these to the macro-structures of society and for paying insufficient attention to issues of power. Power must be at the forefront of analysis, to delineate why one social construction of reality is accepted in society rather than others. In light of these criticisms, Clapham incorporates work on the nature of power, drawing

¹³ The idea of the housing career developed from this: the housing career usually concentrated on the price, physical space and quality of the house and the quality of the neighbourhood, where these are objectively defined through price in the market.

on Clegg's (1989) typology of 'frameworks of power'. Thus, overall, Clapham integrates the concepts of 'structuration' and 'relational power' with the position of 'weak social constructionism' in order to compose a more comprehensive framework.

Lastly, the housing pathway foregrounds identity and lifestyle as conceptual tools because within this conceptualisation housing becomes a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Instead, the end is personal fulfilment and the task of research is to elucidate the links between housing and this overall aim. "The achievement of self-esteem and a positive identity through a chosen lifestyle are said to be an important element of a household's choices" (Clapham, 2005: 2).

It is recommended by Clapham that research on the pathway is either biographical or ethnographical and that it incorporates a time dimension. Furthermore, there can be a number of locales within which to research a pathway: the house, the neighbourhood, the office of a landlord or estate agent. Clapham references the work of Sarre (1996), who he feels has proposed a useful framework for applying the concept of structuration to empirical research, a framework which Clapham feels is relevant to the task of elucidating housing pathways. According to Sarre, the research tasks are to:

- 1. Elucidate frameworks of meaning using ethnographic or biographic methods to clarify individuals' knowledge of the social structure and their reasons for action.
- 2. Investigate the context and form of practical consciousness.
- 3. Identify the bounds of knowledgeability to discover the unacknowledged or unconscious meanings held by individuals and the unintended consequences of actions.
- 4. Specify structural orders i.e. the structural factors which impinge on actions.

Research Employing the Housing Pathways Concept

Three recent studies on immigrant housing outcomes have employed the concept of the housing pathway as a guiding frame for the research. These studies were conducted in Dublin (Pillinger, 2008), Sheffield (Robinson, Reeve and Casey, 2007) and in Glasgow (Netto, 2010). Each study comprised interviews with between 30 and 40 immigrant residents of these areas. In the former two, a mix of nationalities and immigrant statuses were included, with the latter focusing on those with refugee status only, encompassing a wide range of African and Middle Eastern nationalities. All three did incorporate the importance of place for residents into the analysis. For example, Robinson, Reeve and Casey (2007) analysed the way in which participants constructed different residential areas of Sheffield, while Pillinger (2008) presented participants' subjective assessments of housing and services in the area under study. Netto (2010) took the

analysis further and incorporated the concept of place into the pathway to examine how participants make decisions about where to live. However, she does not provide data on how participants construct different places within Glasgow. Robinson, Reeve and Casey (2007) did present data on ethnic preferences for specific locations.

All three studies present findings on the housing outcomes of immigrants in the areas selected for study, as well as their movements through the housing system and their perceptions of their housing and of the broader area. All three illustrate the role of immigrant legal status and of ethnic preference, with Netto (2010) focusing particularly on the ways refugees negotiate identity, from the point of their forced migration until they have moved into permanent accommodation. Overall, the studies remain focused on the experiences and journeys of the immigrant participants and, while they incorporate immigrants' perceptions of those places, they do not broaden the discussion to include a contextualisation of changes within the wider housing system.

Conceptualising the Research 2 - Theories of Practice

This section turns to the literature on social practices, and the two theorists who have been at the forefront of these developments, Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu. Giddens' work has had a substantial influence on research into the housing careers of immigrants within housing markets, while Bourdieu's concepts have found their place more in research on changes and developments within housing institutions. The concepts of both theorists are relevant for both the conceptualisation and the analysis of the current study.

Before reviewing them separately it is relevant to offer a brief comparison between the two. Giddens' Structuration Theory is prevalent in many studies of immigrant housing experiences, while Bourdieu's work is incorporated more frequently into studies of cultural practices in the housing system, such as perceptions of tenure (Rowlands and Gurney, 2001) and housing consumption and governance (Flint and Rowlands, 2003).

According to Morrisson (2005), both theories emphasise circularity rather than linearity in causality – agency affects structure, which affects agency *ad infinitum*. Morrisson sees them principally as theories of re-production and self-fulfilling prophecy, rather than change, though Ritzer (2007) does not agree. For Morrisson, Bourdieu's work is about reproduction, especially

his work on *habitus*¹⁴ (1977), which can over-determine agency. He concludes that structuration and habitus provide fitting explanations for the reproduction of practice and they can account for change. However, they can also account for inertia, stability, and reproduction, albeit in part derived from agency.

Both Giddens and Bourdieu conceptualise the agent as an individual actor, although Bourdieu's agent ignores subjectivity and intentionality, unlike Giddens' agent which exercises both discursive consciousness and practical consciousness (Ritzer, 2007: 404). Bourdieu sees agents as perceiving and constructing the world on the basis of their position in social space, with these perceptions and constructions both animated and constrained by structures. They do not exist outside of this and, as Jenkins (1992:91) concludes, "at the end of the day, perhaps the most crucial weakness in Bourdieu's work is his inability to cope with subjectivity". Thus, habitus exists as a mental structure in the mind, with no construction, subjectivity or intentionality beneath it. The habitus is a source of strategies "without being the product of a genuine strategic intention" (Bourdieu, 1977: 73). They do not have intentionality and free will. Giddens' agents have more wilful power than do Bourdieu's agents:

"Where Bourdieu's agents seem to be dominated by their habitus, by internal ('structuring') structures, the agents in Giddens' work are the perpetrators of action. They at least have some choice, at least the possibility of acting differently than they do. They have power, and they make a difference in their worlds. Most important, they constitute (and are constituted by) structures. In contrast, in Bourdieu's work a sometimes seemingly disembodied habitus is involved in a dialectic with the external world."

(Ritzer, 2007: 417).

Structuration Theory leaves more space for talking about social change, but habitus and field is about explaining and accounting for operations in a given context. "Bourdieu's agent, dominated by habitus, seems far more mechanical than Giddens' agent" (Ritzer, 2007: 416). Furthermore, "Bourdieu is pulled towards structure, while Giddens has a more powerful sense of agency than do most other theorists of this genre" (2007: 417).

¹⁴ "Habitus are the mental or cognitive structures through which people deal with the social world" (Ritzer, 2007: 405). Jenkins (1992) equates habitus with culture.

¹⁵ Discursive consciousness refers to the agent's ability to articulate his knowledge or to "be able to put things into words" (Giddens, 1984: 45 in Loyal, 2003: 52) and practical consciousness represents tacit knowledge, "employed in the enactment of courses of conduct providing agents with the ability to 'go on', in terms of rule following in social life" (Loyal, 2003: 52).

Anthony Giddens and the Theory of Structuration

Structuration Theory was developed by Anthony Giddens (1984) as a drive to find a middle ground between symbolic interactionism and structural functionalism. He rejected the polarity between these approaches and sought to theorise the dialectic relationship between structure and agency, and overcome the division in research on each phenomena. Structuration Theory is a theory of the relationships between structure and agency, of the duality and dialectical interplay of both. All social action involves structure and all structure involves social action. For Giddens, social change takes place through "recurrent social practices" (1989: 252 in Ritzer 2007: 396) which become "social practices ordered across time and space" (1984: 2 in Ritzer, 2007: 396). Broadly, the analysis of practices is viewed as a way to examine social change. The recursive nature of practices are the way in which we can analyse an impact on structure. By expressing themselves as actors, people are engaging in practice and it is through this practice that consciousness and structure are both produced. Practice produces these: not consciousness, nor the social construction of reality, nor the social structure. Thus, "Giddens deals with the agency-structure issue in a historical, processual and dynamic way" (Ritzer, 2007: 396).

There are several elements to Giddens' Structuration Theory. Firstly, agents are actors who continuously monitor their own thoughts and activities as well as their physical and social contexts. In their search for a sense of security, these actors rationalise their world through the development of routines that give them a sense of security and enable them to deal efficiently with their lives. The second element is power. Giddens accords his agents significant power, according to Ritzer (2007). Ritzer outlines how agents cease to make sense if without power they are no longer agents if they lose their capacity to make a difference. The third element of Structuration is its conceptual core – structure, system, and the duality of structure. Unusually, Giddens does not see structures as being separate from, "external from and coercive of" (2007: 398) actors, unlike Durkheim in his work on social facts. Structure is rather defined as "the structuring properties (rules and resources)....the properties which make it possible for discernibly similar social practices to exist across varying spans of time and space and which lend them systemic form" (Giddens, 1984: 17 in Ritzer, 2007: 398). Giddens feels that the role of structure as constraining on action is overemphasised, and the important point is that structure is both constraining and enabling. The fourth component, then, social systems, is defined as "reproduced relations between actors or collectivities organised as regular social practices" (Giddens, 1984: 17 in Ritzer, 2007: 398), or, namely, reproduced social practices. These rules and resources manifest themselves at both the macro-level of social systems and the micro level of human consciousness, through a process of routinization. This leads on to the fifth component

of Structuration Theory, which is defined as the dialectical relationship between structure and agency and is premised on the idea that "the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organise" and "the moment of the production of action is also one of reproduction in the contexts of the day-to-day enactment of social life" (Giddens, 1984: 25, 26, in Ritzer, 2007: 398). They are a duality – none can exist without the other. The sixth, and final, components are that of time and space. Both depend on whether other people are present temporally or spatially, with the primordial condition being face-to-face interaction. Giddens was commended for bringing time and space to the fore (Bryant and Jary, 2001a in Ritzer, 2007: 399).

Giddens' work has been criticised for lacking ontological depth, that is, for failing to get at the social structures that underlie the social world. This is overlooked, it is claimed, because of the focus on social practices. Some authors, such as Clegg (1989) have bracketed him with social constructivists because he supposedly over-emphasises human agency. Giddens has also been criticised for trying to achieve theoretical synthesis at the expense of the complexity of the social world (Ritzer, 2007: 400).

Giddens' Structuration Theory helps to better integrate these elements and his theory can be used to build on and strengthen social constructivist analysis. His thesis on how structures are produced and reproduced through human agency, at both the individual and institutional levels, to constrain and enable action can be integrated with social constructionism. Actors carry knowledge of social structures outside the moment of action, action is consciously intentional but has the unintentional effect of reproducing systems, and the key for Giddens is the analysis of social practices which, he argues, have elements of both structure and agency. Time and space is central to this and can be useful for the analysis of housing. It can draw attention to the social practices inherent in the movement of households, the locales of social practices in the home and in the local neighbourhood. Much of his framework can be reconciled with his social constructivist approach. Integrating this approach is useful because it helps to overcome the criticism that social constructionism does not deal adequately with structure. Giddens' concern is with individual actors who reproduce social structures through their actions. A social constructivist view would be that social structures are reproduced through the interaction of individual actors and it is here that power relations become important.

Clegg (1989) uses the concept of the 'rules of the game' to frame the issue of power relations, which can be reconciled with Giddens' notion of 'social practices'. An example of these would be the way in which the allocation priorities of a housing organisation reflect societal norms of

a family. Agency is exercised in the way that the housing officer makes the letting and the applicant can either reinforce or challenge these norms in the particular case. Repeated challenging may have some influence in changing societal norms. Clegg's concept of the 'rules of the game' sees the rules being challenged or altered. For example, trying to get the best deals within an existing allocation policy, drawing on resources to argue with a housing officer, seeking help from a tenants association or a local councillor, using these to attempt to change the nature of policy, through for example, challenging wider concepts of the 'normal' family.

Finally, Burns and Dietz (1992) make a contribution to the agency – structure work that seeks to build on the works presented thus far. They list four criteria that must be met in order for agency to be attributed to an actor, and overall, within this, agency is viewed as a continuum.

- 1. The actor must have power and be able to make a difference.
- 2. The actions undertaken by an agent must be intentional.
- 3. The actor must have some choice, some free play.
- 4. Agents must be reflexive, monitoring the effects of their actions and using that knowledge to modify the bases of action.

Ratcliffe (2009) sees the concepts of structure and agency as the building blocks for theory reconstruction. With these building blocks, he sees the concept of agency as comprising social agency, identity formation, difference, and the engagement of social actors with housing and financial markets. Difference comprises ethnicity, culture, gender, age, the life-course, and socio-economic class. Structure then incorporates demographic change, governance, housing market institutions and the role of the social agent via institutional customs and practices. Employing these concepts as building blocks, and employing the tool of the housing pathway to guide analysis, allows for the construction of theory to better explain the position of immigrants in the broader housing system.

Pierre Bourdieu: Practice, Habitus and Field

The work of Bourdieu has been used to a lesser extent in constructionist research on housing compared to Giddens. Rather, Bourdieu's concepts of practice, habitus and field enter more into discussions of the *system* of housing itself, rather than the people within that system. These concepts are deployed to a greater extent in research on the institutions and systems of housing, and less on research focusing on individuals in the housing system. The work of Bourdieu is

reviewed here since it provides useful tools for conceptualising the system of the private rented sector in Ireland, as will be seen in the findings chapters.

Bourdieu, along with Foucault, is considered a post-structuralist. His work stemmed from a desire to overcome what he considered to be the false opposition between objectivism and subjectivism. He favoured an approach that is structuralist without losing sight of the agent. He saw Durkheim, Levi-Strauss, and structural Marxists in the structural 'camp' and the existentialism of Sartre, Schutz's phenomenology, Blumer's symbolic interactionism and Garfinkel's ethnomethodology as examples of subjectivism, ignoring structures. In order to sidestep the objectivist–subjectivist dilemma, Bourdieu, similarly to Giddens, focused on practices, which he saw as the dialectical relationship between structure and agency. Overall, Bourdieu has subscribed to a structuralist perspective but, going beyond language and culture (as in the work of Saussure and Levi-Strauss), Bourdieu focuses on the structure of the social world itself.

"Bourdieu saw "objective structures [as] independent of the consciousness and will of agents, which are capable of guiding and constraining their practices or their representations" (1989: 14). He simultaneously adopted a constructivist position which allowed him to deal with the genesis of schemes of perception, thought, action as well as that of social structures."

(Ritzer, 2007: 404).

Habitus is defined as the mental or cognitive structures through which people deal with the social world. Bourdieu's constructivism ignores subjectivity and intentionality and thus differs from Giddens' conceptualisation of the agent. Habitus is about the way people, on the basis of their position in social space, perceive and construct the social world. But the perception and construction are both animated and constrained by structures. It can be described as "the relationship between social structures and mental structures" (Bourdieu, 1984: 471). People's internalized schemes form a mechanism through which they perceive, understand, appreciate, and evaluate the social world. It is through these schemes that people both produce their practices and perceive and evaluate them. Dialectically, habitus are "the product of the internalisation of the structures" of the social world (Bourdieu, 1989: 18). Habitus represents internalised, embodied, social structures (1984: 468) and reflects objective divisions in the social structure, such as groups, genders and social classes. A habitus is acquired as a result of long-term occupation of a position within a social world. There can be a multitude of habitus. Bourdieu uses historicising language on habitus; it is acquired over the course of individual history and it is transportable from one field to another. It is both a 'structured structure' and a

¹⁶ This is because they aim to go beyond the work of structuralism. However, there is more continuity in their work with structuralism than with constructivism.

'structuring structure'. Practice then mediates between the habitus and the social world. According to Ritzer (2007: 406) "while practice tends to shape habitus, habitus, in turn, serves to both unify and generate practice." Importantly, while it is an internalised structure constraining thought and choice of action, it does not determine them. This is the crucial distinction between Bourdieu and the other structuralists. However, Morrisson (2005) sees the seeds for social change within the habitus, just as, for Giddens, social change is effected through the exercise of agency. Change is in the habitus for Bourdieu (the cognitive structure), while, for Giddens, it is the agent's action (through practical and discursive consciousness). Shilling, notes:

"Bourdieu's analysis is hampered by an overly reproductionist analysis of human behaviour....Bourdieu is unable to account satisfactorily for individuals who break free from the trajectories assigned to them by their background and training"

(2004: 474 in Morrisson, 2005: 324).

Bourdieu's work cannot consider agency without action and does not give credence to constructions without interaction. For Bourdieu, we are not conscious of habitus, it is beneath our consciousness, our language, our introspective scrutiny and our will, but we can analyse its manifestation in our most practical activities.

Jenkins (2002) provides useful advice on employing the concept of the field within research on the habitus. Firstly, the relationship of the field in question to the 'field of power', that is, politics, must be understood. The field of power is the dominant or preeminent field in any society and the source of power relations in all other fields. Secondly, Jenkins advises that within the field in question, one must construct a 'social typology' or map of the 'objective structure' of the positions which make up the field and the relationships between them in the competition for the fields' specific form of capital. Thirdly, the habitus(es) of the agents within the field must be analysed, along with the trajectories or strategies produced in the interaction between habitus and the constraints and opportunities determined by the structure of the field (Jenkins, 2002: 86).

Bourdieu's (1996) work on social capital may help us to understand the role of minorities within the field in a better capacity (Beider, 2009). Bourdieu sees social capital as a contested concept between different groups within society, where ideology, power and resources are important. People have cultural capital, built up through knowledge, skills and credentials, which helps to optimise economic capital, which in turn can enable different forms of choices, for example, housing choice. New minorities can be adversely affected in that they will have limited knowledge and skills because they are new arrivals, and may face barriers in language and a lack

of awareness by government and agencies of their needs. They may also be excluded from decision making machinery that shapes housing investment and decisions in local areas.

An approach that looks at the capital available to people can help to capture the opportunities that are available to different groups, rather than simply seeing them as passive recipients to institutional structures. Again, however, the concepts of class and race are reified at the expense of diversity and nuance. Hence, Bourdieu's conceptualisation focuses far less on the constructions of the agent and focuses instead on the relation between their mental structures and the social structure, and the way in which these play out in the field of power. Jenkins (2002) defines habitus as the collective social construction of the world, with practice remaining at the individual level. It seems that Giddens' theory of structuration provides useful tools to support the *analysis* of immigrants' housing through the concept of the housing pathway, but that a combination of both Giddens' and Bourdieu's work can be drawn on to explain *outcomes* within the field.

Conceptualising the Research 3 – Race and Ethnicity

Earlier, Clapham's model of the housing pathway was reviewed and Clegg's work on power was incorporated to explain why one social construction of reality is more prevalent than another. In relation to the topics of migration, mobility and difference, power weaves through discourses of race, ethnicity, and mobility. The earliest research on race and ethnicity emerged from the Chicago School where the US was, at that time, dealing with the legacy of slavery and segregation, and deep racism. In the UK, the investigation of race and ethnicity emerged as a topic from the 1980's onwards (Bloch and Solomos, 2010), with Michael Banton and John Rex establishing these roots (Banton, 1967; Rex, 1970). This section reviews the discourses around race and ethnicity.

Research on Race, Ethnicity and Housing

Most studies of immigration and housing, especially those that employ the concept of the housing career, use nationality as a proxy for ethnicity, with studies set up in such a way that certain numbers or certain nationalities are recruited. This use of nationality as a proxy for ethnicity, retaining quite a positivist approach, is common in housing research. There is little consideration of other markers of identity, of immigrants' own construction of their ethnicity, or of how important they feel their ethnicity is to them in their housing journeys. One exception to this is the work of Reeve and Robinson (2007), which employs the concept of the housing

pathway, and expressly seeks to explore the role of culture and ethnicity for their immigrant participants and the meaning they derive from this.

The majority of research within the discipline of housing studies sees ethnicity in objective terms, focusing on the topics of racism and discrimination. These are prominent barriers in accessing housing, which can be structural, institutional or subjective, coming from actors such as landlords, estate agents and neighbours (Lund, 2006; Ginsburg, 1991). Racism in the private rented sector, where the majority of migrants live, and where there can be widespread rent refusals or increased rents to immigrants, is noted as being more difficult to address (Dell'Olio, 2004; Edgar et al, 2004). According to Edgar et al. (2004: 85) "[r]acism and the power of gatekeepers is clearly more than just some occasional obstacle impeding immigrant access to the decent segments of European housing markets"; rather, it is an endemic and systematic feature of housing markets for immigrants. On the topic of tackling racism, Lemos (1997) highlights the need for a multi-agency approach, involving the police, social landlords, social services, education authorities, community agencies, legal departments, environmental health departments, and local probation offices. Because the prevention of the exclusion of migrants in the private rental market is difficult to implement, Bosswick et al (2007) suggest that the most viable approach to ensure access to affordable and acceptable housing for migrants is to have a sufficient stock of social housing.

As noted earlier, there are few studies which focus on experiences beyond ethnicity to other markers of social identity when it comes to researching the housing experiences of immigrants. Yet, there can be differences within groups (national groups), changes over time, and differences between locations (Murdie et al, 2002; Bowes et al, 2002). Ethnicity, gender, locality and class all play a role in housing outcomes, and "the diversity between and within groups makes it difficult to generalise and to theorise about race and ethnicity at the start of the 21st Century" (Guibernau and Rex, 2010: 214). The next section turns to review literature on subjective conceptualisations of ethnicity.

Conceptions of Race and Ethnicity

Guibernau and Rex (2010) mark out the two ways in which ethnicity can be conceptualised: "both as the basis of bonding in a group laying claim to a territory, and [....] in the process of migration to unite members of a group in their migration project" (2010: 7). Ethnicity has a dual nature, and is about both what members of a group claim and feel for themselves, and that which is attributed to them by others – internal and external processes of ethnicity. Smith (1998) highlights the power of symbols, rituals, traditions, and ways of life as key components. Bloch

and Solomos (2010) refer to the fluid nature of ethnicity, a conceptualisation that is advocated by Beider (2009) within analysis of social agency, and incorporates the inherently shifting ways in which racial and ethnic boundaries are made and remade. As fluid concepts, race and ethnicity must incorporate the undocumented or forms of documentation (including dependent spouses), transnational links such as remittances, and the intersection of ethnicity and disadvantage. Self-identification is also shaped by the attributions of others, such as agents of the state and agents of a dominant ethnic group.

The concepts of race and ethnicity form an intrinsic and extrinsic part of people's identity. Clapham (2005) incorporates identity into his conception of the housing pathway, as part of people's life project, and both the continuity and change along their pathways. Identity, of which ethnicity is a varying component, is forged through social interaction and forms who we are as individuals and how we project ourselves to others (Jenkins, 1996). Drawing on the work of Taylor (1998), Clapham refers to both 'categorical identity' and 'ontological identity'. The former, comprised of labels by ourselves and society, such as class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality or indeed housing tenure, mediates between society and the self. The self then, that is, ontological identity, is made of a forging of these elements into a coherent sense of self identity.

Brubaker (2001) approaches ethnicity from a post-modern and constructivist perspective. He criticises the reification of the concept of identity, and its reification with culture, where race, ethnicity, nation, and class are assumed to have existence. Brubaker argues that, instead, they should be conceptualised in relational, processual, dynamic, eventful and disaggregated terms, as political, cultural and psychological phenomena and as events that happen rather than fixed and given phenomena.

Questions of identity are at the heart of both historical and contemporary accounts of race and ethnicity (Bloch and Solomos, 2010). This incorporates belonging, a sense of personal location, the stable core of one's individuality, social relationships, and involvement with others. There are infinite belongings, and the focus and priority depends on many things, with the values that we share with others being central. The preoccupation with identity can be taken as one outcome of concerns about where minorities in contemporary societies actually belong. Identity and belonging have become an even more central aspect of racialized discourses and mobilisations and they play a role in shaping experiences of racial and ethnic minorities.

In researching ethnicity, it is important to be reflexive in the way that we talk about the identity of others, so that the issue is not politicised outside of the person's conceptualisation (Block and Solomos, 2010). And, as referenced earlier, there is a need to be attentive to the boundaries

drawn on ethnicity, in the sense that they may obscure commonalities along other lines. For example, stressing racial and ethnic differences may obscure the experiences and interests that women share across ethnicities.

A different issue, then, is the way in which citizenship and the economic and social rights of immigrants matter and the fact that more broadly, issues of identity, difference and culture need to be considered next to broader questions about the substance of democracy and citizenship. In the context of racist nationalism, and transnational migration and networks, and multiple, circular and return migrations, categories such as migrant and refugee no longer describe the realities of migration and settlement. Nevertheless, "people are differentiated by citizenship, immigration status and immigration controls, as well as geographical, social and economic marginalisation" (Bloch and Solomos, 2010: 213) and immigrants are situated within a hierarchy of rights which impact on their everyday life.

Thus, overall, a final note from Bloch and Solomos (2010) provides concise advice on how to examine ethnicity, in particular in light of Ratcliffe's (2009) call for a reconceptualization of agency to include fluid notions of 'ethnicity', 'ethnic group' and 'community'. For them, what matters instead is the *everydayness* of how race and ethnicity is experienced by individuals, groups, communities, and within institutions.

"This is how we can begin to advance our conceptual frameworks in directions that can make them more sensitive to the nuanced and complex varieties of racism in contemporary society"

(Bloch and Solomos, 2010: 12).

Conceptualising the Research 4 – Grounded Theory

This section reviews the origins and use of Grounded Theory, a methodological approach for the generation of "an abstract analytical schema of a process" (Creswell, 2007: 63). This method assists in generating conceptual insights through exploratory studies. Also emanating from the Chicago School of Sociology, the method was first developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in 1967 as a way to be scientific in standards for qualitative research.¹⁷ It is rooted in

¹⁷ In response to criticisms from the positivist tradition on the scientific value of more ethnographic and interpretivist research traditions, those which had developed as part of the Chicago School tradition. Glaser and Strauss developed a set of procedures and guidelines for the analysis of data collected through observation and interview. The original conception was quite objectivist in approach, in response to criticisms of a lack of scientific value. Later though, a more constructivist orientation emerged. This caused a conflict between Glaser and Strauss and they diverged in their approaches. Strauss formed a new partnership with Juliet Corbin (1990), to further develop the more constructionist approach to the

symbolic interactionism, the guiding epistemology of the Chicago School. Within this epistemology, people construct their reality through interaction and are therefore active participants in the meaning created in situations. The approach searches for social processes within human interaction and aims to understand how people define their reality via their social interactions. As an approach, it seeks to refine ideas (Creswell, 2007). The basic components of grounded theory are: that it begins with an inductive method; that it engages in simultaneous data collection and analysis; that it emphasises constructing the analysis; and that it aims to construct middle range theories (as advocated by Castles for explaining changes resulting from migration). The key processes of grounded theory are: theoretical sampling, coding, theoretical saturation, constant comparison (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Open coding, axial coding and selective coding are used to manage data. Concepts, "the building blocks of theory" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 101) are produced through open coding. Axial coding works towards establishing properties, and selective coding is about refining and elaborating on ideas. Using these coding mechanisms, concepts and categories may be generated from the data. Categories consist of both properties and dimensions, built on concepts generated from the data. A key principle of grounded theory is to fully saturate categories in terms of variation and meaning (Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

Grounded theory is criticised for remaining at the substantive rather than the theoretical level, as Charmaz, (1983) elaborates, although she claims that generating knowledge at the conceptual level is a satisfactory enterprise. It is also often criticised for remaining vague on certain points such as the difference between concepts and categories. For example, while Strauss and Corbin refer to theoretical sampling as "sampling on the basis of emerging concepts" (1998: 73), Charmaz writes that "it is used to develop our emerging categories" (2000: 519).

Overall, Grounded Theory is a valuable tool for working towards theories of the middle range which may best explain processes within social change resulting from migration (Castles, 2007) and help to build towards a theory to explain the outcomes of immigrant housing. It is possible to borrow generally from the toolbox of procedures of grounded theory, rather than employ all elements of it in a dogmatic fashion.

analysis of data. Later, Kathy Charmaz enhanced the constructionist approach further still (Charmaz, 2006).

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature on housing and immigration, set out the need for the current research, and examined the conceptual traditions which frame the research interest. The chapter began by setting the historical scene and reviewing the tradition of place-based research that emerged from the Chicago School of Sociology. It discussed a seminal study on housing and immigration published in 1967, which drew on this tradition before turning to more contemporary developments. This was followed by a review of the empirical knowledge on immigration and housing, and an account of the notable absence of theory within housing. Initiatives to introduce social constructionism into the discipline were then examined.

Subsequent to this, the matters of conceptual importance were reviewed. The formulation of the housing pathway, a research approach to investigate people's housing behaviour, was reviewed, and then the 'theories of practice' developed by Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu were explored. The chapter then provided an account of the consideration of theories of race and ethnicity and the range of conceptualisations that apply to the current study. This was followed by an explication of grounded theory, a method for the generation of concepts and theory. The concepts reviewed in this chapter span a range of functions – some as guiding concepts for the study, some as building blocks for theory development and some as potential explanatory tools for the study's findings. The next chapter outlines the research design and the procedures and processes that guided the conduct of the study in some detail.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCHING IMMIGRANTS' HOUSING EXPERIENCES

Introduction

Having charted the housing policy environment in Ireland, the principal theoretical traditions on immigration and housing within sociology, and the justification for the research, this chapter turns to the way in which the methodological principles and values of social constructionism informed the conduct of the study. It outlines how these principles guided the design and conduct of the research and provided a framework for the analysis of the data.

The study, in aiming to explore the housing experiences of immigrants in a changing housing system during the wave of immigration from 1998 – 2008, set out to examine experiences in the housing system within a defined geographical area and to explore the movements of immigrants into and through this housing system. It sought to examine, in-depth, immigrants' lives since moving to Ireland; their working, living and housing arrangements; their feelings and perceptions about these arrangements; and how and in what way they think about and make choices about housing. Importantly, it sought to embed this experience within broader notions of identity and lifestyle, particularly in relation to the concepts of home, belonging, and place. Following on from these general aims, the specific research objectives were to:

- 1. Describe the structure of the town's housing system and the points at which it interfaces with immigrants' movements through it.
- 2. Examine immigrants' experiences, views and interpretations of their housing situations and their understanding of the housing system in which they reside.
- Identify immigrants' aspirations in relation to housing; the resources and knowledge drawn on to realise these aspirations; and the way in which these aspirations are mediated by context.
- 4. Explore peoples' orientations towards housing and home in the context of their broader migratory experience and how this relates to their housing situations in this housing system.
- 5. Investigate the way in which the housing system and housing institutions in the area are responding to this mobile and diverse population.

This research aims to contribute to existing knowledge in two ways, as called for by Castles (2007): empirically, to a further understanding of the social impact of increased mobility and diversity on the housing system and, theoretically, to produce greater conceptual clarity on immigrant housing experiences, as part of a broader context at the local level, in a globalised world. These questions and the material gathered during this study hope to generate:

- New understandings of what this population change and increased diversity means for both housing policy and social policy.
- Knowledge about the way in which the housing system impacts on immigrants' housing outcomes.
- Information about the needs that immigrants' may have in terms of housing, family and social support, in their transition to a life in Ireland.
- An understanding of what these issues mean for questions around the integration of immigrants and the role that housing plays in that integration.

This chapter begins with an account of the methodological principles that guided the conduct of a research project that is closely aligned with the tenets of social constructionism. This is followed by an explanation of the qualitative methodology employed. The methodological principles governing the research design, as well as the processes of access and recruitment are then set out in some detail, followed by an account of the methods of data collection. The process of conducting the field work, including a discussion of the challenges and practical and ethical dilemmas associated with the conduct of research with immigrants in a community setting, is the subject of considerable attention. The chapter concludes with an account of the procedures employed in the analysis of the data.

Researching Immigrants' Housing Experiences

With the general aim of exploring the housing experiences of immigrants in a changing housing system during the wave of immigration from 1998 – 2008, the study was committed to an interpretivist epistemological position, which views knowledge and truth as socially constructed and seeks to uncover the dynamics, complexities and contradictions of a particular social world. This approach was deemed most appropriate to exploring, uncovering and understanding the social worlds of immigrants as they navigate the housing system, and to achieving a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of context and structure of the field and of the processes and meanings associated with that field. Thus, the research sought to explore the "perspectives,

motivations and desires of the individual" (Becker, 1963: 34), as well as "the social or structural processes by which such meanings are created, reinforced and reproduced" (Neale et al, 2013: 1). In reviewing the paradigm of social constructionism within housing research, Jacobs and Manzi refer to a "new research agenda" (2000: 35), which views problems in housing in terms of how they come to be defined and not as social facts. This approach contrasts with quantitative research paradigms which seek to identify causal relationships and generalizable patterns. In order to explore these processes comprehensively, a place-based or community study was designed. Situating the research within a geographically defined area allows for an intricate examination of salient issues of process and meaning whilst simultaneously accounting for structure and context, and facilitating the use of a range of research methods to achieve 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973). The ensuing sections chart the "conceptual landscapes" (Cloke, May and Johnsen, 2010: 20) that informed the design of this research.

Researching Immigrants' Housing Experiences - A Place Based Study

Extending back to the works of Becker (1963), Berger and Luckman (1966) and Blumer (1969), social constructionism has spawned a strong tradition in ethnographic and in-depth studies on migration, housing, and identity in both the US (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; 2003; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters, 2004; Kibria, 2003; Levitt, 2001; Mahler, 1995; Waters, 1999) and the UK (Bell and Newby, 1975; Cloke, May and Johnsen, 2010; Rex and Moore, 1967; Rex and Tomlinson, 1979; Rogaly and Taylor, 2009), with the theoretical underpinnings weaving through these studies reflecting the phenomena of their time. More recently, Castles (2007), Penninx, Spencer and Van Hear (2008), and Ratcliffe (2009) have separately argued for research that captures the broader social changes that accompany immigration, with the latter making this case specifically for the field of housing studies. The current work seeks to answer these calls via the conduct of a place-based, in-depth study.

The current study is set against a backdrop of structural changes in the Irish housing system, with the private rented sector experiencing something of a revival (Threshold, 2012), and with immigration having become a permanent feature of Irish society (CSO, 2011). In this context, a

¹⁸ For example, Rex and Moore (1967) examined the social ecology of the city drawing on theories of class dynamics to develop a model of 'housing classes' to explain racial differences in the housing structure. Levitt (2001) examined transnational movements between the US and the Dominican Republic, charting the development of communities that span borders. And Rogaly and Taylor (2009) examined shifting notions of place, belonging, class relations, and identity, on UK social housing estates opening up to new residents.

place-based in-depth study facilitates an exploration of the processes of change occurring at the local level against the backdrop of these broader structural changes. It allows for a rich and detailed portrayal of key components of the housing system in a specific geographical area and of the housing actors and institutions that operate within a selected rural town. Crucially, a place-based study facilitates an investigation of the meanings that immigrant residents attach to the setting and of the understandings that they bring to the landscape. There are claims that social constructionism focuses too heavily on micro-level interactions and does not relate these to the macro-structures of society, with inadequate attention paid to issues of power, that is, why one social construction of society is accepted more than another (Jacobs, Kemeny and Manzi, 2004). A place-based study addresses these critiques, allowing for a strong portrayal of the institutional and social milieu, the meanings that immigrants attach to this milieu, and an incorporation of the analysis of power.

The "new research agenda" within housing studies (Jacobs and Manzi, 2000: 35) has been greatly enhanced by David Clapham's work on the concept of the housing pathway (Clapham, 2002; 2005). The pathways concept was developed in order to research, rather than assume, people's housing attitudes and behaviours and several recent studies have drawn on this pathways approach (Mayock et al, 2008; Netto, 2010; Pillinger, 2008; Robinson et al, 2007; Smith, 2014). The current study draws on the concept of the housing pathway as a mechanism to prioritise the worldview of the study participants, as the next section outlines.

Researching Immigrants' Housing Experiences - The Housing Pathway

The concept of the housing pathway is defined as "patterns of interaction (practices) concerning house and home, over time and space" (Clapham, 2002: 63) and is a metaphor that can provide a frame for a research methodology. As a metaphor, Clapham proposes that the pathways concept is a useful way of "ordering the housing field in a way which foregrounds the meanings held by households, and interactions which shape housing practices, as well as emphasising the dynamic nature of housing experience and its inter-relatedness with other aspects of household life" (2002: 64). It therefore provides a valuable tool for researchers who seek to prioritise the world view of their participants.

Clapham bases his development of this concept on the premise that, in the context of post-modernity, "framed by globalisation and risk, researchers cannot assume universal household attitudes and motivating forces and that lifestyle and housing choice need to be researched

rather than assumed" (Mayock et at, 2008: 31). This is all the more relevant in a world in which migration, mobility and diversity are defining features.

The pathways metaphor has been employed in several studies of homelessness (Anderson, 2001; Mayock et al, 2008; Stojanovic, 1999) and the concept of a pathway builds on that of the 'career', which originated in Becker's work (1963) on deviance and criminal careers. The concept of the homeless career is also visible in much housing and homelessness research (Bolt and Van Kempen, 2002; Bowes et al, 2002; Day, 2003; May, 2001; MacKenzie and Chamberlain, 2003; Murdie, 2002.). Drawing on studies of homelessness, Fopp (2009) offers a helpful synopsis of the distinction between the two:

"To have a career path is to follow a socially acceptable and prescribed path which, paradoxically, allows employees to extend their bounds within acceptable, perhaps even laudatory, limits. By contrast, homelessness is regarded as transgressing onto deviant paths, with the potential to lead others astray. Homelessness thus analysed blurs the boundaries between actions which are socially acceptable and those which are not. In this sense, the metaphor of career, although it may be "superficial"...[...]..., can be identified as being attached to deeper and more conceptual metaphors such as "moral bounds" (linked as they are to "moral strength" and "moral health"). In this case, the "career" metaphor bolsters the underlying conservative social expectations and values. In so far as it is associated in the vernacular with normative criteria, the "pathway" of homelessness is regarded as deviating from socially acceptable paths."

(Fopp, 2009: 288)

The concept of the pathway permits an analysis of social practices and meanings, taking the analysis beyond that of physical changes examined under the concept of the career. Furthermore, it contains a conceptualisation of choices, of intersections and of junctions as processes, an element that does not exist in the concept of the career. Distinctions in the methods used can be observed in studies of housing careers and housing pathways, with the former tending to employ statistical analysis of housing moves (Abramsson, 2008; Bolt and Van Kempen, 2002) and the latter employing qualitative methods of primary data collection (Robinson et al, 2007).

The pathways approach has informed research on immigration and housing in a number of jurisdictions, including Ireland (Pillinger, 2008), England (Robinson et al, 2007), and Scotland (Netto, 2010). All three of these studies were situated within specific geographical locations, although they focused on the housing transitions of immigrants and not on broader social

¹⁹ In 2002, the journal *Housing, Theory and Society* (Volume 19) ran a series of articles debating the merits of social constructionism in housing research in Issues 2 and 3 of the journal that year. The following year, 2003, (Volume 20), Issue 4 contained a special focus on research on housing careers. The journal *Housing Studies* also ran a series of articles on researching into the housing careers of immigrants in a range of locations in its 2002 edition (Volume 17, Issue 3).

changes in the areas under study. The pathways metaphor is deployed in the current research in a more holistic sense with the aim of exploring the housing experiences of migrants situated within a contextualisation of the broader changes within a local housing system, thus foregrounding interaction, time, and space, which are key components of the housing pathways metaphor.

Researching Immigrants' Housing Experiences - Grounded Theory

The research approach in this study is primarily framed by the metaphor of the housing pathway with the aim of exploring the meanings, motivations and attitudes of immigrants in their consumption of housing, viewing the experience of housing as a process that is subject to change over time. Since the *pathway* is a metaphor and not a theory, this study is informed by many of the principles of grounded theory – that is, the development of bottom-up, inductive theory that is grounded in the data (Creswell, 2005; Charmaz, 2006). This allows for an open exploration and analysis of *the housing experiences of immigrants in a changing housing system during the wave of immigration from 1998 – 2008.*

Briefly, Grounded Theory was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in their pioneering publication entitled, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, when they outlined a method that "arises from and, to date, relies on Chicago School Sociology" (Charmaz, 1983: 110). In its earlier conceptions, it was an attempt to formalise approaches to qualitative data analysis and provide standards and checks to match those used to maintain rigour in quantitative studies. In this sense, it drew on the positivist tradition. Glaser and Strauss later diverged in their interpretations of its uses, with Strauss developing a more constructionist sensibility (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). These different underlying philosophies continued to inform their divergent applications of the theory and method. Later, Charmaz (1983; 2000; 2006) developed further guidelines on how to work with qualitative data using grounded theory in an approach that attempted to make the practice more nuanced and reflexive. The current study draws on the guidelines established by Charmaz (2006).

Grounded Theory is an approach in which data collection and analysis continue throughout the study in an iterative process that is theoretically sensitive. Analysis commences alongside the process of data collection and informs later phases of data collection. Through coding the data for concepts, and generating categories until their dimension and properties are fully saturated, grounded theory allows for the development of theories of the middle range (Castles, 2007;

Charmaz, 2006).²⁰ The metaphor of the housing pathway then guides an analysis of process and identity and the principles of grounded theory are employed to illuminate conceptual insights.

Having outlined the conceptual heritages guiding the conduct of this study, the remainder of this chapter turns to the processes of entering, moving through, and exiting the field.

Choosing a Setting - Considerations of Place

Recent explorations of new immigrant gateways (Waters, 2005) and new geographies of migration (Reeve, 2008) have centred on sites beyond the multi-ethnic metropolis (Reeve and Robinson, 2007), reflecting the social changes resulting from the impact of economic restructuring and government policies towards those seeking asylum. The recruitment of labour to rural areas to meet labour demand in the agri-food, construction and services sectors, as well as government policies of dispersing reception centres for irregular migrants seeking asylum, mean that rural spaces are no longer seen as homogenous or characterised by emigration (Reeve and Robinson, 2007).²¹

The immigration of non-Irish nationals to Ireland was characterised by this trend. Urban centres were not the only places to witness immigration, with towns across the country seeing the proportion of non-Irish residents rising to approximately 10% of their populations (CSO, 2008; O'Boyle and Fanning, 2009). The diffusion of immigrants throughout the labour market in Ireland was a new phenomenon and one which is unlike the historic migration patterns apparent in other countries where settlement has predominantly been in cities and where, as a consequence, the bulk of existing research on housing and immigration has focused (Arbaci, 2009; Harsman, 2006; Johnston et al, 2001). This geographic dispersal is a unique feature of this first accelerated wave of migration to Ireland and provides an opportunity to explore in-depth, and for the first time, this new geography of migration in the Irish context. Thus, a rural site for the study was targeted.²²

 $^{^{20}}$ Indeed, Charmaz claims that much analysis remains at the substantive level with the testing of concepts through constant comparison remaining under-utilised.

²¹ In Ireland, the effect of emigration on Irish towns was captured vividly in a series of newspaper articles by John Healy entitled *No One Shouted Stop*, later published as *Death of an Irish Town* in 1968.

²² Before reaching this decision, I had also considered situating the research somewhere in Dublin 15, the region of Dublin to experience the highest influx of migration and the part of the country that now has the highest proportion of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Ireland. However, Pillinger (2008) had situated her research in this area and given that areas with high proportions of immigrants have been studied elsewhere, I was eager to shift the lens to a rural setting.

A suitable site in which to situate the study required a place with a varied population in terms of immigrant status and ethnicity in order to facilitate the recruitment of a diverse range of participants. It also required an institutional terrain that would facilitate inroads or entrée to the field. Against this backdrop, I considered a number of towns within a rural region of Ireland, finally settling on the town of Irishtown.²³

While other towns were considered, this one was selected because it had a larger population and a network of organisations that could potentially facilitate access to the site, with publicly available information on various prominent potential gatekeepers. Irishtown recorded a population of 12,318 people in the Census of 2011 (CSO, 2011). It is also a County Town, home to the principal administrative and local government offices for the county, the County Hospital, a network of community and voluntary organisations, and shopping and leisure centres. Especially important was the presence of a migrant rights organisation with an active base in the town, which could potentially be a valuable source of collaboration for the research. Statistically, about 10% of Irishtown's population are non-Irish nationals and, interestingly, 32% of its housing stock is private rented accommodation, a proportion substantially above the national average for rural towns in Ireland. For these reasons, Irishtown offered an ideal location in which to situate the research. A final consideration in selecting this site was a cultural one. My extended family on the paternal side reside in the same county, though none live in Irishtown. My surname was relatively well recognised in the county and, having visited the area throughout most of my life, I had some loose connections to the area, which I anticipated would provide me with the necessary social capital to access the site and potential research participants in a meaningful way. This anticipation proved correct, as the next section reveals.

Processes of Accessing the Site and Participants

"Gaining access to a research site is not a one-off event. It is instead a social process that occurs throughout a research project. Indeed, the access that a researcher obtains influences not only the physical accessibility but also the development of the design, collection, analysis and dissemination phases of the investigation"

(Burgess, 1991: 52).

²³ In this study, the name of Irishtown is a pseudonym attributed to the study site in order to ensure the anonymity of the study's participants. There are two real locations in Ireland by the name of Irishtown – one suburb in Dublin City and one rural village in the west of Ireland. It is important to clarify that neither of these locations are connected to the study in any way and that the name of Irishtown in the current study is entirely fictional.

"Access should not be thought of as an initial phase of entry to the research setting around which a bargain can be struck. Instead, it is best seen as involving an ongoing, if often implicit, process, in which the researchers' right to be present is continually renegotiated"

(Johnson, 1975 in Lee, 1993: 122).

This section outlines my route into and through the field, a route along which several physical, institutional and social topographies were negotiated and continually renegotiated (Johnson, 1975). These negotiations shaped every aspect of the conduct of the research (Burgess, 1991) in a process that is frequently "ill-defined, unpredictable and uncontrollable" (Wanat, 2008: 193). What follows is a detailed account of these processes; it describes decisions, events and happenings that took place over time, from prior to entering the field through to the conclusion of the fieldwork. The way in which the methodological principles presented earlier informed the research instruments, as well as the process of collecting data, will be discussed later in this chapter.

Accessing Irishtown: An Ongoing and Multi-Faceted Negotiation

In April 2011, having selected the town of Irishtown as a suitable location within which to explore immigrant housing experiences in a changing housing system, and having received approval from the Research and Ethics Approval Committee at Trinity College, Dublin, I began preparations to enter the field. I carried out a full background search on the town, examining reports and figures from the local government authorities;²⁴ perusing provincial media reports, both online and in hard copy; researching the range of community organisations in the town; and noting the names and professional profiles of any people who might act as potential gatekeepers to the research site. From very early in the process, one prominent community development worker who had set up a migrant rights' support and advocacy organisation, and who had also recently been elected as a town councillor for the first time, was identified as a crucial gatekeeper, whose support was deemed to be imperative. I made contact with her, outlining the study proposal, and arranged a meeting in April 2011. This meeting was successful in gaining support and credibility for the project, achieving access and, crucially, cooperation

²⁴ At the time of research, Irishtown was under the remit of two Government authorities: a town council and also a wider county council. At the time of research, both institutions were involved in the regulation of housing within the town. In October 2012, the Government of Ireland proposed the abolition of town councils, an abolition which came into effect following the local elections in May 2014. See the Action Programme for Effective Local Government:

http://www.environ.ie/en/PublicationsDocuments/FileDownLoad,31309,en.pdf

(Wanat, 2008). It was also a key step in identifying other relevant actors in the field. At this first meeting the community development worker immediately contacted an academic who worked at an education institution in the town, provided me with the names of various people I may find useful to contact, and promoted my research and posters within the migrant right's organisation. Thus, my mapping of the institutional and social terrain of Irishtown moved from behind the desk to the social setting of the town.

Thus, the Community Assessment Process, a procedure informed by Clatts et al (2002), commenced in April 2011 with this first meeting held to gain access to the study site. A community assessment process is one which is designed to build a profile of the setting in question, targets a range of relevant institutional actors for information, and seeks to facilitate access to participants for the study. It provides information about the setting at the systems level, the service delivery level and the street level (Clatts et al, 2002).

In order to enter the field from another direction, I also contacted a relative of mine who worked in Irishtown as a fundraiser. This provided an entirely separate route to the field as he put me in contact with a retired councillor (a local historian), who he advised would provide an insightful account of the socio-historical context of the town. He also provided the names of various members of the local authority executive and of auctioneers who he felt would be helpful to the research, as well as providing me with insider knowledge on their roles and approaches to their work. Wanat (2008) conceptualises this process as gatekeeping up and down, a process which commences a learning of the "micro-politics" (Duke, 2002: 45) of a site.

From these early meetings several others snowballed within a short period of time and I met with many of the recommended individuals referred to above. I continued to search for novel routes into the field, and contacted a local historian who had written a book about the history of the different streets in Irishtown, some of the council executive directly,²⁵ and another auctioneer whose name was provided to me by a resident of Irishtown. This period was a busy and productive one in terms of making contacts, distributing information leaflets throughout the study town, attending events,²⁶ developing a social map of the landscape and refining the data collection instruments. I distributed information leaflets about the study (see Appendix B) in shops and local businesses (including estate agents and restaurants) and public offices, including the town library, community centres, and the local Garda station. I was also provided

²⁵ I had limited success in my efforts to contact members of the local authority executive directly. Efforts where the connection to previous gatekeepers were strong were more successful.

²⁶ Details of these are given in the section on Data Collection in this chapter.

with office space in a HSE²⁷ office in the town centre and with access to the library and rooms in which to carry out interviews in the education institution in the town. These early informal meetings with institutional gatekeepers were part and parcel of a Community Assessment Process'²⁸ (Clatts et al, 2002; Clark et al, 2003).²⁹ The knowledge and perspectives garnered as part of these early interviews were dependent on the role of the actor in question (Duke, 2002; Harvey, 2011).

"To become part of a social scene and participate in it requires that the researcher be accepted to some degree. This period of moving into a setting is both analytically and personally important"

(May, 2011: 173).

May's advice points to the importance of social access, beyond physical access, which is required to gain trust and build sufficient rapport to successfully carry out the fieldwork. According to Lee (1993), this form of access is far more difficult to achieve than physical access. Although I was born and raised in Dublin, my extended family on the paternal side were situated in the same county as Irishtown and I had visited them frequently throughout my life. My surname was also relatively known in this county and some relations within the county were known for their professional activities. My extended family background facilitated conversations around mutual acquaintances and connections and gave a starting point for conversation, rapport, and an ability to place me. My knowledge of local issues at the county level also facilitated this. Duke (2002) contends that, for good research, a researcher must have street sense, personal knowledge and a connection to the worlds under study and this was facilitated by my connection to the wider area, though not to Irishtown itself. On several occasions I was jokingly referred to as a 'returned émigré' rather than a 'blow-in'. One of the research supervisors' name and family were also known within this area and, in the same way, the recognition of her name and family brought conversation, trust and a sense of credibility and substance to the research. These forms of social capital facilitated a connection, a start-point, as well as a sense of ease to conversations and were essential in facilitating an acceptance within the institutional networks of the town. It was clear through people's reaction to my family background that an enhanced sense of ease, rapport and trust was achieved that may not have been possible otherwise. While this enhanced connection is welcome, there are drawbacks in that it can be more difficult to

²⁷ This was an office of the Health Services Executive, the organisation which runs all public health services in Ireland. I met a manager of this organisation at the launch of a multi-lingual booklet on services in the region and she offered me a desk space upon hearing of my research.

²⁸ The data collected as part of this process is discussed later.

²⁹ A community assessment process is designed to build a profile of the setting in question (Clatts et al, 2002). Its components and procedures will are outlined in the section on 'Data Collection – Procedures and Instruments' in this chapter.

report on the data collected in cases where it may offend or violate the trust built within these relationships at a later date.

Despite references to my status as a 'returned émigré' rather than a 'blow-in', in truth, a 'blow-in' better describes my early interactions with the research landscape and the task that lay ahead in terms of mapping the political and institutional terrain and in navigating the web of relationships within Irishtown. At each step I was offered names and advice on the value or character of different connections. For example, I was advised by one member of the town council executive not to contact another senior member, as she surmised that his knowledge was more managerial than interactive in nature and that he may not be able to substantively assist me in my research. In other cases, the importance of contacting particular people was stressed, as they had extensive knowledge of the history and geography of Irishtown. These judgements of actors in terms of their competence in their job and in terms of their character were commonplace throughout the process and illustrate the very real impact of gatekeeper bias (Wanat, 2008) when attempting to access to a field site and the implicit dilemmas of how power and regulation influence the direction and extent of access open to the research (Duke, 2002). While I noted all of the comments and advice that I received, I proceeded to contact all persons who I judged to be of relevance to the Community Assessment Process.

The final number of people interviewed as part of this process totalled nine, and these interviews were supplemented by ongoing less formal conversations that occurred throughout the entire phase of the fieldwork. The nine individuals interviewed included two auctioneers, two housing officers of the local authority, two community development workers, a volunteer at a charity in Irishtown, a retired councillor, and a historian. My interview requests were refused by several other members of the local authority executive, who claimed that they did not feel their expertise was relevant to the study, and by some other auctioneers, who claimed they were too busy. Community Welfare Officers in the town were also invited to participate but these interviews did not materialise. Additional conversations were held with other local authority councillors, the town clerk, volunteers at the migrant rights organisation, and residents of the town who I met throughout the course of the fieldwork, as I sought to map the terrain of Irishtown from a multitude of perspectives.³⁰

³⁰ This terrain will be detailed in full in Chapter 4.

The Sampling and Recruitment of Participants

The first meeting as part of the access process, outlined above, took place in April 2011. I formally entered the field in June 2011, and moved to Irishtown for a period of 18 months. The final Community Assessment Process interview took place in June 2012, with one additional interview conducted in April 2013.³¹ Throughout this time, I was also engaged heavily in the process of accessing and recruiting immigrant residents in the town, a process which is outlined in this next section. While the study participants include both individuals from the community assessment and immigrant tenants, the findings of the thesis are organised primarily around the accounts of the immigrants. Thus, for ease of writing, from this point onwards 'participants' refers to the immigrant tenants. The first participant interview was carried out in June 2011, with the final one conducted in July 2012.³² The principles and strategies that were employed in the sampling and recruitment of participants are discussed below, as are the ways in which research relationships were managed during the recruitment process (Devers and Frankel, 2000).

Sampling Strategy

A core aim of the sampling strategy was to include as diverse a range of experiences as possible, to reflect the diversity of the origin of the participants, their lives in the town, and the way in which this diversity would play out in Irishtown's houses and neighbourhoods. The study was designed in this way so as to get beyond a common trend in housing research which examines the careers of low-income migrants categorised in terms of their nationality and/or ethnicity (Robinson et al, 2007; Pillinger, 2008)³³ and to broaden the lens out to include the full range of immigrants moving through the private rented sector. This approach aimed to facilitate a more thorough examination of key processes within the entire housing system that impact on the experiences of residents. I aspired to achieve this diversity along participant characteristics including gender, age, nationality and socio-economic status. Given this aim, I designed a

³¹ A social policy seminar in Irishtown on which I participated and presented in April 2013 also yielded information and data to the Community Assessment Process. As part of this I carried out one updated interview with a community development worker in April 2013. A number of changes in policies on housing need had taken place and the aim of the interview was to discuss the impact of these policy changes on people's experiences of accessing housing support since the initial phase of the fieldwork.

³² Two further interviews were carried out with third country nationals in April 2013 and July 2013. I had experienced significant difficulty in recruiting third country nationals and my access to these two participants emerged following my attendance at a workshop on intercultural understanding in March 2013.

³³ In their studies, Robinson et al (2007) recruited participants through community organisations and Pillinger (2008) recruited via peer researchers trained to recruit and interview participants throughout her study, a form of snowballing. Both of these sampling approaches resulted in quite homogenous samples.

purposive sampling strategy (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Sampling purposively, or 'with purpose', allows for the targeting of participants with features and characteristics relevant to the phenomena under investigation, while also facilitating sampling for theory. According to Tuckett (2004: 52), "[p]urposeful/theoretical sampling attempts to select research participants according to criteria determined by the research purpose but also as guided by the unfolding theorising". When sampling, much relies on events and opportunities that arise in the field, and the methodological consequences of this must be considered throughout the conduct of the study. A sampling strategy is crucial, "so that, faced with practical difficulties and constraints, you are able to take strategic decisions, and to have a broader understanding of their consequences for your study" (Mason, 1996: 104). The inclusion criteria for recruitment to the study were as follows:

- Male or Female
- 'European Union', 'Refugee' or 'Third-Country' Immigrant Status
- Low Income or High Income
- Over 18 years of age

Alongside these criteria, participants had to be living in the town at the time of interview, living in Ireland for up to ten years and in any tenure type, since the private rented sector would, in all likelihood, have featured in participants' housing histories at some point. Citizens of the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand were excluded from the study because of pre-existing migration patterns between Ireland and these countries.

Procedures for Recruitment

"Fieldwork is a continual process of reflection and alteration of the focus of observations in accordance with analytic developments"

(May, 2011: 175).

This section documents the processes of accessing and recruiting participants for interview. It details the procedures and challenges associated with building a profile of the town in terms of its immigrant residents, the process of developing rapport and a good reputation, and the experience of sustaining meaningful relationships with the gatekeepers and residents as the research progressed. This section also details how the forms of access and recruitment shifted during the course of the fieldwork, as various challenges emerged, and as new avenues opened

up and others closed. These shifting happenings, decisions and events are outlined here in some detail.

In keeping with the aim of achieving as great a diversity as possible in the sample, a range of recruitment strategies were employed throughout the fieldwork process.³⁴ As the time of entering the field, I planned to use gatekeepers to access early participants and to use snowballing, where possible and appropriate, thereafter³⁵ (Faugier and Sargeant, 1997; Atkinson and Flint, 2001.). I also prepared information leaflets for distribution in an effort to 'advertise' the study in a way that would support the recruitment process.³⁶ As the fieldwork process matured, and access points opened and closed, I responded with a mix of opportunistic sampling, list sampling, direct outreach sampling, and targeted sampling (Faugier, 1996; Lee, 1993; Watters and Biernacki, 1989). All of these recruitment strategies fed into an overarching theoretical sampling strategy. The details of these processes are now discussed.

The Early Recruitment of Participants

During the early stages of the research I sought access to participants through my meetings with gatekeepers, and through other connections established with residents of Irishtown at this time. My two new housemates, with whom I lived for the entire period of the fieldwork, suggested all migrant residents they knew in the town.³⁷ I also accessed existing networks (Devers and Frankel, 2000) and approached a resident I had been referred to through a mutual acquaintance to suggest other potential participants. These three individuals put me in touch with their own migrant acquaintances, both personal or work related, and generally promoted my research within their own networks. At this time, an unexpected phone call from a volunteer at the migrant rights organisation provided the opportunity to conduct a first interview, when she agreed to take part in the research.

The early recruitment strategies therefore comprised a combination of advertising, networking and snowballing (Lee, 1993). At this point I accepted all offers to participate because of the value

³⁴ Research on housing typically recruits immigrants through community groups, particularly in the UK where there are long-standing relationships between community organisations and research institutes. Different approaches needed to be employed in the current study in order to achieve the required diversity.

³⁵ As part of snowballing at this stage, I planned to request connections with different characteristics to the participant who had just been interviewed.

³⁶ Details about these will be discussed in the following section on data collection.

³⁷ The process of searching for a place to live also yielded rich data on the landlords and agents operating in the private rented market and on immigrant residents in the town. These are detailed in Chapter 6.

of each interviewee for their knowledge of the town and their potential to create additional recruitment opportunities.³⁸ Indeed there were many, many people who refused to participate. Despite enthusiasm on the part of interviewees to assist in recruitment, many people whom they asked refused, as the following conversation excerpts reveal:³⁹

"The guy said no, now I see that it is really difficult for you to get people to take part. Sorry about that".

Eduard - 7th July 2011 via text message.

"I'm sorry Mairéad, I asked them but they said they are too busy. I was surprised but I don't want to push, you know?"

Edyta – September 2011 on a return visit to her business premises.

During this phase I was distributing leaflets throughout the town and I also gave them to people after each interview, asking that they give them to friends and acquaintances if they felt comfortable to do so. I did not distribute the leaflets within homes, as the expense of sending them to every home would have been too great and I had no means of distinguishing migrant from non-migrant households. In fact, the information leaflets did not yield much success in terms of recruitment and, to my surprise, barely any people contacted me about the study based on the leaflets. Overall, I received just three phone calls referring to them, all from UK citizens who had been living in Ireland for quite some time, and thus did not meet the study criteria. This was quite unexpected and served as a reminder that "as much as the researcher may try to ensure that life in the field is orderly and manageable, the dynamics of field research are unpredictable" (Shaffir and Stebbins, 1991: 148).

Adapting Recruitment throughout the Fieldwork

Once these early access routes had been established, leading to the recruitment of approximately 15 participants connected to community development organisations, businesses in Irishtown, and the acquaintances of Irish connections I had established, and attempts at snowballing had been exhausted, there was a lull in recruitment and it was time to explore

³⁸ An example of one refusal was where an interviewee offered to ask her sister to participate. This was politely refused on the basis that it would not achieve enough diversity and the person in question had featured in the existing interview quite prominently.

³⁹ The details of this are discussed at the end of this section.

different access avenues. I used this time to continue transcriptions and early phase analysis, drawing on some principles of grounded theory,⁴⁰ and to plan further strategies for recruitment. At this stage I had gotten to know the town and its inhabitants quite well and had become relatively known, either by sight, name, or reputation, to some immigrants in the town. At this time, 'opportunistic' and 'direct outreach' sampling (Faugier, 1996) presented meaningful strategies, as I availed of all encounters in the town as opportunities to recruit.⁴¹ This was only possible after sufficient time had been spent in the field to establish a presence and build credibility. I was also provided with a list of participants who had attended a course with the migrant rights organisation and so 'listing' (Lee, 1993) presented further recruitment opportunities. I contacted some people on the list who were third-country nationals as this group was, at that point, under-represented in the sample. I was eager not to draw too heavily on this list in order to avoid an over-reliance on recruiting via the migrant rights organisation. Despite this limitation, I recruited eight non-EU participants in this way. My reservations about this strategy were in fact subsequently confirmed in that all whom I called knew an individual who had taken part in the study, a phenomena referred to by Faugier and Sargeant (1997: 795) as a form of bias due to "overlapping acquaintance circles." Generally, throughout this period, my efforts to achieve diversity included deliberately targeting men as I had an overrepresentation of women in the sample at this juncture, targeting those completely unconnected to the migrant right's organisation since I had an over-representation of these participants, and targeting third country nationals of non-African descent (largely South-American, Middle Eastern or Asian)⁴² as these were almost entirely absent from the sample. Significant effort was required and invested in the recruitment process at this point and all opportunities to achieve diversity were explored and seized as they arose.

As part of my efforts at this later stage, I considered going door-to-door throughout estates, although with some reluctance as I was aware that it would require a significant level of effort with little result (Lee, 1993). This method of recruitment, referred to as 'screening' or 'sift-sampling', "involves the systematic canvas of a particular location in order to identify members of some requisite population ... it is labour intensive, requires fairly sizeable resources and may

 $^{^{40}}$ These tasks will be discussed in the section on the management and analysis of the data, below.

⁴¹ Efforts to recruit Polish employee at internet café and Bangladeshi taxi driver, both of which were unsuccessful as the former did not want to commit the time to an interview and the latter did not feel comfortable to talk at length in English. Another Latvian tailor to whom I brought my alterations on several occasions agreed to take part when I told her about my work at a later date.

⁴² Nationals of the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand were excluded from the study.

only be operable over a relatively limited area" (Lee, 1993: 64).⁴³ While I had been reasonably successful at recruiting people independently, I personally felt more confident about approaching people in their workplaces or in public spaces in Irishtown, rather than in their homes.⁴⁴ I had thought through the implications of calling either during the day or in the evening, what times may be most appropriate to working families, as well as considerations around language and the practicalities of calling to somebody's home and attempting to explain the project on the door step and in the cold weather. In light of the likely challenges, I decided against this route and, instead, reverted to the shops, restaurants and businesses of the town. My final participants were recruited both through this final effort in the public spaces of the town and through some targeted requests for third-country nationals through my existing networks, with the last two participants being third country nationals recruited following an educational event held in Irishtown in March 2013.

Denied Access

During the fieldwork process I had made significant efforts to recruit some medical professionals who worked in the town's hospital, but with no success. An existing study connection repeatedly encouraged her colleagues in the hospital to participate but all declined, citing their busy schedules as the reason for non-participation. I then emailed the general manager and the HR manager to ask if I could promote the research via email and an introductory email, along with my information leaflets, was sent to all of the hospital staff. Unfortunately this did not yield anything. A final effort to recruit medical professionals involved a chance discussion with a surgeon from another hospital who suggested that I use a directory of medical staff in which immigrant surgeons could be identified by using their non-Irish names as a proxy. However, I had no means of securing an introduction to any of these individuals other than to 'cold-call' or email them directly and I felt, based on earlier experiences, that this approach would not yield participants. I also feared that this approach may be perceived as intrusive.

The difficulty in recruiting hospital staff was somewhat surprising and also disappointing. A large number of the medical staff are non-Irish, from countries such as Nigeria, Sudan, Pakistan

⁴³ Lee references the work of Hope et al (1976) on women homeworkers to illustrate his point. In this study, 216 houses were canvassed on two streets in North London. It took two and a half months to yield 11 interviews, 10 refusals and information on a further 11 homeworkers.

⁴⁴ I always employed a reciprocal approach in these interactions, by bringing my custom to the business or providing or sharing information of use to the person.

and Malaysia. I had been keen to recruit these people because of their particular positions in the labour market and because I had learned through the Community Assessment Process that medical staff at the hospital occupied niche properties in the private rental market – properties which, it was claimed, did not even come onto the open rental market. However, despite several efforts, it proved impossible to gain access. Interestingly (and reassuringly!), Waters (1999) recorded a similar experience in her study of West Indian immigrants in New York:

"I tried many avenues to try to gain access to a hospital, but I was never successful. I began by choosing hospitals that were in the neighbourhoods that West Indians concentrated in. I called and wrote to the public relations offices of several hospitals. Hospitals were not set up to approve studies that involved their employees, and they certainly were not set up to approve studies that involved so many different levels of their employees. The large city hospitals were also in the middle of a crisis. Several major investigations were underway about mismanagement that had led to deaths or improper patient care. It became clear as I hit brick wall after brick wall that people suspected me of claiming to study the racial identities of employees while actually planning to study the ways in which the hospitals were not functioning properly. I tried using some personal contacts at different hospitals; they got me at least partly in the door, but in the end the legal departments of two different hospitals where I got furthest in the door denied my request for access."

(Waters, 1999: 348).

I would argue that it is not only the structure that makes access difficult but also the fact that staff there are extremely busy and find it difficult to fit the time for an interview in to their busy lives. About three people agreed initially to take part in an interview but were evasive over a period of some months until it became clear they were not willing to participate. After some months it was evident that these people were extremely busy and that participating in an interview during their spare time was not something they were willing to commit to.

Another avenue to which I was unable to gain access was that of the Asian and South Asian communities in Irishtown. I made concerted efforts to recruit East Asian and South Asian participants by calling to all of the Indian and Chinese restaurants in the town, promoting my research and essaying to build a profile and sense of rapport. My efforts never delved beyond surface level pleasantries and, in this sense, I faced a "failed negotiation of entrée" (Tuckett, 2004: 4). The cultural barriers were too strong, an experience that is reported elsewhere, even with community interpreters (Rex and Moore, 1967).⁴⁵ On some occasions I felt I had established good rapport and been offered an expression of initial interest, but any efforts to pin down a meeting were repeatedly, sometimes endlessly, deferred. The most extreme example was my turning up for a promised interview on five separate occasions and, each time, the participant

 $^{^{45}}$ Although Pillinger's study in Blanchardstown was successful in using a peer researcher to recruit and interview 10 Indian participants.

later explained that he had been trying to call me, or that he has lost his way, promising to reschedule our meeting. This interview never materialised.

Reflecting on the complexities of the process of access, Burgess (1991) argues that access is never as simple as a top-down approach via a crucial gatekeeper but is, instead, a continuous process of building and maintaining relationships, better described as "a series of gatekeepers with whom [the researcher] must negotiate over the settings and information they control. [....] In short, each person on a field site is to a greater or lesser degree a gatekeeper" (Burgess, 1991: 48). The process is also influenced by different kinds of relationships, including sponsorship, gatekeeping, membership roles and friendships.

"The age and gender of the researcher matter a great deal in how subjects are approached and slant to some extent the kinds of answers that are found. There are strengths and weaknesses to this: some doors open as others are shut" (Waters, 1999: 371). Membership roles such as age, sex, social class, and ethnicity influence our relationships with research subjects, the type of data we collect, and our access to "sub-sites" (Burgess, 1991: 49) within the study setting, as my account of denied access, above, reveals. Connections with women, for example, were generally easier to build in this study; indeed, a number of women who participated in the study were quite concerned for my well-being as a lone female researcher ferrying around town for interviews, during the course of the fieldwork. I also experienced near open access to the Russian community in Irishtown, as a strong connection with another female PhD student from that community facilitated my access to her networks. Burgess (1991) also advises on relationships around access that can develop into friendships throughout the period of the fieldwork. They matter in terms of the types of access granted and are crucial in opening up the site for the researcher and the issue is "to account for the influence of the relationship on the data collected and to account for [the researcher's] position at the research site in relation to other participants" (Burgess, 1991: 52).

The Payment of Participants

Payment for participation is commonly employed in research (Waters, 1999; Mayock, Corr and O'Sullivan, 2008). For Waters (1999: 362), "payment was the best way to ensure cooperation among the widest range of respondents, not just the people who were eager to talk because of their own agendas" (1999: 362). This raises an interesting point for the current study. Those who took part were not paid for their participation, because there were not sufficient financial resources to do so. It was difficult to recruit people who were busy in their working and family

lives and, very often, individuals – particularly those who expressed discomfort with their level of English language proficiency – were somewhat reluctant. A number of people who took part did so because they had specific concerns about their housing that they wanted to talk about during the interview, relating to Waters' comment about motivation above. The overall sampling and recruitment strategies detailed above aimed to compensate for this and, indeed, an enhanced reputation within the town, which developed over time, helped to compensate for some of the incentives that payment may generate. In this study, in lieu of cash, small gifts were brought to each interview, sometimes a cake, a packet of biscuits or some fruit, and sometimes a bunch of flowers. Wherever I could, I leant a hand with an appreciated form of help,⁴⁶ a type of reciprocity which may act as an alternative form of payment (Shaffir and Stebbins, 1991).

Concluding Recruitment and Leaving the Field.

Throughout the process of access, recruitment and data collection, I kept participants informed about what the project was for, what the final product might expectedly look like, and the various processes of research. As a researcher within Irishtown, there was a clear expectation that relationships built were temporary (Marshall and Rossman, 2011). Nevertheless, the process of fieldwork is an intense interaction over time, comprising sharing, proffering of assistance, gifts, confessions and the development of some strong relationships, as outlined in the previous section. Throughout this process the certainty of exiting the field can fade into the background and, indeed, relationships can extend beyond the process of the fieldwork. As with all phases of fieldwork, respect is a central element of the ethical process of exiting the field as "[o]ne does not simply grab the data and run" (Marshall and Rossman, 2011: 130). A researcher must consider how and when to conclude a study, how to manage the personal relationships formed with ones subjects or informants, and think about the social, political and ethical implications of the research (Taylor, 1991: 238).

When leaving the field, it is important to 'ease out' and not to leave participants feeling let down or exploited by the researcher's withdrawal from the setting (Taylor, 1991) and also remain cognisant of the possibility of fatigue, compassion stress, and other powerful emotions on the researcher at the conclusion of the fieldwork (Marshall and Rossman, 2011). Recruitment is concluded once the process of data collection begins to yield diminishing returns and

⁴⁶ Occasions for some form of assistance arose throughout this study, such as a loan of ϵ 5 to pay for an unexpected delivery of fuel for the fire, an offer to go to the supermarket on someone's behalf and an offer to drop somebody to and from the supermarket following a particularly long interview.

theoretical saturation occurs (Charmaz, 2006). In the current study, the intense phase of recruitment was concluded in July 2012, but I remained in the field until March 2013 for the processes of analysis and writing, to participate in some seminars and guest lectures at the education institution in Irishtown, and to have ease of access to the site in case of any data I had overlooked and needed to revisit the site for. I also recruited my final two interviewees after July 2012, as fresh opportunities arose to recruit third country nationals. During this phase I maintained my connections with some organisations and gatekeepers, keeping them informed of my progress. Indeed, the process of data collection can go on indefinitely and I continued to learn more through conversations throughout the period of writing up the research.⁴⁷ The final conclusion to the project comprised a planned series of presentations, guest lectures and involvement in seminars in Irishtown, as well as a presentation of a report summarising the key findings of the study.

Description of the Final Sample Achieved

The final sample achieved comprised 34 people, of which 10 were male and 24 were female. Table 8 below provides these details, along with participants' immigrant status. Eleven had arrived from within the EU (EU Accession states), 15 had refugee status (13 had come through direct provision and 2 were programme refugees), and 8 were third country nationals, of whom 3 had arrived on a work permit and 5 on a spousal visa. Details on the sample and how these 'fit' alongside the population of the town will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Table 8: Final Sample Achieved.

Immigrant Status	EU	Refugee	Other	Total
Total	11	15	8	34
Male	5	3	2	10
Female	6	12	6	24

Participants' arrivals were more nuanced than the categories suggested in Table 8. Of the refugee category, two were Programme Refugees, settled in Irishtown as part of a UN programme. Overall, participants' immigration routes can be summarised as follows: 2 programme refugees; 13 asylum seekers; 7 Free Movement EU citizens; 2 people who arrived on a work permit; 5 women who arrived on spousal permits (2 with husbands on work permits, 1

⁴⁷ The local elections took place in May 2014 and I learned from those residents who had canvassed on behalf of my first gatekeeper that to the north-east of the town, in some of the older estates, nearly every third household was a non-Irish household.

with an EU husband and 2 who married Irish men); and 4 EU citizens of the accession states who arrived prior to EU membership of which 3 were on work permits (one possibly illegal) and one was a student and all of whom could avail of free movement following the accession of their nation states to the EU.

Data Collection - Procedures and Instruments

A range of research instruments were used to collect data in Irishtown, all working towards the aim of achieving a thick description of the setting through a melange of sources, perspectives and viewpoints to be woven together analytically, rather than treated separately. As instruments for the collection of data, this study employed a Community Assessment Process⁴⁸ (Clatts et al, 2002. Clark et al, 2003), an examination of publicly available data, non-participant observation (Taylor, 2014) and semi-structured depth interviews with participating immigrants.⁴⁹

Returning to the conceptual influences of the study, Clapham advocates the use of biographical or ethnographic research in order to comprehensively research housing pathways. The concept has been employed longitudinally by Mayock et al (2008) and as a retrospective research design by Robinson et al (2007) and Smith (2014). In the current study, a retrospective research design was employed, recording participants' housing careers since arriving in Ireland, and supported by depth questioning on meanings, interactions, and practices. This was complemented by data gathered through non-participant observation, field notes taken from outside the interview experience, and other background information on Irishtown, drawing on some of the sensibilities of an ethnographic approach (Brewer, 2000).

Collecting Data through the Community Assessment Process

Special interview schedules were designed for this process (see Appendix H), which also assisted in building a profile of all relevant actors in the town. The data was collected through a series of formal interviews and less formal conversations. Anonymity was assured in the formal

⁴⁸ All details related to the Community Assessment Process can be found earlier in this chapter, in the section 'Accessing Irishtown – An Ongoing and Multi-faceted Negotiation'.

⁴⁹ All of the material related to the data collection (interview schedules, questionnaires, information leaflets and participant consent forms are contained in Appendices B to H. Appendix B: Participant Information Leaflet; Appendix C: CAP Information Leaflet; Appendix D: Participant Consent Form; Appendix E: CAP Consent Form; Appendix F: Participant Interview Schedule; Appendix G: Participant Survey Questionnaire; Appendix G2: Housing History Chart; Appendix H: CAP Interview Schedule.

interviews, and interviewees were provided with a community assessment information and verbal consent form.⁵⁰ All of the formal interviews were tape-recorded. The first six were transcribed and notes and summaries were made of the final three. Notes were taken of all conversations and interactions throughout the fieldwork. These interviews and conversations provided important local information on history of the town, the way in which it had grown over the years, the different housing estates and their social profile and 'place' in the town, and understandings, views and perceptions of immigration to the town, including comments on changes to the native population.

Published Reports and Statistical Sources

Data on Irishtown was available through the Census (Small Area Population Statistics), and housing data was available from the annual reports and statistics of the local authorities. Some of this data was also requested as part of the community assessment process. History books of the area were consulted, as well as provincial newspapers and commemorative magazines. A review of immigration in the area had also been carried out by the migrant rights organisation, with a report published in 2004 providing crucial introductory information.⁵¹

Non-Participant Observation

Whilst not an ethnography, the study "has elements of an ethnography" (Waters, 1999: 360), because of its inclusion of interactions outside of the formal interview process, and because of having access to people at times other than during an interview, with data also collected through a significant number of casual conversations without the tape-recorder (Hondagneu – Sotelo, 2007; Cloke, May and Johnsen, 2010). Sometimes, as Waters (1999: 361) asserts "the ethnographic experiences serve as reminders of the real limits of the interview approach". Data collection via interview was supported by non-participant observation (Taylor, 2014) to collect data outside of the interview setting, as "one learns things through [.....] observation that cannot be learned any other way" (Taylor, 1991: 243). I maintained a diary recording all that I saw, heard and experienced as I entered the field and moved through the data collection process. I included my own experience in searching for a place to live, conversations I had with any person in the town

⁵⁰ The information and verbal consent form for the Community Assessment Process can be viewed in Appendix E.

⁵¹ Indeed this report had noted that most immigrants in Irishtown were living in the private rented sector and that no information was available on this.

about my study, notes on the daily happenings in Irishtown, and my journeys through the estates of the town. Throughout the period of the fieldwork, I attended various events organised by the migrant rights organisation, as part of the mapping process and in order to promote and make knowledge accessible on my research.⁵²

Semi-Structured Depth Interviews

To capture participants 'careers' through housing as well as the broader conceptualisation of their pathways, semi-structured interviews were conducted (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). The interviews were designed to record participants' history of housing movements since their arrival in Ireland and in-depth questioning and probing were included with the aim of elucidating participants' views on issues related to housing and on their lives more generally.⁵³ Clapham supports this use of the semi-structured interview as a cross-sectional research tool given a time dimension through retrospective questioning (2005: 242).

In keeping with the emergent design of the study, the early interviews were monitored closely. They were transcribed as soon as possible after the interview took place and reviewed to assess the sort of data being collected, to ensure that the questioning was of sufficient standard, and to review directions for further lines of enquiry. In keeping with the tenets of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006), the issues raised by participants during the early interviews were used to develop further lines of questioning throughout the research process.⁵⁴ As topics and themes emerged and developed throughout the interview process, I focused my questions to probe more deeply into issues such as the meaning of home or relationships with landlords. This enabled me to build a 'thick description' through questioning as the interviews progressed.

Prior to the interview, participants were given consent forms, providing information about the research study and explaining issues of confidentiality and anonymity.⁵⁵ The participants signed two copies of the consent form, keeping one for themselves, and the second was maintained by

⁵² These included an intercultural sports day, a refugee cultural event, an event to mark the completion of a course on difference and diversity, an event for international women's day, and a workshop on the experience of poverty. I was also invited to some social gatherings of the Russian community in the town.
⁵³ The interview schedule can be viewed in Appendix F.

⁵⁴ For example, it emerged in the first interview that Galya's earlier house searches were impinged by her lack of English. She did not have access to the internet, and did not have the confidence to navigate the housing market with her limited English skills at the time. Therefore, she restricted her search to towns within the area and did not venture further afield to other towns or cities. I built an exploration of these issues into later interviews.

⁵⁵ When doing cross-cultural research, Marshall and Rossman (2011) emphasise the added importance of stressing the aim of the study, the freedom of participation and the inherent confidentiality and anonymity. They see the concept of informed consent as a uniquely Western one, based on principles of individualism and free will and a process that assumes literacy. Within cross-cultural research extra care must be taken to ensure understanding of the exchange.

me as a record of consent to participate. The participants were also provided with an information leaflet, outlining details of the study, my own contact details, and those of my supervisors. All were ensured that they could phone either myself or any of my supervisors at any time if they had more questions about the research at a later date. This information leaflet also listed the names and contact details of organisations in the region with a remit in the provision of housing support as well as general information on citizen's rights, the Private Residential Tenancies Board, and a list of organisations that assist with counselling and mental health. Participants were also assured that they could terminate the interview at any time that they wished and that they did not have to answer any questions if they did not want to. However, most participants valued the opportunity to talk about their lives and experiences and, in fact, expressed an enjoyment of the process and a feeling that they had appreciated the chance to be reflective of their lives over the past few years.

Location, Researcher Biography, and Power in the Interview Process

The interview as a research tool is not a neutral process and there are several elements that must be problematised. There are questions of power and resistance throughout the exchange between the interviewer and participant and elucidating true and authentic data requires checks and balances for interview questions (Nunkoosing, 2005). In the case of immigrants, there is the added powerlessness of speaking through a second language (Chen, 2011) and Eunyoung, Kagan and Strumpf (2009) stress the importance of cultural competence, with self-awareness, preparedness and sensitivity to participants' backgrounds. Nunkoosing (2005) also draws attention to the role of gender, in which masculinity is both displayed and placed under threat throughout the interview process. Ethnicity, culture, gender, and linguistic and religious characteristics all play a role (Ergun and Erdemir, 2009) and as a white, Irish, female researcher in my late twenties, my biography undoubtedly impacted on interactions throughout the interview process. I practiced self-awareness, preparedness and sensitivity as a matter of principle throughout the entire process.

Special sensitivity was required in the case of interviewing those participants who had come through the system of direct provision and I was aware that revisiting this experience would be difficult for most. Furthermore, for some, the interview process itself was associated with the interviews they had attended as part of their application to be granted asylum by the Irish State. These interviews had been traumatic experiences for them. Extra efforts were made in these cases to remind participants of the voluntary nature of participation and that they could

terminate the interview at any time. Nevertheless it took time for some to settle into the process. Their willingness to participate, despite some apparent discomfort, was undoubtedly facilitated by their strong connection to the migrant rights organisation.

Most of the interviews were conducted through English, a second language for all participants and they were typically quite lengthy because of the extra time taken for expression and understanding. Translators were used in the case of three of the interviews. Two of the three spoke a little English but preferred to do the interview through their first language. Translation was provided by a previous participant who had helped to set up these interviews. The third participant spoke very little English and had been recruited through an earlier participant who felt that her story was especially important. All translations were provided on a voluntary basis.

The location and cultural context of the interview also influences the data (Nunkoosing, 2005), with public and private spaces playing a role in the interaction. When arranging the interviews I suggested a selection of possible sites, including a room at the migrant rights organisation, a space at the education institution, a public space such as a café or hotel lobby, or the participants' home. Interviews took place in a variety of locations selected by the participants. For the most part, the interview location was either the office space in the migrant rights organisation or the migrants' homes. Fo I had a preference for people's homes as I found that the setting prompted memories, thoughts and occurrences that sitting in a neutral location did not generate. In their homes, participants also talked more spatially about their home within the town and the estate, using gestures and directions to explain what they meant. This was particularly the case when talking about the layout of the estate for children, details which were presented more generally during interviews conducted in neutral locations. Overall, and regardless of the merits of various locations for interview, the imperative was that it was of the participant's choosing and that they felt comfortable throughout the process.

The interviews were concluded in a manner that eased out of the exchange gently. The concluding questions asked participants about their thoughts for the future and if they had any other final thoughts or reflections before we completed the interview. As noted earlier, in some instances I responded to requests for assistance on certain matters and, in other cases, I remained chatting for a short while; in some others, the exchange ended more formally with a goodbye and thank you. At the end of the interview, all participants were offered an information

⁵⁶ One interview took place in my own home at the request of the participant, as his wife's family were visiting and he lived nearby. Another interview took place in an educational institution within the area. Three other interviews took place in the lobby of a hotel in the town.

leaflet, a request for other contacts who may be interested in participating, and a reminder that if they had any questions at any time they were free to contact either myself or the project supervisors.

Administration of the Structured Questionnaire

Data were collected both during the interview and at the end of the interview through the administration of a structured questionnaire (see Appendices G and G2). This questionnaire aimed to gather information on the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the participants, on their working and housing history, and on the details of their current place of residence. These data were collected via a questionnaire in order to ensure that this information was recorded systematically. These data were processed using counting and are presented throughout the findings chapters where appropriate.

This section has detailed the data collection process and the way in which this was informed by and aligned with the study's methodological approach. It has outlined the types of research instruments used, highlighting some of the ethical issues that arose throughout the process. The next section documents these ethical considerations in greater detail, with particular attention to issues that emerged throughout the processes of access, recruitment and the collection of data.

Ensuring Ethical Standards in the Field

Prior to entering the field, ethical approval was granted by the Research Ethics Approval Committee (REAC) at the School of Social Work and Social Policy, Trinity College, Dublin. All details related to the participants were retained on a password protected private computer throughout the conduct of the study. The hard copies of the signed consent forms and survey questionnaires were secured within a discreet, unidentified folder in a private office. Hard copies of the interview transcripts were labelled with a unique identification code, initially, and later assigned with the pseudonym created for each of the study participants. All references to names (people, places, and so on) in the interviews were deleted to ensure that they contained no identifying information. An assistant transcriber recruited for the study⁵⁷ was informed of

⁵⁷ The details of this will be discussed in the next section.

these ethical considerations and standards and abided by them with integrity and trustworthiness.

It is an imperative within all research that participants are protected from harm. All participants were assured that they could cease the interview at any time and that they could withdraw from the study at any stage even after the interview was conducted. None did so. While some sections of the interviews elicited an emotional response from a number, none accepted offers to pause or terminate the interview. Special consideration must be given to the ethics of researching vulnerable populations (Lee, 1993). Immigrants are vulnerable in general because of their minority position within a host society but special consideration must be given to those who experience deprivation, exclusion or have experienced political discrimination in their lives. As discussed above, special care was required with those who had come from the direct provision system.

Gatekeepers in the community development sector often expressed particular concern about the vulnerability of many immigrants. Issues around trust and respect were articulated by several during initial meetings, as the narrative below demonstrates:

"I'd be interested and I could certainly put you in touch with different people, but they really have my trust. So that would have to be held. It's important that the research is cognisant of the people you are interviewing"

5th April 2011 – Gatekeeper Interview # 1

Ethical considerations were salient throughout the processes of recruitment, as cultural sensitivity and appropriateness was required (Marshall and Rossman, 2011). For example, I had established rapport with, and received expressions of interest from, two women while at the migrant rights organisation. These women ran businesses in the town and I had met one previously in her business premises. However, when I called into them on separate occasions, men from their ethnic community were present and I experienced a very different reception. The women's eyes were downcast, they were curt and monosyllabic, although polite. It was clear that my presence was a source of discomfort and I made my excuses and left. I contacted them later via telephone, and through the organisation, and they agreed to participate.

Power relations may also be present in situations where a participant is influenced to partake because of the perceived power of the researcher and his/her relationship to the gatekeeper or "a powerful sponsor" (Burgess, 1991: 50). A number of women who had participated in skills development courses at the migrant rights organisation agreed to take part in the study but it soon became evident that some were meeting with me out of a sense of gratitude or obligation

to the organisation. A conversation with one of the staff members of the organisation supported my suspicion:

"People connected to [the organisation] would feel grateful to [the organisation], they would feel they owe something back and that is why they participate".

December, 2011 – in conversation at one of the organisation's events.

Again, this matter was approached and managed with sensitivity, awareness and respect for potential participants and additional efforts were made to communicate the voluntary nature of participation. These women appeared to be comfortable throughout the interview process⁵⁸ but, at the outset, were sometimes less knowledgeable about the nature of the research and what participation involved. In these instances, more time was taken to explain the project.

Researching within a Community

Within a community such as Irishtown, which is a small town, networks are typically tight and they overlap: people know each other and additional measures need to be taken to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. Throughout the recruitment and interviewing processes, I tried to be as discreet as possible about who was partaking in interviews but, in fact, participants spoke openly about their involvement in the study and, indeed, this conversation contributed substantially to the development of my credibility within the town as residents began to learn about the study and of other people's experience of participation. Nevertheless, it was imperative to remain discreet and private about people's participation, regardless of this openness. Overall, this apparent closeness in social and personal networks contributed to the decision to anonymise all names and locations within the town.

Researcher Reciprocity

Throughout the process of the fieldwork, I was as open as possible about myself, my role and my background and I adopted an approach of unlimited reciprocity throughout the fieldwork process. I facilitated requests such as driving a participant to the supermarket after a delayed interview and/or waiting while she did her shopping⁵⁹ and collecting one participant from the

⁵⁸ Discomfort emerged in some cases when talking about experiences in direct provision centres and/or experiences of discrimination in accessing housing and in residence. This issue will be discussed in greater detail later.

⁵⁹ Indeed, while data collection was not my intention at this point, the experience offered a glimpse of something I would not have captured within an interview. The participant took the opportunity to buy a

town centre before going to her house to conduct the interview. My stance was to be as facilitative as possible in exchange for the time and interest that the participants in the study town provided.

On one occasion I was asked by a particularly vulnerable participant if I would act as a character reference on her citizenship application. I did not know this participant outside of the interview process and was not sure if I could act as a suitable referee but recognised the request was associated with her limited social networks and was eager to support in any way that was possible and appropriate. This issue was subsequently discussed openly in the migrant rights' organisation and the community development workers there arranged other references for her.

Towards the end of the process, ethical standards were adhered to in the process of exiting the field and feeding back to the study site. I participated in a number of seminars and guest lectures where I presented preliminary findings of the research to social care students at the education institution, to committees at the local authority, and conducted a feedback session for participants. The next section now turns to an account of the way in which the data itself was managed and analysed.

The Management and Analysis of the Data

The management and analysis of the data was guided by the principles of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006), framed by the metaphor of the housing pathway (Clapham, 2002), and commenced from the outset of the data collection process. In keeping with the study's interpretivist ontological approach, the processes of data collection, analysis and theorising were iterative in nature. I took notes on all early meetings and observations, noting ideas and themes as they emerged through my observations. These were written and recorded throughout the research process, with analytic memos developed on the substantive notes from the outset (Brewer, 2000; Charmaz, 2003) and in conjunction with the collection, management and analysis of the interview data.

Managing and Analysing the Interview Data

Where possible, I transcribed verbatim the participant interviews immediately after the interview. I transcribed most of the interviews myself, noting thoughts and emerging themes as I progressed, as well as lines of further questioning that might be pursued. The process of

large amount of produce, in particular things she could not have carried by herself. This was a rare opportunity to be able to purchase items in bulk.

I outsourced for transcription, I later read each thoroughly and carefully, noting any areas where my assistant had marked a difficulty in comprehending an accent or words through the background noise. In all cases, I could recall the conversation at the time, prompted by the words on the transcript, and filled in the missing data. All identifying names were removed from the transcripts and the participants were assigned a unique identifying code, and later, a pseudonym. After each interview, I took notes on any thoughts, feelings and observations about the participant's story, the setting, or any lines of inquiry to pursue at a later stage.

Analysis of the interviews began with the first transcription as I began a process of coding the data. ⁶⁰ Coding is a process of annotating and categorising the data (Dey, 1993) as a first phase of analysis and is defined succinctly by Miles and Huberman (1994: 56):

"Codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study. Codes are usually attached to 'chunks' of varying size – words, phrases, sentences or whole paragraphs."

From the transcription of the first interview, I began early phase 'initial coding', a line-by-line analysis of the data that can identify segments of actions in the data (Charmaz, 2006). By the eighth interview, I carried out this 'initial coding' in an intensive and detailed way, creating hundreds of codes, and then categories. In total, I sorted the codes and identifiers into 23 categories, encompassing the overarching eight themes of: 'Arrival', 'Contact with the Housing Structure', 'Housing and Living Arrangements', 'Housing and Living Orientations/Preferences', 'Family', 'Social World', 'The State', and 'Identity, Self and Future'. The data from later interviews fit into the 23 categories within these overarching themes, with data collected to develop these categories further. Once the interviews were completed and fully transcribed verbatim, all 35 were read, annotated and categorised into 23 codebooks which were aligned to the 23 categories identified.

A second phase of analysis raised the level of interpretation to a more processual and conceptual exercise. Charmaz (2006) advocates the use of gerunds at this point, in order to remain as close

⁶⁰ Coding as a procedure includes open coding, axial coding and selective coding as three phases of coding (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Open coding entails a careful reading of the data according to the research questions and labelling the data in appropriate codes or categories. Axial coding emerges during a second phase of analysis. Upon re-reading the data to fill up existing codes or categories, sub codes may be identified, and where they form components of a larger code, they are known as axial codes. Finally, selective coding involves another re-read of the raw data to find further cases to illustrate examples or flesh out concepts (Miles and Huberman, 1994). An alternative approach is that of Charmaz (2006) who conceives of two phases of coding, initial and focused, approaches which I employed in this study.

to the data as possible, staying true to a bottom-up approach and keeping a sense of activity, meaning, and revealing the processual nature of the phenomena under investigation. During this phase of the analysis, I created a large number of 'sub'-code or 'axial'-code books as the data were broken down according to the emerging themes. Throughout this entire process, I wrote theoretical memos to sharpen conceptual thinking throughout the analysis (Charmaz, 2006). This part of the analysis took place in tandem with the later interviews, guiding the development of some probing and depth questions to further explore particular themes and concepts.

Upon the completion of all interviews I undertook case, cross-sectional and temporal profiling of participants' situations, an approach employed by Thompson (2007) and by Mayock, Corr and O'Sullivan (2008). I created a case profile for each participant to ensure that the complexity of each participant's experience was documented and understood. I developed a temporal record of their movements through housing, creating a timeline of moves, which noted each of their residences since arriving in Ireland and their location, dates of residence, length of stay, and reason for leaving. Finally, the cross-sectional analysis noted participants' living situations and broader circumstances in Irishtown at the time of interview. A combination of these approaches privileges both the individual case and the social and spatial context (Thompson, 2007).

The data collected through a survey, both during the interviews and at their conclusion, gathered demographic information on the participants. This was used to build a profile of the sample and was compiled in order to support the qualitative data collected through the interviews. To manage this survey data, I entered it into a Microsoft Excel file, an approach which facilitated the counting of the data (Meyer and Avery, 2009).

Ensuring the Reliability and Validity of the Research

Questions of rigour are especially pertinent to the analysis of qualitative data and its credibility is judged on the extent to which the data and analysis are trustworthy. This trustworthiness comprises the credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability of the research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

"In most [....] observation studies, a year seems like the minimum amount of time to collect data" (Taylor, 1991: 243).

The combination of data sources and the period of a year and a half in the field contributed towards the criterion of transferability and minimised the risk of collecting only a thin

description of the setting. With a thick description, knowledge can be assessed and tested by its applicability to other settings.

The approach to sampling also ensured a maximum variation in the data collected, with the inclusion of divergent cases. This facilitated negative case analysis (Patton, 2001) with which to test emerging concepts. All interviews were transcribed verbatim, meaning that the participants' words were recorded as spoken in the interview. This facilitated a close analysis of their content and, using gerunds as advocated by Charmaz (2006), meant that interpretations remained as close to the data as possible. The approach to analysis outlined in the previous section followed rigorous traditions set within the discipline of Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006) and drew on these guidelines throughout the process.

A recognised limitation of the study is the fact that residents of Irishtown who were culturally distinct and also disconnected from the town's public and civic structures were not accessed as part of the study. This was an aspect that could have been planned for in the design. However, these populations and information about them was only identified in the field and with so many other issues of access and recruitment to manage, it was not possible to embark on a more targeted approach to recruitment. Indeed, for populations such as these, it seems that community researchers are necessary if meaningful and reliable data is to be collected (Taylor, 2014; Wang, 2006).

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has provided an account of the design of the study, from the initial research interest and conceptualisation, through the methodological principles employed, to the way in which the events and interactions in the fieldwork were guided by these principles. Of central importance in the design of the study was the achievement of diversity in terms of the gender, country of origin (and hence immigrant status), and income of immigrants in order to capture the full range of experience with the housing system in the study town. A second aim of this approach was also to move beyond a trend in housing research of capturing only low income immigrants (Robinson et al, 2007). To achieve this, a broad range of recruitment strategies were employed and access and recruitment were ongoing processes requiring flexibility, constant negotiation and an ability to respond to events as they arose in the field.

The study was committed to an interpretivist ontology, which views knowledge as socially constructed. The concept of the housing pathway was relied upon to "[foreground] the

meanings held by households, and interactions which shape housing practices, as well as [emphasise] the dynamic nature of housing experience and its inter-relatedness with other aspects of household life" (Clapham, 2002: 64). By situating the research within one site, these dynamics could be examined as part of broader social structures, institutions, and relations, to examine the interrelations between the two.

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were the primary methods of data collection and incorporated a retrospective housing history enhanced by depth questions to elucidate participants' broader perspectives and meanings of their housing situations and their lives in general. These interview data were supplemented by data gathered through a Community Assessment Process, non-participant observation, and any available and relevant documents and reports.

CHAPTER FOUR: INTRODUCING IRISHTOWN AND THE STUDY PARTICIPANTS

Introduction

This chapter introduces the town of Irishtown, its inhabitants, and the participants in the study. It first describes the physical and social landscape of the town, setting out the social changes that have taken place over time. It then considers the policy climate in relation to housing, situating this within Irishtown, and also accounting for developments over time. These changes, which are set within a neo-liberal turn (Dodson, 2006; Doherty et al, 2004), are framed by a decline in State supported housing through bricks and mortar, and an increasing reliance on subsidies through the private rental market to facilitate housing need (Norris, 2011). The impact of these policy changes is entwined with the geography of Irishtown. The participants interviewed as part of the study are then introduced, with details provided on their demographic and socio-economic characteristics, as well as some introductory information on their housing situations. This sets the scene for opening up identity beyond fixed or static concepts to reveal the complexity of participants' identities beyond their ethnicity and immigrant status (Ratcliffe, 2009). Finally, the chapter turns to the arrival stories of the participants, as a window to the macro- and meso-level phenomena that play a role in the migration experienced in Irishtown (de Haas, 2011). These stories illuminate the economic and political restructuring operating at a global level (Flint and Taylor, 2007), which frame the migratory processes witnessed in Irishtown and illustrate the unbounded nature of structure (Ratcliffe, 2009). Thus the aim of this chapter is to introduce the full range of elements that play a role in immigrants housing experiences.

In painting this picture, data from field notes, observations, and interviews carried out as part of the Community Assessment Process are drawn on. In presenting the survey data, it is important to note that this is not a quantitative study and that the figures are not displayed in any representative sense. Rather, they introduce a general count of some of the characteristics and situations of the people who participated in the study. In keeping with an interpretivist research approach, the chapter is concerned with presenting great detail on the housing characteristics of Irishtown and on the situations and arrival circumstances of the participants, so as to foreground the processes and meanings behind observed social situations. The priority is to introduce the housing situations of the participants as part of both the wider setting of Irishtown and their broader lives. The chapter sets the scene for the study, portraying evolving

structural contexts and nuanced accounts of the immigrant participants' backgrounds and identities.

Irishtown: A History of Economic and Social Change

Irishtown is located in a rural region of Ireland and is a County Town. It is a mid-sized town, and recorded a population of 12,193 in the 2011 Census (CSO, 2012). The closest neighbouring town is 17km to the west and is a popular tourist destination in Ireland. Another neighbouring town lies 27km to the south-east. Irishtown is approximately 75km from the nearest city in the region. The town is serviced by one national road, in a north-east / south-west direction, which connects Irishtown to Dublin, the capital city of Ireland. Irishtown is connected through two primary roads to two neighbouring towns, and by a number of regional roads. Employment in Irishtown is largely in the service and construction sectors, although employment in the horticultural sector is also a feature. A significant number of jobs are provided through the presence of local government administrative offices in the town.⁶¹

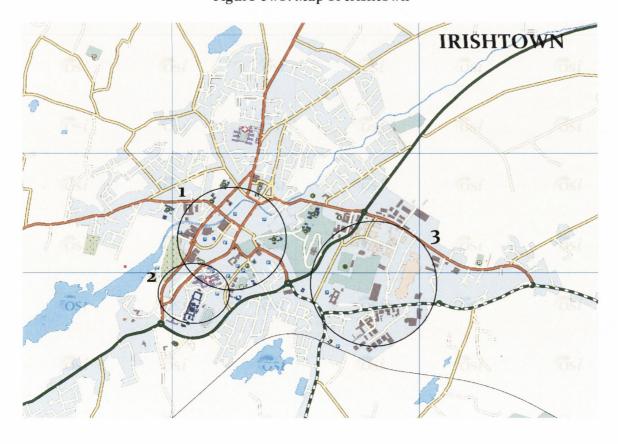


Figure Two: Map of Irishtown

⁶¹ This information was acquired through the Community Assessment Process. It was not possible to obtain statistical data on this information for the town itself.

The map above shows Irishtown in 2013 and illustrates the full development of Irishtown to date. The areas circled on the map indicate some of the commercial and administrative areas of the town. On the map, the grid-like structure of the town centre is visible, as well as the road networks through and across the town. There are six roads which are national, primary or regional roads exiting the town. Older housing estates are situated in the centre of the town and to the south and east of the centre. More recent housing developments are located along the exit roads to the west and north of Irishtown. Outside of these general patterns, other estates of varying ages are scattered throughout the town. During the 1980's, the boundaries of the town were closer to the town centre, and the population was much smaller, with a more rural character, a sense that "everyone knew everyone". The population change and the interpretation of this in the Community Assessment Process are discussed in the next section.

The historic town centre is located within Area 1 on the map above. As illustrated, it has several components, with no one central square or point of convergence; it is a series of grid-like streets with shops and businesses, ranging from small independent businesses to larger chain stores. A considerable number of chain stores – supermarkets and department stores – are positioned to the far west end of the town centre and, in recent years, have pulled the economic centre of Irishtown in that direction.

"Dunnes and Tescos have shifted the commercial heart of the town to there".

Interview as part of Community Assessment Process, August 2011

To the inner west side of Irishtown, a park, known as The Green⁶³ is situated. Historically, and before Irish independence, it was the central focus of the town, with businesses, shops and hotels in that vicinity. Today, it is in decline, with many empty shop faces along The Green and on the nearby streets. Many of the administrative offices of the town, such as the police station, the library, the court house, and a swimming pool are located in this area.

"There would have been a time when The Green would have been the cultural heart of the town, but it would have been the English centre of the town, not the Irish centre of the town. And it had all the organs of State, it was everything that wasn't Irish. The Courthouse, The Bridewell, The Post Office, The Cavalry Barracks, The Protestant School, The Old Infirmary, the Church of Ireland Church, the Vicar's House, the Artisans' Cottages."

Interview as part of Community Assessment Process, August 2011.

This account reflects on the British heritage of Irishtown, referencing the legacy of British rule on the town's geography. Three streets in Irishtown (located in Area 1 on the map) - the main

⁶² This quote is drawn from the Community Assessment Process.

⁶³ This is the pseudonym ascribed to protect the identity of the town.

street through the centre, a street adjoining the main street and exiting the town to the north, and another one exiting The Green to the south, are the principal commercial and retail streets in the town, with numerous independent, and franchise, shops and businesses. The County Hospital and an Education Institution are located to the south-west of the town. On the periphery of the town, a national road facilitating a bypass of through traffic passes south of Irishtown's centre. Along this ring road are several housing estates, as well as petrol stations, business parks, and industrial estates. A lake and recreational development lie to the west of Irishtown. Six roads, (national, primary and regional) exit Irishtown, connecting it to neighbouring towns. Along these roads are one-off houses facing onto the road, as well as some housing estates, that have been developed in more recent years.

The Population and People of Irishtown

Irishtown's population was recorded at 12,193 in the Census of 2011 (CSO, 2012).⁶⁶ This had increased by 528 people, from 11,665, in 2006. Table 9 below illustrates the population growth from 1996 to 2011, as recorded in the Census of Population (www.cso.ie).

Table 9: Population of Irishtown: 1996 - 2011

Year	Population	
1996	10,005	
2002	11,254	
2006	11,665	
2011	12,193	

Source: Central Statistics Office, Census of Population, various years.

This population growth, as in all towns across Ireland, resulted from a combination of natural increase, return Irish migration, and the immigration of non-Irish nationals, with continued emigration from the town also impacting on the total figures.⁶⁷ The time period from 1996 onward was characterised by a booming economy in Ireland, with a large increase in the construction of houses, and business developments in the region (Fitzgerald, 2012). Immigrant labour was actively recruited to Irishtown, as to other towns across the country (CSO, 2008).

⁶⁴ These are situated in Area Number 2 in Figure 1 above.

 $^{^{65}}$ The retail parks and industrial estates are located in the circled area marked number 3 on the map.

⁶⁶ These figures include the town and its environs. Taking the legal town only, the population was recorded at 6,585; 10,172; 10,440 and 10,705 for the years 1996, 2002, 2006 and 2011 respectively. These figures reveal a large jump in the population of the legal town between 1996 and 2002.

⁶⁷ Central Statistics Office Annual Population and Migration Estimates, various years, as well as data from the Community Assessment Process.

Several centres of direct provision are also in the region, and many refugees exit from these centres into Irishtown and other neighbouring towns to start their new lives in Ireland. A policy of dispersal and direct provisions of needs was introduced in 2001, as a response to the arrival of immigrants seeking asylum in Ireland. The introduction of this policy meant that asylum seekers were to be housed in centres where their housing and food needs would be met, and where they would receive a small sum of money as an allowance, while they awaited the outcome of their application for asylum in Ireland. These centres, known as 'Direct Provision Centres' were dispersed across the country (Joyce and Quinn, 2014). The combination of these elements introduced important changes to the physical and social landscape of towns across the country.

Super-Diversity⁶⁸ in a Rural Idyll

It can be seen from Table 9 above that the population of Irishtown did not increase substantially between 1996 and 2011. Nevertheless, the diversity of the town in terms of nationality and ethnicity increased, alongside the continued immigration of non-Irish nationals. One person interviewed as part of the community assessment expressed these changes in the following way:

"I think in the past, the town was you know, the same families. It was a rural town, the county town, but a small rural town. A lot of people now live in Irishtown even if they are working in different places, they live in Irishtown because it's like a hub. And there are a lot of people that have moved from other countries, we've a lot of migrants that have come to Irishtown. And a lot of people moved home during the, like a lot of my peers, my age groups that left, who went abroad, they did move home ten years ago. I'd say a lot of people, now a lot of their children are going away again, but they did move home and back to Irishtown at that time."

Interview as part of Community Assessment, 20th December 2011.

Tables 10 and 11 below illustrate the nationality and birthplace of the town's residents for the years 2006 and 2011. Comparing nationality and birthplace is helpful because it can indicate the proportion of immigrants who have been naturalised with Irish citizenship, pointing towards the development of ethnic minority Irish residents. In 2006, there was an approximate correspondence between birthplace and nationality, given the relatively recent nature of immigration to Ireland at that time. In 2011, a greater divergence is evident in the numbers for 'Rest of World', as more and more non-EU immigrants living in Irishtown were naturalised as

⁶⁸ Vertovec (2007: 1024) defines this as "a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade".

Irish citizens.⁶⁹ In 2011, approximately 16% of the town were of non-Irish or non-UK nationality⁷⁰, compared to 10% in 2006. This means that the numbers of non-Irish nationals in Irishtown are above the national average, which stands at around 12% (CSO, 2012). The proportion of Irish nationals in the town decreased during this time period. Excluding UK nationals, the number of all other national groups increased between 2006 and 2011. Thus, the ethnic composition of Irishtown has diversified significantly.

Table 10: Usually Resident Population of Irishtown by Nationality

Nationality /Year	2011		2006		
	N	%	N	%	
Ireland	8707	81%	9067	87%	
UK	309	3%	335	3%	
Poland	595	5%	248	2%	
Lithuania	189	2%	100	1%	
Other EU27/25	281	3%	168	2%	
Rest of World	499	5%	455	4.5%	
Not Stated	125	1%	67	.5%	
Total	10705	100%	10440	100%	

Source: CSO.

Table 11: Usually Resident Population of Irishtown by Place of Birth

Nationality /Year	2011		2006		
	N	%	N	%	
Ireland	8149	76%	8448	80.5%	
UK	889	8%	923	9%	
Poland	560	5%	254	2.5%	
Lithuania	178	2%	98	1%	
Other EU27/25	283	3%	183	2%	
Rest of World	646	6%	534	5%	
Not Stated	О	-	О	-	
Total	10705	100%	10440	100%	

Source: CSO.

⁶⁹ During the course of the field work, a small number of interviewees had been granted Irish citizenship but at later—stages in the data collection, news filtered through of citizenship applications being accepted for several participants of Nigerian origin. The local authority of the study town also held a ceremony to celebrate the naturalisation of the town's programme refugees from Burma in the summer of 2012.

⁷⁰ Because of the extent of emigration by Irish to the UK, a substantial number of Irish citizens have UK nationality and thus the common practice is to exclude UK nationals from statistical assessments of immigrant numbers.

While the mid-1990's signalled an increase in immigration (CSO, 2012c), earlier experiences of immigration were referred to by participants when the town's history was discussed. A legacy of diversity was revealed during the Community Assessment Process, with a number of minorities identified as living in the town before this period of immigration. When I explained that I was focusing on people who had arrived in the latest wave, a participant commented that "they still have one foot at home", referring to the links that more recent immigrants retain with their countries of origin. There was also a perception that social ties had fragmented in recent years within Irishtown. Some older residents commented that "in their day" they knew who everybody was, their names and professions. This change in social interaction has brought less knowledge and intimacy and a change in the substance of social connections (Putnam, 2000). One person who participated in the Community Assessment Process phrased it thus:

"My son lived in various places around town for a while, and I was kind of intrigued, I was putting myself in his position, he was living in one estate outside town and he literally had a Polish family next door to him and he had a Nigerian family two doors up and what intrigued me about that was his total lack of awareness or concern or wonder about these people. He just simply didn't register. It would have registered with me. I would have been in next door chatting to the Polish guy trying to find out about who he was and where he came from..."

While these social changes were apparent in the accounts of Community Assessment Process participants, the rural character of the area was emphasised and was one that was valued by the study's immigrant participants. The majority of the study participants wanted to live in Irishtown precisely because of the qualities it had as a rural town. Migrating to a rural town is a very different experience than arriving into a city (Reeve and Robinson, 2007.) When talking about their lives in Irishtown, the study participant's language was framed largely in terms of "the rural idyll" (Nelson and Nelson, 2010: 443); the peace, quiet and tranquillity of the location appealed to them and gave a sense of possibility and of wanting to build a life there. One participant, Galya, described it thus:

I: "And, for you, what were the reasons that you decided to stay in that area?"

R: "Well, the reasons are probably, you know, sometimes you feel, but you can't explain, rationally why, but I just felt, with feelings, that I need to stay here, it's good for children, and it's a better environment. Well, you can analyse, and come up with this, it's safe and more better and safe and the education is good and break it down into points but in general it's just, even without thinking, you just feel good, here, and even you are homesick and you miss your whatever, friends and your relatives, but still, if you come back and you see all the pressure and hassle and difficulties and challenges of that life, you want to come back."

Galya.

Two other participants, Lewa and Jules, spoke of raising their children and building a legacy in Irishtown, contributing to the life of this small town. Likewise, Adeleke was attracted to the peace and quiet of Irishtown and sensed the possibility of raising her family there. Her quote

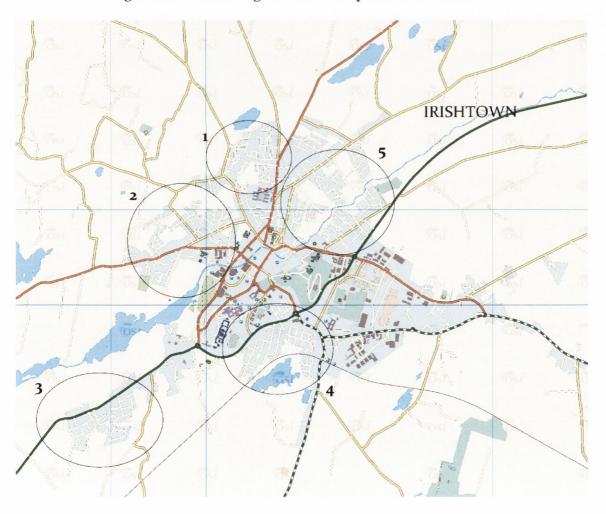
below is indicative of the sentiments of many – that they felt they could stay, raise a family and build a life in this location:

"I like it because I was brought up in a village. I am used to a quiet and peaceful life. I have many friends in Dublin that would be asking me "Come to Dublin", "Come to Dublin". I don't know why, I am not interested in coming to Dublin. I used to go there and visit friends, stay there one week and go back to the hostel, but I just don't feel like. It's like when I came to Irishtown and I just said that I'm going to like it. I'll like staying here. The guy he will get me accommodation in Irishtown and I moved in and I like it and that's what I want. And I don't regret that I moved to Irishtown even though people are trying to discourage me they say that "What are you doing in that area? It's so boring, it's this, and it's that". I said I like it, I like it."

Adeleke.

The Social Profile of Housing in Irishtown

Figure Three: Housing Estate Developments in Irishtown



Firm and Visible Walls²¹

In terms of the social profile of the town's housing system, possibly the most prominent characteristic is the presence of housing estates differentiated in terms of brand, social profile, and physical character.72 Many one-off housing developments line the main exit roads of the town, areas in which wealthier residents of Irishtown reside. The estates within the town then are varied, both in terms of their period of development and their social profile. Some estates have quite a high proportion of rented properties, and are known locally as 'rental' estates, rather than 'residential' ones.73 Houses and estates within the town centre are older and a greater level of disrepair is visible. Older estates are situated in varying locations around the town, principally to the south and east, with a particular concentration to the east of the town. These eastern estates all converge onto a green area, previously undeveloped, although pathways and a playground were developed throughout the period of the fieldwork. Newer estates, built during the boom, are situated on the further outskirts, particularly to the north and west of the town. More affluent estates are situated in various parts of the town and have a visibly green and leafy character, larger, more spacious houses and gardens, and more expensive cars. There are some newer apartments and town-house style complexes close to the town centre and towards the train station. Older apartments are situated in the town centre, seated on top of shops and businesses along the main street and, since the beginning of the recession, some apart-hotels in the town, typically marketed to visitors and tourists, are being rented to tenants in a residential capacity. There is a division to the character and social profile of each estate, one which appears to be built into the character of estates from the planning stages and one which estate residents appear to be content with:

"New estates, you can go wherever you want, but [with other estates] you go down, you go into the estate, and the adjoining estate is there but there is no connection. Just a big wall. And the problem is, and I'd see it in the council, when you try to, you know, when there is a new initiative to put a cycle lane or to try to make them more [integrated]....there is a big objection, because we have become so insular. Residents' Associations, we've become so insular. And it's so difficult to get it reversed, it needs to be put in at the planning stage. Like whether there's a bridge, or whether there's a...pedestrian access even...., if you've two estates, the developer, they design the estate and the wall goes all around it for example and then they go and they do the next estate, or it could be a different developer, there is no connection."

Interview as part of Community Assessment Process, December 2011.

⁷¹ This expressions is drawn from Lynsey Hanley's 2007 book *Estates: An Intimate History.*

⁷² Photographs of houses and estates throughout the town are contained in Appendix A.

⁷³ These expressions emerged on a walkabout of the town with a resident encountered early in the process who described the estates in these terms. The walkabout was an informal meeting as part of the Community Assessment Process.

There are several local authority housing estates dispersed throughout Irishtown. Five are situated centrally and three are located outside the town. The older ones in the centre contain several owner occupied houses, the effects of a policy of tenant purchase, and some of these properties are available for rent. Irishtown was one of the last towns in Ireland to directly build properties for rent by the local authority to people with housing need, with the last two estates built in 2009.⁷⁴ Since then, meeting housing need has become more spatially distributed throughout Irishtown, reflecting the impact of a national policy of ending the financing of direct build units and a move to providing subsidies in the private rented sector to meet housing need. This phenomenon of estate culture is often seen as a feature of UK and Irish housing (Hanley, 2007) and the divide in estate reputations is frequently recognised in relation to local authority and private estates. Writing on local authority housing estates, Hanley articulates it thus:

"Housing seems to have been the one great failure of the welfare state. It is the one area where public investment intended to narrow the gap between rich and poor eventually served to create a firm and visible wall between them."

(Hanley, 2007: 97).

Here, we see these divisions unfold not just between private estates and local authority estates, but also among private estates. There are 'firm and visible walls' both physically and cognitively. Two excerpts from my field notes illustrate the differing characters of estates in terms of their social profile. These two estates, the first to the north of Irishtown and the second to the west, offer illustrative examples of the differing social profiles of estates within Irishtown:

The houses [in this estate to the north] are all large, detached, houses with a colonial style to their architecture. Each house has white pillars by the door and five sets of windows across the top floor. They have painted brick along their edges, and on each house this brick work is a different colour. There are quite expensive cars in the driveways and the gardens are landscaped. From the estate entrance, the road straight down leads to a cul-de-sac, with the houses circling on to a green, the road to the right leads to one street. It appears that two houses are empty and have never been occupied. One still has dirty glass windows with the stickers on the glass. The house at the very bottom of the street, on the right, is cordoned off with fencing and had an un-landscaped garden. Another house, further up that street, in the centre and on the same side, was for sale. And one is available for rent on daft.ie for €600 per month. It appears to be the only property for rent in the estate.

January, 2012.

⁷⁴ This information was gleaned during the Community Assessment Process.

I drove into [an estate to the west of the town] today. It is a large estate. From the entrance, I drive straight on, and at the end of the road I turn right, into a maze of roads and houses all facing in different directions. The grass at the front of the estate is cut, but at the back of the estate, there is a large overgrown field with long grass and damaged signs. The gardens in this area are untended and there are many houses with no cars or vehicles. The houses themselves have a red hue, a result of mould growing on the pebbledash. A pocket of houses at the end of the entrance road have new doors, painted different colours. Others further in all have identical brown doors and are more run down. There are no houses for sale or visibly empty houses, although a perusal of daft shows many houses to let for approximately €500 per month. A thread about the estate on boards.ie advises against renting there, advice which is racist in tone. It claims that the local authority has an 'integration policy', and has bought up all of the houses to house migrants there via the Rental Accommodation Scheme.

June, 2012.

Around the Town Centre

This section describes the estates throughout Irishtown, drawing on the map in Figure 3 above. This map identifies five areas, which mark the principal clusters of estates, although there are many more dispersed throughout other parts of the town centre and outskirts. Before turning to these clusters, some other areas will be overviewed. Just to the north-east of the centre are a number of smaller and older developments, situated on small roads, along some of Irishtown's central thoroughfares and just off them. These estates are mixed tenure, comprising owner-occupied and private rented properties. They appear to be predominately owner-occupied, although one excerpt from a participant illustrates the high turnover of tenants in a neighbouring place, a turnover she attributes to the poor quality:

"Now I understand why people don't stay long in those apartments, because since I'm there, I think my neighbour, I have like, 4 different neighbours and that's two years there, so I can understand the apartments. They look good, but when you live there, it's not that, they don't...."

Noelle.

Within this area, just north of the centre, there is a town-house style, high-density, compact development, with little green space and no recreational area. This development, which is generally considered to be an eye-sore in Irishtown,⁷⁵ stands prominently on a hill-top and is not in keeping with the surrounding architecture. The small green at the centre of the development is untended and littered, and there is much broken glass. While its exterior is considered unattractive, and the lack of a play area makes it unappealing for families with children, all participants who resided in this complex spoke highly and favourably of the interior conditions of the properties, although the exterior caused problems in terms of safety and recreation. This architectural style has departed from the traditional housing design within

 $^{^{75}}$ This view emerged repeatedly throughout the community assessment process and in conversations held throughout the period of the fieldwork.

Irishtown. During the Community Assessment Process, references were made to more contemporary or 'European' style buildings, a style that was seen as departing from the history and culture of the town. This "new trend in townhouse living" was identified, with "maisonette style" apartments, overseen by management companies the nearest city, 75 kilometres away.

Moving to the northwest of the town centre, a development of houses originally built by the local authority and then sold through the tenant purchase scheme are located. Nearby there is one small estate of about ten houses, built in more recent times, and referred to by one participant as houses "just built for rent":

"This house is quite an old house, built in the 80's. I don't know. It was probably the....I was talking with builders actually, to find out and they told me; "listen, this house was built just to build it and sell it or rent it" or whatever. That it was not that well insulated or whatever, and has some, some trouble."

Tomas.

A little further along in this vicinity are some older housing estates, built in the 1970's, which are primarily owner occupied, although a small number of properties are available for rent and tend to be of poor quality.⁷⁶ Two other housing estates, built in more recent times and principally owner-occupied, face onto the main road in this area.

At the south-west end of the town lies The Green, the historical centre introduced earlier in this chapter. A shopping street exits The Green at the south end, and beyond this are some small housing developments of varying ages, as well as some apartment complexes built in recent times. Detached houses line the main road. To the south-east of the town are a number of older housing estates, owner-occupied and in varying states of disrepair, as well as one housing estate built in more recent times and with several properties available for rent. Overall, the areas surrounding the town centre contain quite a mix of property types. There are some older housing developments, with varying economic profiles, as well as developments built in more recent times, also of varying styles and economic profiles.

⁷⁶ This was reported in the interviews of two participants who lived there at earlier points in their housing pathways.

Estate Clusters around Irishtown

Moving out of the town centre, and turning to the main road networks out of the town, a number of housing estates were developed in later years along these roads. Detached houses, and some smaller housing developments line these roads, and are properties that were built in earlier times. There are a number of local authority housing estates located to the north and the south of Irishtown, estates which are more geographically isolated and contained than the one located within the town centre. Focusing on the 'newer' estates built in more recent times, in Area I seen in Figure 3 above, there are four estates located to the north of the town, all of which were built by the same developer. Two are accessed from one northern road and the other two are accessed by a north-eastern road but it is possible to walk through these estates without traversing the town centre. These estates contain detached and semi-detached houses which are quite large in size and have substantial green space. Throughout the fieldwork they were referred to as "rental" estates, although they do have a large number of owner-occupied housing within them also. In this northern direction, there is also a local authority housing estate, enclosed in a cul-de-sac, adjacent to these newer estates, as well as some older housing developments built in the 1970's, which are principally owner-occupied and where property is not available for rent.

The road exiting the north-west of the town, Area 2 in Figure 3, contains both older and more recently constructed housing estates. The social profile of all of these estates is more affluent and established and there are a large number of families living within this area. There are a large number of properties available for rent in the newer estates in this area, and these are considered to be in better condition in terms of insulation and furnishings than other rental properties in the town.⁷⁷. In this area, another road to the north, a local 'back-road', is surrounded by a number of newer estates, also with a large number of properties for rent and for sale. One other unfinished housing estate is situated in this area.

The western exit from Irishtown, Area 3 on the map in Figure 3, similarly has a number of oneoff, detached, housing developments lining the road. The housing estates in this areas were built in later times. Each estate is self-contained and quite large. The houses are both detached and semi-detached, and there is a large amount of green space, although this is untended and overgrown.

To the south of the town, and in the direction of the train station, there are some newer apartment complexes. In this area there are also a number of older housing estates, built in the

⁷⁷ Many participant interviewees mentioned this throughout the fieldwork.

1970's and situated off the national road bypassing Irishtown. Many properties are available for rent in this estate. On the south-eastern side of the town there are a number of more affluent estates and one-off housing developments, with very large and spacious detached properties, evidently at the upper end of the market. An apart-hotel complex within this area also leases properties for rent.

Finally, moving back in towards the north-eastern centre of the town, Area 5 in Figure 3, a large number of estates are clustered together. By road these are accessed from different directions, but on foot, all face back onto a park, in which a playground and walkway has been developed, providing a short-cut for those walking into the town centre. Within this area there are a large number of properties for rent. These properties are older and in poor condition. Two older local authority estates are located here, in which many of the properties are now owner-occupied. There are two other local authority estates, built more recently, adjacent to this area, although they are quite self-contained and are not connected to this particular cluster. To the north of this section (the north east of the town) there are some estates that are more affluent and are predominantly owner-occupied.

Irishtown, for the most part, escaped the problem of 'ghost estates'.⁷⁸ There are approximately five estates that are visibly unfinished, in terms of having buildings that were abandoned midway through their construction, or fully built but not yet serviced and unsold. These remained unoccupied and were blocked off from the public with barriers throughout the period of the fieldwork. However, several other estates in the town were unfinished in terms of the final completion phase, including road surfacing, lighting, and having a designated authority responsible for the upkeep of the estates. These issues were raised frequently by participants. One interviewee in the Community Assessment Process described the process of taking ownership of the estates:

"Basically, a developer comes in, they build an estate. They give a bond or leave a cash bond, or insurance bond and they leave it with the Council. When the estate is finished, they submit to the Council, they say, we're finished, we want you to take over the estate. Over half the housing estates were taken over. So basically they go to the management of the Council and they say we are ready to take over the estate. The Council issue a snag list. The snag list would include everything from sewerage to lighting to the maintenance of the roads, the finish of the footpaths....everything and it's a long process. And once the snag list has been completed, they get their insurance or their cash bond back. The problem is that the majority at this stage have never been taken over. And the cash bond, the cash, the insurance bond has expired. It's just walked away. This is really common. It's causing awful problems. Residents are....it's the biggest issue we deal with, I suppose, on a daily

⁷⁸ A 'ghost estate' is defined in the Collins Dictionary as: "(especially in Ireland), a housing estate built during an economic boom but unfinished or unoccupied during a recession". http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/ghost-estate

basis. The council try and engage with the developers, the developers at this stage...I mean in the past they refused to finish it to be honest, and they were granted planning permission to develop other estates which should never have happened, they shouldn't have been allowed not finish one and move on to another. And the problem is that the Council then are left to foot the bill to finish the estate and it can run to 20, 30, you know, huge, huge amount of money. There is a real push and drive, I mean every month we are pushing to take over more estates, but there is a process involved and there is an expense involved. There is a clause in the Planning and Development Act that if 50% of the residents sign a petition, the council must take over the estate. But they have to foot the bill then, so it's a real bone of contention."

For residents of many estates, these issues were manifest in unpaved roads, uncut grass, and unrepaired lighting. Homeowners Associations and Residents Associations were focused on collaborating for the upkeep of the estate, such as cutting grass in the summer time, as well as lobbying the local authority to take over the upkeep of the estates. Residents were eager to find out to what extent they could contact the original developer or the local authority on matters related to the bonds of the estate, getting the roads finally paved, and to lobby for the responsible management of the estate. These conversations were ongoing throughout the fieldwork.

The Town's Housing System

Irishtown can be characterised as a microcosm for the Irish housing system. It comprises a mix of owner occupied, private rented, social rented, and housing provided by voluntary organisations. The figures for these tenures are listed in Table 12 below, which summarises the proportion of dwellings in the town within each tenure, drawing on the figures from the 2011 Census. In total, owner occupied dwellings make up about 57% of the total housing stock of the town, with about half of these having no mortgage and half having a mortgage. 32% of households in the town are in rental properties, which is quite high compared to the national average of 19% (CSO, 2012a). Yet, as the county town with an Institute of Technology and the County Hospital, there is a demand for rented accommodation by students and transient medical staff.⁷⁹ 7.3% of the housing stock in the town is rented from the local authority, the Town Council, and just 1.2% of the stock is managed by voluntary organisations.

⁷⁹ According to an interview with an auctioneer working in the town, hospital staff tend to rent properties at the higher end of the market, which tend not to come to the market but are passed around via word-of-mouth.

Table 12: Households by Nature of Occupancy

Nature of Occupancy	No. of Households	% of Households	
Owner Occupied/Mortgage	1228	28.9	
Owner Occupied/No Mortgage	1168	27.5	
Rented from a Private Landlord	1396	32.8	
Rented from a Local Authority	312	7.3	
Rented from a Voluntary Body	59	1.4	
Occupied Free of Rent	51	1.2	
Not Stated	39	.9	
Total	4253	100	

Source: Census, 2011.

The governance of Irishtown is managed by two local authorities - a town council and a county council. So Overall, within the County, there are four Town Councils alongside seven Local Areas Councils. These all come under the remit of the County Council. Data on the number of people registered on the housing list as having a housing need, and on the number of people renting from the local authority (both directly and on the Rental Accommodation Scheme) are available at the County level, but not for Irishtown itself. In 2013, 2,050 people in the county were on the housing waiting list, while 1,600 people across the County were renting from the Local Authority and 500+ were living in the Rental Accommodation Scheme. Within this region, there is no points system for allocating housing to those in need, as there are in urban areas. Decisions are instead assessed along 4 criteria: income (up to €25,000 for a single person and up to €30,000 for a couple with children); residency (must be on a Stamp 4 immigration permission for a minimum of 5 years); alternative accommodation (if somebody owns a property elsewhere or may live with another), and rent arrears (if an applicant has fallen into rent arrears with a previous County Council, they may not apply to a different list). Decisions are made by the housing officers in the County along these criteria and there is a considerable level of discretion

⁸⁰ At the time of writing, legislation had just been enacted to abolish Town Councils in Ireland. In June 2014, the Town Councils were abolished with the implementation of the Local Government Reform Act 2014. http://www.environ.ie/en/LocalGovernment/LocalGovernmentAdministration/RHLegislation/FileDownLoad,35715,en.pdf

⁸¹ These figures were obtained from the RAS Officer at a social policy seminar on 10th April 2013, in response to a presentation of the study. The RAS Officer had been interviewed one year prior but the figures given at the seminar are the most up-to-date.

⁸² A Stamp 4 is a permission to remain in the Irish state. http://www.inis.gov.ie/en/INIS/pages/Stamps

⁸³ Interview with Housing Officer of the study town council, November 2011.

permitted, practices which are recognised in the provision of housing across different local authority areas (NCCRI, 2008).

National Policy Changes Visible in Irishtown

The government's policy of direct build social housing was concluded in the 2000's following a decision to move away from building large local authority estates, which, it was felt, reinforced social segregation (DOELG, 1991). Instead, a policy of developing "smaller schemes in mixed tenure areas and [...] purchasing dwellings in private estates to add to their rented stock" was advocated (Norris, 2005: 179). In Irishtown, the final stock of social housing within an estate was built in 2009, one of the last constructions in the country. States then, 'casual vacancies', meaning vacancies that arise when a tenant vacates a local authority property, are all that is available from the Local Authority's existing stock. Instead, stock is now being acquired through the private market, with some houses purchased by the local authority and others committed by private landlords via the Rental Accommodation Scheme. The Rental Accommodation Scheme, whereby the council enters into a tenancy with a landlord on behalf of a client, means that the private rented sector is now increasingly being utilised to meet social housing needs in lieu of the bricks and mortar approach adopted by local authorities historically.

A further policy change is that the rent supplement is now considered a housing support and not an income support. Its management is moving from the Department of Social Protection to the Local Authorities. As part of this move, in order to receive rent supplement, applicants must now register that they have a housing need. This had not been required when the supplement was viewed as an income support. Currently, there is just one application and this means that all people who need RS have to apply for a housing need. This transition is contentious for service providers as many people who may need a short-term supplement, such as asylum seekers exiting direct provision, but who do not have a long-term need, are losing out on short-term support. This could be met through a discretionary payment, but these payments have been cut back significantly throughout the economic recession. The process to register a housing need is limited statutorily to 12 weeks, with the practice in Irishtown taking an average of 3 weeks. In relation to immigrant applicants, the local authority conduct a police check on the applicant in their country of origin. In the absence of photographic ID such as a passport or driver's license, applicants must have their identity verified by the Gardaí.

⁸⁴ Interview as part of the Community Assessment Process.

Meeting Housing Need through the Private Rented Sector in Irishtown

Turning to focus on the private rented sector, it is not possible to paint a profile of the diffusion of the private rented sector throughout the town or the profile of people living in the town based on statistical data. However, it is possible to estimate from the data garnered through the study's Community Assessment Process that rental properties are made up of both older dwellings in the town centre and to the east of the town, and newer houses and apartments purchased for investment purposes during the economic boom. Auctioneers contend that tenants on rent supplement make up a large proportion of the rental market in Irishtown.⁸⁵ Nationally, rent supplement makes up about 35% of the rental market (Threshold, 2013), with most rent supplement claimants located within urban areas (Norris and Coates, 2007).

The trend towards an increasing use of the private rented sector to meet social housing need, termed "a new form of social housing" (Threshold, 2003), is introducing social mix (Galster, 2007) to the town, a shift not always welcomed by residents on estates. Social mix is defined as a policy of "enhancing the social diversity of residential environments" (Galster, 2007: 19). The strongest objection related to having families from the Travelling Community residing within estates. Within some estates, 'Homeowners Associations' have emerged in lieu of 'Residents Associations' as homeowners seek to collaborate on the management of estate affairs, without the participation of tenants. This reluctance towards social mix by property owners is visible publicly in advertisements for house sales. Leaflets and brochures list 'no social housing' as positive feature.⁸⁶ Mixing residents within estates brings some specific challenges, notably when it comes to housing those with specific needs or challenges. For example, in relation to criminal matters, those individuals with drug convictions have their application deferred for ten years and spend the duration of this time in receipt of a rent supplement. According to the town's Housing Officer, people in "private rented estates" are frustrated at having to live beside somebody with a drug conviction but "at least they don't have a Council house for life". This points to the complexities of housing people with difficulties within the town, and to broader questions of the way in which those with convictions are treated in relation to housing rights and responsibilities.

⁸⁵ This data was obtained from an Auctioneer during the Community Assessment Process.

⁸⁶ This was visible on leaflets in various estate agents' offices and is a reference to Part V of the Planning and Development Act 2000 which stipulates that 20% of all developments must be targeted at those identified as having a housing need. In practice, local authorities allow "developers to meet their obligations in this regard by providing monetary compensation and/or dwellings, land or sites in an alternative location" (Norris, 2005: 179).

A concern also arose during the study, from advocacy and service providers, with catering for the housing needs of older, single people. There is a shortage of housing for people within this demographic. Furthermore, many people with specific vulnerabilities – such as older people, separated people, and those with disabilities, including mental health problems - now have their housing needs met through the private rented sector. Generally, it is very difficult, spatially, for people with vulnerabilities when they live on the outskirts of Irishtown. A final issue is the substantial level of discrimination faced by tenants who are in receipt of rent supplement. This discrimination extends to many immigrants, with questions such as "what sort of people are they?" posed by estate agents towards advocates. This covert form of racial steering is known as "red-lining" (Ratcliffe, 2009: 435).

Inspections in the Private Rented Sector

Inspections are carried out on private rented properties in Irishtown, a policy which was introduced in recent years (Coates and Feely, 2007). The rate of inspection activity across the country varies, reflecting differences in cultural practices across different local authorities. In Irishtown, there were 112 inspections of standards in private rented properties in Irishtown between 2005 and 2013 (www.environ.ie).

Table 13: Number of Private Rented Dwellings Inspected in Irishtown

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
No. of Inspections	О	1	1	8	20	44	22	10	6	112

Source: www.environ.ie

During this time, 853 inspections were carried out in a neighbouring town. According to the officer for the Rental Accommodation Scheme for the county, the figures for the neighbouring town take in areas beyond that town, including regions further north. Furthermore, within this region, the Housing Needs Assessment is carried out in applicants' homes, with inspections carried out as part of this process. In contrast, those in Irishtown must travel to this neighbouring town to participate in the interview for the Housing Needs Assessment. The differing practices are revealed through the experience within another town to the north, where Local Authority staff are going through the list of registered tenancies provided by the PRTB and calling out to private rented dwellings to carry out inspections of standards. Standards in properties used as part of the Rental Accommodation Scheme are higher than those in the

⁸⁷ This point was raised by a few interviewees throughout the Community Assessment Process.

private rented sector generally, and they incorporate furnishings.⁸⁸ Were a tenant to seek an inspection of their property to assess its standards, they would need to contact the housing office.

This section has detailed the social and housing changes that have taken place in Irishtown in the years prior to the period of fieldwork, and reveal the evolving structural context within which residents may enact their agency. The account illustrated the growth of the town and the development of estates around the towns' outskirts. These estates emerged with differing profiles according to the income of the residents and the prevalence of properties available to rent in different estates. This data enables a contextualisation of the setting within which the study is located. The next section turns to the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the study's participants. It introduces information about their general background, to present their identities with more details than that of an immigrant, and, it introduces some preliminary information on their housing situations.

The Study's Participants

The information presented in the next section draws on the survey questionnaire incorporated to the interview process. The data collected therein captured demographic and socio-economic information about the participants as well as details on their housing situations, living arrangements, and number of house moves. This data assists in building a profile of the study sample. They are not generalizable or to be extrapolated to the wider population; rather they are used to introduce the characteristics of the study participants and to illuminate their broader immigration circumstances. Greater complexity is needed in our understandings of immigrants' lives, beyond their migrant status or their ethnic minority status.

Demographics, Family and Time in Ireland

Of the thirty-four participants, ten were male and twenty-four were female. The participants ranged in age from 21 to 58 years, with the majority of the study participants in their 30's and 40's. Four participants declined to give their age. The national origins of the participants are as follows: Poland (7), Czech Republic (1), Latvia (2), Russia (4), Ukraine (1), Burma (2), Democratic

⁸⁸ It is worth noting here that there is some advocacy activity in this area at the national level. Threshold are calling for the introduction of a Certification Scheme, in which landlords would have to prove that their accommodation was fit to live in. "This would help tenants to avoid substandard properties and enable local authorities to prosecute landlords who break the law. We would also like to see local authorities take a more pro-active approach to inspecting rented properties in their area." www.threshold.ie

Republic of Congo (3), Indonesia (1), Algeria (1), Nigeria (7), South Africa (1), Zimbabwe (1), Lithuania (1), Venezuela (1), and Sri Lanka (1). At the time of interview, three participants had dual Russian – Irish nationality, one had dual Nigerian – Irish nationality, one had dual Irish-Zimbabwean nationality and the two programme refugees from Burma had Irish citizenship. Several Nigerian participants were granted Irish nationality shortly after the interviews took place. The remaining non-EU study participants were all on a Stamp 4 immigration permission, explained earlier in this chapter. The survey also collected information on the ethnic composition of the sample. Fourteen participants classified themselves as 'White European', one as 'Orthodox Russian', one as 'Asian Other', and thirteen as 'Black' (African/Irish). Two gave more detailed classifications of Berber⁹⁰ or Muluba⁹¹.

The family composition of the sample was diverse in terms of marital status. Nineteen people in the sample were married, seven were separated, and three were divorced. Five participants were unmarried and one was unmarried but living with her partner. All participants with the exception of four had children, with the smallest families having one child and the largest families having five children. Children's ages ranged from 30 to 3 years of age. The children of most participants lived with them, but the children of three - Wojciech, Vasily and Karina - lived in their country of origin. The length of time participants had been in Ireland at the time of participating in the interview ranged from between thirteen years and three years. The earliest arrival was in 1998 and the latest was in 2009. A majority of the study's participants arrived in Ireland between 2001 and 2005.

Employment, Education and Training

Table 14 below summarises the economic status of the participants. At the time of the interview nine participants were employed in full-time work, such as stock control or book-keeping for businesses in the town, working in local shops and restaurants, and manual jobs such as metal-welding and installations and repairs. Three participants were working part-time – one as a programme assistant with a disability charity, one in a launderette, and one as a community

 $^{^{89}}$ In conversation with a study participant - waiting on an outcome to her citizenship application - at a later date in the town.

⁹⁰ A nomadic tribe found across North Africa.

⁹¹ An ethnic group in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

⁹² This participant was included because she was a third country national and it had proved challenging to recruit people from this category. Even though she had arrived only three years previously I deemed it important to accept her interest in participating.

⁹³ Greater detail on this is provided in the next chapter.

interpreter.⁹⁴ Five participants were self-employed, running businesses such as hair-dressing, delivery services, food stores and a website development company. Several had previously worked as a cleaner or in construction before securing other work that they deemed preferable and more suited to their qualifications. Information was also sought on any casual or one-off periods of employment but, due to the economic recession, no participants had been employed in these ways.

Table 14: Economic Status of the Study Participants

Economic Status	Number
Working Full-Time	9
Working Part-Time	3
Self-Employed	5
Unemployed, Looking for Work	3
Unemployed, Sick/Disabled	2
Volunteer Work	2
Student	9
Retired	1

^{*} Note that some participants were engaged in more than one economic activity and these numbers do not correspond to the number of people interviewed.

Those who were unemployed (4) and looking for work had lost their jobs because of the recession, but, with ties to the town, were hopeful that they would secure employment in the future. They had previously worked in manual jobs such as construction, food processing, and in restaurants and hotels. Three participants were out of work due to illness and were being supported by the social security system. Overall, eighteen participants were dependent on social security payments from the State. Most participants had incomes in the two lower income bands, 95 for those both working and in receipt of social welfare payments. Four participants were in the two higher income bands, and four declined to give details of their weekly or monthly income.

⁹⁴ Community interpreters are interpreters hired via an agency for services to bodies such as An Gardaí Síochána, the Health Services Executive, the Courts Service of Ireland, refugee organisations, social welfare organisations and solicitors. An example of one such agency is Context – www.context.ie.

 $^{^{95}}$ Income bands in the survey questionnaire were borrowed from those set by the Household Budget Survey and were set at under 263 / 264 – 500 / 501 – 787 / and 788 or more on a weekly basis, or quadrupled to give a monthly option to respondents.

Nine participants were engaged in courses of study and several of those who were studying were doing so as part of State support to study while they were unemployed. These participants were typically enrolled in adult and community education courses at the local VEC96 as part of their unemployment assistance. The range of courses being studied at the VEC included Customer Care, Childcare, Pre-Nursing, English, Computers, Business English, Community Work, Food and Nutrition. Many of the participants taking part in these educational courses were from countries where their qualifications may not be recognised in Ireland or because they needed to improve their English language skills. Others were registered on courses at the local Institute of Technology. Some originally from outside of the EU, on a Stamp 4 immigration permission, were obliged to pay higher education fees as non-Irish citizens and this was precluding some from realising their ambitions to study. Several participants had been very well educated in their country of origin but were not utilising their qualifications in Ireland due to either a lack of absence of connections; and/or discrimination. recognition; Oualified lawyers, physiotherapists, actors, teachers and psychologists were not utilising these qualifications or work experiences in any way. Overall, the picture for the sample was one of precarious employment or unemployment, with a minority of the sample in more secure, long-term employment. However, most participants constructed their situations in secure and hopeful terms, and compared their situations in Ireland favourably to that in their countries of origin.

For those who arrived for work, the range of job opportunities that brought participants to Ireland (not all arrived to Irishtown initially) included work in the food harvesting sector, in hotels, a nursing home outside the town, take-away food stores, cleaning companies, restaurants, and construction companies. Immigrant residents were visible throughout Irishtown in workplaces such as the hospital, restaurants and hotels. These immigrants were recruited by these companies and businesses through recruitment agents in their country of origin. The diffusion of immigrants through various segments of the labour market was clear, although they could broadly be characterised as primarily linked to the services and construction sectors.

Housing Characteristics and Housing Careers

At the time of interview, participants, for the most part, lived in the more recently built estates on the edge of town, or in apartments or older houses in the town centre. Particular estates throughout the town had higher numbers of immigrant tenants. These data point to clustering, and indeed, this pattern was supported by information gleaned through the Community

⁹⁶ Vocational Education Committee.

Assessment Process. This pattern of settlement in the town corresponds to the existing Irish literature on the position of immigrants in the housing system, which has revealed clustering in older sectors of the rental market, as well as in newer build properties (NCCRI, 2008). Most of the study participants lived in family units, and resided with their spouses and/or children. Two families had other family members (nieces and nephews) residing with them for some time. One participant was living with his landlord and three other housemates at the time of interview. Six participants lived alone and all of these were in receipt of a rent supplement.

Table 15 below provides information on the housing tenure of the study participants. All resided in the private rented sector when they initially arrived in Ireland but, by the time of interview, three had moved into owner-occupation and three were renting from the local authority under the Rental Accommodation Scheme.

Table 15: Housing Tenure of Research Participants at Time of Interview

Tenure	Number		
Owner Occupation	3		
Private Rented	14		
Private Rented (with Rent Allowance)	14		
Rental Accommodation Scheme	3		

Focusing on those living in the private rented sector, the questionnaire asked research participants if their tenancy was registered with the Private Residential Tenancies Board. Five participants confirmed that their tenancy was, eight participants stated that their tenancy was not registered and thirteen participants did not know whether their tenancy was registered or not. The overarching sense from participants was one of vague and general awareness but most appeared not to have knowledge of the implications or relevance of the registration. Those who said they were aware of a registration board typically stated that they had seen a letter with a registration number but that they did not fully understand its relevance. Within the study sample there were two participants who had used the PRTB to seek redress for the illegal retention of their deposits.

Arrangements for paying rent varied. About half of the participants paid their rent weekly and the other half made monthly payments. Rent levels among the study participants ranged from €50 to €175 per week (€700 per month) and a range of methods were used to pay rent: through standing orders, manual deposits to the landlord's account, or to the estate agent's office. Receipts were usually issued, although this was not always the case. The leasing arrangements

of the study participants also varied and were ever changing. Most had, at some point in their housing history, some form of lease or legal contract in place, although many contracts had not been renewed over time. At the time of interview, nine participants had a lease from their estate agent and twelve directly through their landlord. Four reported using a rent book and three reported that no formal agreement was in place. The housing histories recorded throughout the interviewing process reveal that informal arrangements were a regular occurrence for many at some point in their housing career. Edyta recounted, with surprise, the informality of one of her leasing arrangements:

"So (the landlady) said like, at that time it was €125 for rent, weekly, so that was two weeks deposit. And then you know like, I remember that, I still have the piece of paper, she didn't give me any contract, nothing, she just had a piece of paper like that, you know it was a hard piece of paper you know like from a chocolate box or something! She write down 'deposit €250' and hand it to me like that and I was like 'alriiiiiqht!!??"

Edyta.

The survey collected information on dwelling size, recorded in terms of the number of rooms in the dwelling, excluding the kitchen and bathrooms. The dwellings of the study participants ranged in size from 1 to 8 rooms, with most people living in dwellings with 4 or 5 rooms in addition to the kitchen and bathrooms. This reflects the most widely available form of accommodation in the town: that of a semi-detached house with three or four bedrooms. Participants were also asked about the facilities in their dwellings, with a list of facilities provided as outlined in the Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2009. Of the 35 people interviewed, two reported not having central heating, two reported not having double glazed windows, four reported not having a freezer, one reported not having a four ring hob for cooking, one reported not having a grill and oven, one reported not having facilities for washing clothes, nine reported not having facilities for drying clothes, four reported not having a fire alarm in their property and seven reported not having vermin and pest proof refuse storage facilities.

Most participants did not know what a Building Energy Rating was or whether they had one. Eight participants reported damp conditions in their residences, in relation to one or more aspects of the following: roof, ceiling, walls, stairs, and windows. Of these, two reported quite extensive levels of damp. Generally, several dwellings were quite cold and old and this was discussed at length in many interviews as well as being witnessed when carrying out interviews in participants' homes. Difficulty in adequately heating homes was raised repeatedly by participants during interviews.

The housing careers of participants were recorded, with details noted for each residence on the following: tenure/nature of occupancy; time period there; dwelling type; location; housemates; details of landlord; rent paid; deposit paid; deposit returned and reasons for move. While Ratcliffe (2009) cautions against creating a check-list of choices and constraints in an effort to assess the relative dominance of either, an initial summary of reasons for moving provides a useful introduction to the variety of factors that impacted on participants careers through housing. Table 16 below lists these, according to the concepts of choice and constraint:

Table 16: Factors Affecting Moving Decisions (Based on Interviews)

Choice	Constraint
New Job / Greater Income	Damp or Disrepair
Moving in with Romantic Partner	Unresponsive Landlord
Birth of Children	Job Loss or No Work
Want More Space Outdoors for Children	Problems with Neighbours
Want Better Location to Schools and Shops	Too Cold
	House for Sale
	Landlord Returning to Live in House
	Cannot Find Alternative Place at Same Price
	Relationship Break or Disagreement

Moving choices related to different life events around employment, relationships, family needs or decisions around location. The constraints listed reflected unanticipated or undesired events or unfavourable circumstances that led to a move. These focus on the micro-level constraints in participants' lives.

The study participants had moved not only through the private rented sector but also through friends' or relations' homes, marital homes, a women's refuge, direct provision centres, bed and breakfasts, employer-tied accommodation and/or student residences. Moves were more frequent during the period directly after their arrival and several had stayed initially with employers or friends while they started their new jobs. Some asylum seekers moved through hostels and bed and breakfasts, before going into the direct provision system. There was much variation in the number of moves made by each of the participants.

This section has detailed the socio-economic characteristics of the study participants, as well as some preliminary information about their housing situations. It highlights the full breadth of characteristics that individual immigrants have, beyond their immigrant or ethnic minority status. Gender, socio-economic status, family circumstances, and education and income all play

a part in migrants' identities. This demographic information was situated against their characteristics within Irishtown – demographically, socio-economically and spatially – while also highlighting the diverse backgrounds and characteristics of the study participants. The next section turns to the arrival stories of immigrants, in order to locate these processes within the broader macro- and meso-level societal changes (Van Haer, 2010) that have impacted on Irishtown itself.

Arriving into Ireland

Having reviewed the setting of Irishtown and introduced the participants, this section turns to their arrival stories. These accounts illuminate the macro-level changes taking place globally, changes which frame processes in Irishtown. They also open a window to meso-level phenomenon, that is, the migration networks spanning global labour markets and facilitating asylum seekers' routes. In conceptualising structure and agency, Ratcliffe critiques the failure to "deal convincingly with the mutual embeddedness of agency and structure and the fact that social systems are not bounded in any meaningful sense" (Ratcliffe, 2009: 436). This latter point "fails to deal effectively with the very real impact of exogenous factors such as geo-political conflict, global social change (and power shifts), international demographic trends and turbulence in world financial markets" (Ratcliffe, 2009: 436). The aim of this section is to respond to this and to incorporate exogenous factors into the analysis.

Macro-Level Change: Political and Economic Restructuring

Thirteen of the study participants had arrived to seek refuge in Ireland and claim asylum. The majority of those who arrived to seek asylum did not recount their arrival circumstances, and the silence around this trauma was clear. 98 Two participants were the exception to this. 99 One man, Viktor, who was of Russian origin, sought protection in Ireland as he and his Estonian wife

⁹⁷ The interviews opened with an invitation to participants to talk about their arrival in Ireland. This section contained a series of prompts around the experience of arrival, including time and setting, important people, and feelings and perceptions of arriving in Ireland. The majority of participants spoke freely and at length about their arrival story, with a small number of additional questions, but of the full sample about 12 participants were more reserved in responding and required several prompts to draw out their stories.

⁹⁸ Due to the trauma associated with this time, the ancillary nature of the account to the core topic of housing, and the potential for upset to impede on overall rapport during the interview, it was decided not to pursue this topic in greater detail using prompts or further questioning.

⁹⁹ Two programme refugees interviewed as part of the study also spoke at length about their circumstances before resettling in Ireland.

had become stateless following the break-up of the Soviet Union and the creation of the Estonian state. Neither they, nor their son, were considered *jus sanguinus* citizens of Estonia. Viktor's work brought the family to Argentina for a number of years, at the end of which they became stateless as they were unable to obtain residency in Estonia or Argentina and they could not return to Russia. Based on advice, Viktor arrived in Ireland in 2000 seeking asylum and later brought his wife and son. Another woman, Melody, also told the story of being divided between states and arriving in Ireland to seek asylum because of this. Her family's departure from Zimbabwe due to the political turmoil there is detailed in this excerpt:

"We came here because Zimbabwe go through some stage when things are not really stable. So we wanted to go to America, just to run away for a while. We went as students, we were F1 students, that means we were doing our own tuition. Plenty of jobs there. So now after that, em 2001 bombing, you won't believe how these jobs disappeared. So we could not finish our studies. The thing is, if you live in America, if you go as a student you can live there as long as you want, but you have to be going to school. If the tuition is not there and you can't go to school, that means you are out of status. But at the same time, we can't go back to Zimbabwe. I don't know, it wasn't good at that time. So we applied for asylum in the U.S. and the rule was you go out of the U.S. first and then you go from outside. But then, em, how many years before...about four years before, my sister had come..oh, by the way, there is a lot of people from Ireland in Zimbabwe. Eh, so, but my sister and her husband are teachers and one of the priests just invited them to come over and seek for teaching permit. So, we decided to come here to visit my sister. So when we came here, we found that it was actually easier to apply for asylum here than for us to go to America again. We didn't have the, what do you call it, the airfares and it was...it was hard. And in any case Ireland was accepting applications so we just decided to apply here".

Melody.

Viktor and Melody's experiences reveal how social systems are indeed "not bounded in any meaningful sense" (Ratcliffe, 2009: 436) and point to the way in which political and economic restructuring must be included in analyses of structural change. Macro level restructuring was also evident in the arrival stories of the study's labour migrants. Difficult economic realities in their countries of origin, the enlargement of the European Union in 2004, and a strong demand for labour in Ireland, resulted in the recruitment of EU citizens, as well as citizens from third countries. Nearly all participants who arrived in Ireland for work were specifically recruited through employment agencies in their countries of origin to work in small- and medium-sized businesses in Irishtown and in other parts of Ireland. The remainder arrived in Ireland to visit family and friends who were already working in the country, and stayed because of the ease of finding employment at that time. Wera describes her experience of applying for work in Ireland:

I: "Ok. Can you tell me more about when you arrived initially? That first moment with the job.

R: "Eh, how I found that job? Eh, I actually was not ready move to Ireland. Eh, because my son who is with us, he was very small, he was over one year. I was feeding him by breast so I don't want to go anyplace. But I was actually without job and my husband sometimes has job, sometimes not, so I was just thinking ok, I will try, and I get in the unemployed office. I was finish course. ECDL course,

computer course. And I don't have nothing else to do so I was take a paper from the wall, from advertise and I was called to agency in Krakow. And they was, because I am teacher and because I have some experience with older people and small children, and she has a position to the nursing home, part-time. Part-time to the nursing home and part-time to the home, looking after children. So they was thinking that I am perfect person to that job. And they was thinking interview, English interview by phone from my boss and her husband and they say ok, and they collect me to Ireland. Just give me contract and I was come."

Wera.

Those in the sample who were not actively recruited abroad for work in Ireland came to the country, via friends and family, to see how things might work out and found work immediately upon arrival. Edyta planned to stay for three months but found work within the first month of arriving, while Olga came to visit her sister for a week, found work easily and decided to stay. This ease of arrival, immediacy of finding work, and the language of 'just' managing to set up, almost as an afterthought, is broadly representative of the manner in which these participants depicted their arrival in Ireland. These accounts illuminate the macro-level context in Ireland at that time. Participants exercised agency within this structural context of flexible labour markets, a high level of labour supply, and the ease of travel. It is best exemplified by the words of Vasily, a Lithuanian man who came to visit his sister in 2005 but stayed to work with her on a mushroom farm.

"It just happened I was divorced with my wife, and my sister invited me for a visit. And I liked it here and I just found work and I started to work."

Vasily.

Meso-Level Processes: Networks of Arrival

Participants' journeys to Ireland and to Irishtown were facilitated by a range of networks in the market, through the State, and through the community and voluntary sectors. The quality of these networks varied and played a strong role in the experiences of participants in entering both Ireland and the housing system. Again, there was a strong distinction between the experiences of asylum seekers and labour migrants, with qualitatively different networks facilitating different entry points to Irishtown. For labour immigrants, the time of arrival was one of connection to employment networks or social networks of friends and family. Those who were recruited abroad were heavily supported in their move and settlement in Ireland, with recruiters or employers typically organising transport, initial accommodation, supporting

children into schools, and facilitating social events. Eduard explained that everything had been arranged for him by his recruiter prior to his arrival:

"So I came straight, straight first day and I told [the recruitment agent] like ah, on phone you know the question like on email, about work obviously, and about accommodation and about you know like, food or you know, I didn't, I didn't know much. So I know the basics, I ask him, so he actually, you know he arrange this accommodation here in this house, that would interest you."

Eduard.

Labour recruitment also took place in sites other than recruitment agencies, such as public houses. Lidiya and her husband had everything arranged for them throughout the entire process, via an Irish pub in Moscow:

I: "And so this was [your employer] that helped you to come into Ireland? When you were applying for the job in [your employer], did you see it advertised?"

R: "No; we knew Irishman, and he's going to open, like, company to find job for people who is living abroad – to find job in Ireland. And that man, he was working in Moscow; he was the manager of the Irish pub and we know him personally. And we decide that we want to go to Ireland to work for one year or two. And he contact ... he find job, actually; he is not contact especially of us, he was looking for jobs for us. And when we came he organise work permit and he bought flight tickets for us. He meet us first time the airport. And then like he introduce us in [the company] and then [the company] look after us. Because like our English was very bad when we came, so ..."

Lidiya.

The dispersal of immigrants throughout Ireland for work can be seen to be a function of active recruitment strategies in the construction and services sector for labour in towns across the country, with evidence of agencies hiring labour for several businesses in several towns (Moriarty et al, 2011). Too For the programme refugees from Burma settled in Irishtown as part of a UN resettlement programme, networks were institutional, supported by social workers and community development workers in conjunction with other support staff and Local Authority staff. Of the thirteen remaining participants with refugee status who had arrived seeking asylum in Ireland, few gave details of any individuals they encountered during their initial days in Ireland. Eight had not drawn on the support or advice of any characters or important people at the time of their arrival. This was also the case when leaving the direct provision centres, although one participant spoke of individuals from a voluntary organisation who visited the centre and provided advice and assistance to her on finding housing in Irishtown. With the exception of Melody and Viktor, the remaining five who elaborated on their social networks at

¹⁰⁰ Eduard, a Polish man working in the study town, had been recruited via a recruiter who was hiring people to work in towns across Ireland. This recruiter spent his time travelling to the different EU Accession States to attend recruitment fairs.

this time, spoke only of institutional encounters upon arrival in Ireland. Officials from the Department of Justice, social workers, and Gardaí were the people they encountered in the initial days prior to their arrival in a Direct Provision Centre. Their networks were therefore institutional rather than personal, social or professional in nature. Jules, who had arrived to seek asylum in 1999, began this story thus:

"The first time I come in Ireland I think 13th October 1999. In Rosslare. The sea. Irish ferries. Em, I see Garda, asking me 'Where you from?', everything, the question, I answer. From the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I come to Ireland to asylum seeker. They say okay, they say bring me to the restaurant, because it's a big big place, I think a restaurant, not a hotel. Because its one thirty in the morning, they say, you like eat. I say yes, like that. We made food, everything. After, this the Garda ring the social welfare in Wexford".

Jules.

This institutional network did not re-emerge in participants' stories of leaving direct provision upon being granted leave to remain. At this juncture, participants were given a time limit of either 2 weeks or 4 weeks in which to leave direct provision, and there was no formal statutory assistance provided with the move into housing. Positive social experiences for these asylum seekers depended largely on serendipitous encounters, the "kindness of strangers" rather than any policy or institutional practice and positive events were often the result of a chance encounter. Isabelle was placed under significant pressure from the hostel staff to leave but was helped by a local Community Welfare Officer who was repeatedly referred to as a helpful individual by refugees leaving a Direct Provision Centre near Irishtown. "She is telling me, you want to go for my place in Irishtown. I live in Irishtown. Don't worry, your situation is different from another person. You look for house, after this time, you have peace." Adeleke provided the following account of her move from the hostel and into Irishtown:

"Yeah, I was formerly at [a neighbouring town]. You know [the] hostel. That is where I am. And I stayed there for like 9 months. And before moving to Irishtown, I don't know anything about Irishtown. There were this group of people that used to come to our hostel. Like voluntary organisation kind of. They would come and talking to us and I told them, because I was pregnant then, I told them that I am looking for a house, because at that time, that's at 2001 I think, 2001, no, 2002, if you are pregnant, if you are in the hostel, once you are pregnant, it's up to six months, you are allowed to get accommodation. So I can't do anything, I was so heavy. And I talk to one of these people used to come to the hostel, look for accommodation and they said ok, where do you want to go, and I said I don't care, anywhere. So, I said I don't mind where I am living. So one day I followed a friend to Irishtown, they were having a wedding, a registry. And just look at this area. This place is peaceful, I like it, I think I will come here. I talk to the guy and he was able to get me accommodation in Irishtown and that's when I moved to Irishtown."

Adeleke.

¹⁰¹ To quote Tennessee Williams in *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1947).

The migrant rights organisation in Irishtown also proved to be an important point of contact for refugees exiting the direct provision system and staff members were often involved in assisting refugees arriving in Irishtown with their housing search. The networks of this group of migrants in the study differed substantially from those of the labour migrants, and illustrate a vastly different set of processes associated with their arrival in Ireland and the experience of securing housing.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the setting of Irishtown, the characteristics of the study participants, and the broader structural changes that framed their migration to Ireland. The aim of the chapter was to present great detail on the town, to expose the entire spectrum of the housing system, and of the social profile of housing in the town. This detail facilitates a comprehensive and nuanced account of the town's housing and social structure. The profile of the estates throughout the town were described, with different geographic clusters identified. These estates differed in terms of their age, character and brand. Their differing social profiles were also described.

The chapter introduced the demographic characteristics and family situations of the study participants, their length of time in Ireland, and their employment, education and training situations, as well as their nationality and ethnicity, seeking to present a full picture of the study participants' identities. The chapter sought to move beyond their immigrant characteristics and to incorporate gender, social class, and relationship and family status, into the analysis. It is argued that these characteristics play a strong role in immigrants' housing experiences and may be behind interpretations based on ethnicity within other studies.

Finally, the chapter sought to situate Irishtown's social changes, as detailed in the first section, within the broader change and restructuring occurring at the global level. These changes are discussed in the literature (Castles and Miller, 1998; Castles, 2007; Flint and Taylor, 2007) but the fieldwork offered a window into the real-world and everyday experience of this for the study participants. Macro-level processes of political and economic restructuring framed the migration decisions and responses of the study participants. Windows onto economic restructuring within the European Union, and political turmoil in different world regions, were opened through some participants' accounts, accounts which illuminated how these processes form change within Irishtown itself. These macro-level processes were then facilitated by meso-

level networks, and chains, that facilitated migration to Irishtown and to other parts of Ireland. Thus, the complexity of structure and its evolving nature was introduced.

Overall, the main thrust of this chapter has been to demonstrate the need to portray, in all their complexity, the breadth of elements that must be taken into consideration when researching the housing experiences of immigrants. Furthermore, the way in which these elements are subject to change was captured. Structures such as 'the housing system' or 'economies' are not static, as illustrated through the data presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: INTO AND THROUGH HOUSING

Introduction

Having introduced the context and setting in Chapter 4, this next findings chapter turns to explore elements of structure and agency within the housing system itself in greater detail. The chapter examines the study participants' journeys into, and through, the housing system, in an exploration of how past experiences and processes impact on their present circumstances. The meanings that participants employ as they travel along their pathways (Clapham, 2002; Mayock et al, 2008) are foregrounded, with reference to Giddens' concepts of discursive consciousness and practical consciousness (Giddens, 1984). In employing the metaphor of the housing pathway, a more processual conceptualisation is enacted, (Clapham, 2005) which assists in examining the way in which the study participants can enact their agency within the structural milieu of Irishtown.

The chapter begins with an account of the study participants' entry to the housing system upon their arrival in Ireland. The discussion is organised according to the participants' immigration status, as this played a strong role in the social context of their arrival. Participants' journeys through the housing system are then documented. There was much variation in the individual journeys that participants took. Some journeys were linear and some were far more turbulent (Rugg et al, 2002; Perry, 2012), often because of poverty and poor quality accommodation, and sometimes related to a highly mobile working life. Early journeys were less secure than later ones (Robinson et al, 2007), though insecurity prevailed within some pathways. ¹⁰² The analysis is organised according to the components of the housing structure, namely, the various housing tenures in which the study participants were residing at the time of interview. This approach makes visible participants' agency within the housing structure. According to Clapham:

"[J]unctions in pathways are important points in a similar way to mobility in the concept of housing careers. The factors, which are associated with a change in the pathway, are key analytical foci. They include, for example, the factors which enable a household to become homeowners or which enable a homeless person to gain access to and sustain tenancy"

(Clapham, 2002: 66).

Organising the analysis in this way assists with moving away from the lens of nationality to allow others elements of participants' identity to come to the fore. With a focus on the

¹⁰² Robinson and Reeve arrange their analysis in terms of nationality and construct early and late careers, finding that later careers typically brought more security. It will be shown here that later careers did not always bring greater security and in some cases, turbulence continued throughout the pathway.

participants housing locality, in terms of tenure, within Irishtown, the characteristics and orientations of people within those situations can be explored in full. Their position within the housing structures is accounted for, but, crucially, their definitions, their vista of the situation, is the primary analytical focus. Their worldviews and constructs are prioritised.

'Into Housing' - First Experiences and Processes

"She said 'Oh well, no, no, no. We are going to interesting place. We are going to build this'. She said 'We are coming to this Irishtown to build it'. I reckon that I can never forget what she says. And she said 'Our children is going to grow up in this; it's very quiet, it's not Dublin that is very crowded and a lot of crime going on there, so it's a good place to brought up the children'. I said okay and I called my husband and I told him."

Lewa.

This quote by Lewa is indicative of her hopes and expectations when she moved to Irishtown to begin a new life. Lewa was encouraged to come to Irishtown by a friend, who expressed similar sentiments to the ones in the quote above. As documented in Chapter 4, the rural character of Irishtown mattered in terms of the essence of social networks and participants' construction of their lives there. This emerges further through the participants' accounts of their entry to housing and journeys through the housing system.

Rural settings are framed by a culture and identity distinct from that of the urban metropolis, with a "traditional view of these areas as stable and fixed, opposed to urban areas that are seen as dynamic and fluid (Hedberg and Haandrikman, 2014: 129). They are characterised by *Gemeinschaft*¹⁰³ relationships based on close family ties, a high degree of social order and personal social relations, as opposed to impersonal ones (Newby, 1979). While the competition for resources present in cities may not exist, networks and social practices can create mechanisms of exclusion to diversity, with less scope for a deviation from the social norm. Yet recent research has claimed that rural spaces are now as diverse and transnational as urban locations, departing from this traditional conceptualisation (Hedberg and Haandrikmaan, 2014). The macro- and meso- level processes outlined in Chapter 4 illustrate the way in which this is happening within Irishtown. In this rural location, migrant workers were recruited for

¹⁰³ This is related to the work of Ferdinand Tönnies on Community (1887). Societies characterised by *Gemeinschaft* relationships are considered to be homogenous, grounded on ties of kinship and have a moral cohesion, often derived from common religious sentiment. This is in contrast to *Gesellschaft* relationships, which are based on association, and dissolve community ties through the division of labour, individualism and competitiveness.

seasonal work in the horticultural sector outside of Irishtown and for work in the services and construction sector within Irishtown. Others workers followed friends and family to Irishtown and spousal migration, where wives followed their husbands to Irishtown, was also visible.¹⁰⁴ Alongside these forms of economic and family migration, rural areas in Ireland are also sites for the housing of asylum seekers – those who are applying for protection by the Irish State from persecution. Asylum seekers are fed and housed in centres in non-urban areas throughout Ireland while their application for asylum is being processed¹⁰⁵ (RIA, 2012. EMN, 2014) and three such sites are in the vicinity of Irishtown. Notwithstanding this diversity, the contours of rural social relations remained in the ebb and flow of social interactions around accessing housing.

Entry to the housing system was related to the immigration system overall, with recruitment processes, asylum processes, and spousal migration all dictating the social context of immigrants' entry to housing. Tight networks were evident in the arrival stories of migrant workers and extended to participants' experiences of accessing housing. Close and informal relationships between landlords, business owners, employment agents, and amateur property agents wove through the properties of Irishtown. Being recruited to work in this way usually facilitated a rich social capital in accessing and navigating the housing system, with cooperative and mutually supportive relations (Putnam, 2000), for the most part. This was in clear contrast to those who were trying to access housing upon leaving Direct Provision Centres. While some of these people did have friends in the vicinity, they mostly struggled to access decent housing. Those with more positive experiences often had lucky encounters with local residents or advocates who helped them. Notably, the asylum seekers who arrived before the system of direct provision was put in place received far better support in accessing housing, as they could rely on a social worker and had greater social capital through being housed within the community rather than in an institutional setting. The next section considers these experiences in detail.

¹⁰⁴ There were no cases of husbands following wives for work within the sample.

¹⁰⁵ Reception and Integration Agency, Annual Report, 2012.

 $[\]frac{\text{http://www.ria.gov.ie/en/RIA/RIA\%20Annual\%20Report\%20(A3)2012.pdf/Files/RIA\%20Annual\%20Report\%20(A3)2012.pdf}{\text{potf\%20(A3)2012.pdf}}$

'Recruited' into Housing - The Housing of Migrant Workers

"So yeah, so I came straight in this house and I had the job and eh, so [the agent] really looked after me like, so you know always in the beginning is the hardest I would say and so eh, I felt very eh, very satisfied with his approach. He paid even the deposit here, and when I was leaving first time Ireland after three and a half years, so, [the landlord] gave [the agent] the deposit. So it was very nice. And he didn't know who he was taking!"

Eduard.

Those who were recruited to work in Ireland, such as Eduard, 106 above, had their initial accommodation bound up as part of their entire package of arrival. Agents and employers facilitated the accommodation of all recruited labour migrants, either in tied-accommodation or in room shares in houses with other workers. Research on recruitment agents within migrant networks is emerging (Hernandez-Leon, 2005; Fellini, Ferro and Fullin, 2007; Elrick and Lewandowska, 2008; Cangiano and Walsh, 2013), usually examining the role of agents in processes of recruitment. These studies are framed by the work of Massey et al (1998) and Goss and Lindquist (1995) on migrant networks and the participation of families, friends and communities in the migration process. They seek to examine the increasing role of agents and employers in migration processes. Agents, with their extensive social networks spanning employers, landlords, transport companies and government officials, have a mediating status as brokers between 'structural holes'107 (Elrick and Lewandowska, 2008). Elrick and Lewandowska's 2008 study of Polish care workers in Germany and Italy was the first to reveal that agents don't just match labour demand and supply, but facilitate the actual move, provide accommodation and give emotional support in the destination country. In the current study all who arrived in this way were housed and supported by agents and employers in their early days and weeks, with deposits and other necessities arranged for most of them. Lidiya recounts:

"Our boss ... we were living for two weeks in B&B, our boss paid for B&B in [a city suburb], and they ordered a taxi for us every morning; so we go from [the suburb] to [the city] by taxi and we living in the B&B actually (chuckles). It was great, it was definitely not stressful at all. And then when that house was free we start living in that house, five of us. So we share house between us."

Lidiya.

Adam, from South Asia, and the only visible ethnic minority who was recruited, was the one participant who did not share this positive experience. He was placed in a Bed and Breakfast for

¹⁰⁶ Eduard's landlord was also involved in the recruitment of workers from Eastern Europe for his own company, a steel works company in the region.

¹⁰⁷ The term 'structural holes' "is derived from social network theory (Burt, 1992) and describes the competitive advantage a person possesses whose social relations span holes in the underlying social structure, i.e. here missing contacts within migrant networks" (Elrick and Lewandowska, 2008: 726).

his first two months in Ireland and instructed by his employer to find somewhere to live by himself. With no assistance, little knowledge of the market, and poor, heavily accented English, he found it very difficult to find somewhere to live:

"I arrived in [a nearby] airport and somebody was picked me from there. So straight away they brought me to BnB, em [name], yeah. That's the BnB. I was staying around two months in that until I find a place. So, yeah, after that I was try a few places to go. They said find out a place myself and I was rang a few places but you know, when I rang sometimes my English was not fluent like when I came here so they said, probably, you know, some people said straight away its gone. Probably they don't like to keep. And after, few weeks after, somebody was Lithuanian woman and she said yeah, you can take this accommodation. The other girl is sharing the other room so you can stay over."

Adam.

Adam was subsequently asked to leave this property because of his ethnicity. The 'Lithuanian woman' requested that he leave as she claimed she could not find people willing to share with a South Asian. Thus his early experience was framed by discrimination in the housing market, compounded by a lack of social capital. However, his income was sufficient to meet his own housing needs and Adam went on to move into his own place upon leaving the above house share.

Chain migrants - those who followed friends and family for work in Ireland - came for short stays either to visit or to assess the possibility of staying. With such an abundance of work available, finding work and getting set up was straightforward. They typically shared their friends' and relations' accommodation before going on to find their own. This discourse was less related to getting set up and was more relaxed. With the ease of an existing set-up, participants could settle and take in the surroundings and look for work.

'Dependant Entry' to Housing - Spousal Migrants

Among the female study participants who followed their husbands to Ireland (there were no husbands following wives), entry to the housing system was facilitated by their husband's earlier arrival and set-up. All of these women were from third countries – outside of the EU – and were married to men from either their own country, an EU country or from Ireland.¹⁰⁸ All spousal migrants were dependent on their husband's situations, and where their husbands were Irish there was a more robust housing situation in terms of tenure and access to finance. These spouses' resources and social experiences were linked to those of their husbands. Katya could avail of her husband's networks to assist with her visa application:

¹⁰⁸ Thus, there were restrictions on their ability to work and they remained dependent on their spouses.

"Even one of landlord, he is owning [a business] in Irishtown, he helped originally to write down the letter because, without any explanation, my visa was denied in embassy, and they didn't explain anything... They give me visa back-dated finally, because they knew they didn't have any rights to do that, because this guy he wrote really angry letter to them."

Katya.

Spouses' housing situation were linked to their husbands' and the narrative of arrival was one of transition, a little isolation, a change very much focused on the home rather than on the workplace, with work being found at a later time. All spouses were completely dependent on their husbands in the early days and weeks and for three of these spouses, the time was framed by childbirth rather than work. For Lia, this dependency was a difficulty - her marriage turned violent and controlling and she later left for the women's refuge in Irishtown. Lia had resided in an owner occupied house with her husband and describes her time with him in terms of control, "I'm not allowed go to meet people", and isolation, "just two mile neighbour....only me, you know, with the wind".

'Institutional Entry' to Housing - The Process of Leaving Direct Provision

Those participants in the study who arrived as asylum seekers after the system of Direct Provision was set up in 2001, left the system upon being granted refugee status. ¹⁰⁹ This time was framed by an unsupported exit from the Direct Provision Centres and into the community. These newly declared refugees embarked on the process of beginning a new life in Ireland. "When that happens you are like any other citizen: you have to go around looking for a place to rent" (Melody). The process of leaving was framed by interactions with the community welfare officer and pressure from the management of the direct provision centres to leave by a certain date. The discretionary powers of the community welfare officers were apparent through varied experiences, with some given funds for a deposit and others not. For some, the community welfare officer connected to Irishtown provided crucial advocacy as she forestalled pressure from the hostel to leave by a certain date, and offered advice on housing quality. Isabelle's translator explained:

¹⁰⁹ The process of leaving began with a permission to stay granted by the Department of Justice. Management at the Direct Provision Centres requested that residents leave within a certain period of time dependent on what sort of permission they had been given. People who had been given refugee status had a month in which to leave the hostel and those who were granted leave to remain were given two weeks in which to leave the hostel. This latter group were given permission to stay only for one year and had to apply for residency again after that time.

"[It gave her] hope, like. Because the pressure was to go. But we have like, the welfare officer, the welfare officer in [the town where the direct provision centre is located], she is the same in Irishtown. So, until when she saw I being upset because the management was saying you have to go, [she said] 'don't worry, I'm still the same welfare officer in Irishtown so take your time to find an accommodation'. Then Isabelle was 'oh my god, I can calm down and look for the place'. Slowly. So that was a pressure off from her".

Isabelle.

Exits from direct provision were therefore about finding somewhere to live and drawing on whatever social connections were available – friends already living in the community or any advocates met whilst living in the Direct Provision Centres. This formally unsupported setting contrasted with the experience of those who arrived before the system of direct provision was put in place. Abigail, in 2000, had a social worker check the quality of the house and help her find a suitable house. "When it's time for you to move, you move. After I was there for a while, and that system, you have to go to get a house". The introduction of the system of direct provision meant a loss of formalised individual support to asylum seekers and after this time, house searches were dependent on any social capital built up organically. Many refugees arrived to Irishtown because the presence of a migrant rights' organisation there provided them with initial social support.

Refugees' Experience of Looking for a House - Social Networks and Discrimination

For asylum seekers, the process of searching for first accommodation began upon being granted permission to stay. These participants faced considerable financial limitations. For example, Noelle followed a friend to another town upon being granted permission to remain but could not find anything of sufficient quality within the rent supplement market that was close enough to the town centre. She then focused on Irishtown, because of her links to the migrant rights organisation there, but had the same experience. With only one day remaining, and desperate to find somewhere due to the requirement that she leave the hostel within a certain time limit, she begged a landlady to accept her.

"I wanted to go to [another town], and I told my social welfare in the hostel, and I went to [that town] to stay with a friend from Angola, to find accommodation, but it was just...the rent allowance they have to pay, it was low like, most of the apartments were so expensive and I was not driving, most of the ones I could afford, it was a bit far from the town, so then, it was impossible for me and I changed my mind to move to Irishtown and it was the same thing like. It was just expensive too. But then I didn't have the choice because I have to, I have to leave my room because other people have to come, so you would, stressful enough, to come in the morning, to get newspaper, to phone few landlords and see the house, the condition and then go back on the last train, come the next day. I think I did for three or four days like, so stressful. Until I get."

Noelle.

Others, such as Jules, Eve and Lewa, had friends help them to get a place and did not need to search themselves. Some other participants who left direct provision could draw on the resources of people they met while there. Adeleke had gotten to know a volunteer during her time in the system, and he later found a place for her to live.

"And I talk to one of these people used to come to the hostel, to help me look for accommodation and they said ok, where do you want to go, and I said I don't care, anywhere. So, I said I don't mind where I am living. So one day I followed a friend to Irishtown, they were having a wedding, a registry. And just look at this area. And I said oh, this place is peaceful, I like it, I think I will come here. I talk to the guy and he was able to get me accommodation in Irishtown and that's when I moved to Irishtown."

Adeleke.

However the growth of these connections was dependent on the organic experiences of the individual asylum seekers. Some did not build connections during their time in direct provision, and in the absence of formal support, faced an isolating search for housing. Ray described the process as similar to looking for a job, he got a lot of refusals:

"You need to phone first. So before phoning, you want go there and view the house. So the moment you phone and then maybe they say 'No, we don't take the people from social welfare'. Because we were not working. They say 'We only want professional people. Hey, we want this. We don't, no, we don't take people from the Clinic'."

Ray.

Ray discovered that if estate agents rang on his behalf, a viewing request would not be refused, but if he made the call, he was refused. He would be told it was not available for rent but he would continue to see it advertised in the following days and weeks. "We didn't have the choice". Several of the people leaving direct provision, all of Black African ethnicity, recounted strong discrimination based on their colour, sometimes explicit, but also masked in terms of their being on rent supplement or having children. Esther delves beneath this nuance to expose the explicit discrimination:

"When I was looking for a house, you know, some of them when they see you are Black, when they see the colour of your skin, they won't give it to you. But they will not say it, but you will see their reaction. You know it happens, that is the truth. When you see when you are talking to them, the way they react, let's say in the body language, you know they are doing it."

Esther.

Programme Refugees - Supported Settlement

The families who were resettled as part of UN programme in Irishtown spent their first three months living in special programme accommodation where they underwent a series of courses and training for induction to life in Ireland. After these courses, ten families were housed in

Irishtown. Five were placed on the Rental Accommodation Scheme and five were in the private rented sector with a rent supplement, in different locations so as to achieve a residential mix. Thura described this time as "a big change." There were 10 families together in the apartment, they all had to be quiet but it was good to be together and to help each other. Her mother, Than, described how they had to learn everything from the beginning: cooking, cleaning, and speaking. When they moved into Irishtown, the early days were about gaining a spatial awareness of the town and settling into the houses and a new life in Ireland.

'Into Housing' - Continued Interactions and Networks

This section paints a picture of the continued social interactions and networks that played a role in participants' ongoing access to the private rented sector in Irishtown. The diversification of networks, in the context of migration, emerged through the accounts of the tenant participants. Different rules of access were evident in the social interactions of the study participants as they sought a place to live. Prior research has defined sub-markets in terms of demander-group characteristics such as income or race, though these have not been proven to perform well in their explanatory power (Watkins, 2001). Yet within this study 'demander group' networks, to borrow this expression from Watkins, revealed themselves to be quite prevalent within strategies for accessing housing, and vacancies were often concealed within these networks. Those without this social capital sourced housing through the open market.

One 'demander group' network that emerged was a recruiter network, with networks of employers and recruiters playing a strong role in the placement of migrant workers into certain sectors of the housing market. This extended into later housing moves, with many migrant workers continuing to rely on the assistance of their managers to find places to live. Another 'demander group' network to emerge was that framed by networks of ethnicity (Gilchrist and Kyprianou, 2011). Several of the study participants found choice properties through their connections within these networks. Often, 'informal' letting agents and representatives managed these properties. Another network which exists independently but occasionally overlaps with those identified was the professional market – those tenancies arranged through an estate agent's office. A final category, identified and discussed separately because it formed a strong component in searches, were those advertised in newspapers and on property websites

¹¹⁰ Information gathered as part of the Community Assessment Process.

on the internet. In practice this category overlapped with others. Overall, the networks identified were:

- Public Advertisements (in newspapers and letting websites)
- 'Professional' Avenues (Estate Agents)
- Recruiter Networks
- Networks of Ethnicity
- State Networks

This range of strategies in accessing properties played out physically in the town and had an impact of the quality of properties participants could access. Some participants drew on one resource only, some a combination of two across different phases of their pathway and some drew on the full diversity of sources in accessing accommodation.

"[I search] through newspapers, through internet. Not agencies. Agencies offer very bad houses that are very cheap or very good houses that are very expensive. So we are looking for ourselves, maybe friends or good neighbourhood, it takes a bit of effort to look around and to search."

Vasily.

"I was looking for few days here in Irishtown and once I saw them I thought 'Jesus, how can people live in such places'. And so I stayed over there until your man [my boss] told me that that house is gonna be available."

Wojciech.

The most frequent method of access overall was through public advertisements. Following that, employer networks and networks of ethnicity were the most prevalent avenues for accessing vacant properties. A smaller number used estate agents and, finally, those accessing the rent supplement market had specific and distinct avenues. This latter group faced much discrimination, particularly visible minorities. The subsequent sections explore these networks in turn.

Public Advertisements

This route to accessing accommodation was the one drawn on the most frequently throughout the different house searches that took place. The participants accessed these advertisements at various points on their paths. This was sometimes the simplest method of searching in the absence of social connections. Galya had lived in early properties that she saw advertised on the street and when considering moving to Irishtown, searched in newspapers for properties throughout the region. She finally moved to Irishtown as it was the least stressful option:

"We were thinking of going to [a nearby city] but because, the language still at the time wasn't great, and because I couldn't file the papers and there was no idea of internet and search, it was difficult to search for accommodation and what ended up was that it was the local paper, [name of paper] or something, and with houses in Irishtown."

Galya.

Others used this source due to a mistrust of estate agents resulting from difficult experiences with them (Wera). Yet while she had a mistrust of the agency, she found that whatever opinion the agency gave her, the local migrant rights organisation would give her too. Through this advocacy Wera began learning how to interpret trustworthy relationships.

"But actually I find that if agency has a good opinion, I also get a good opinion from the [the migrant rights organisation], from [one of the volunteers], she say that 'that man always answer phone and always answer question. If he say that he will call back, he do that'."

Wera.

'Professional' Avenues: Estate Agents

Participants' accounts of using estate agents varied substantially. Some were content to use agencies and had straightforward experiences and interactions with them (Melody, Nneoma and Eve). Tomas used them through all of his searches and was very happy with the experience. Melody had been using a property website initially with her husband. Later, after a stay in the women's refuge, the staff at the refuge referred her to an estate agent and she searched through the market after that. Melody did not rely on word-of-mouth but always relied on the services of estate agents. However others preferred to search for themselves. Vasily preferred to look by himself because he felt that the range of properties available at estate agents were at extreme ends of the spectrum – that they had either beautiful properties that were very expensive or cheap properties that were very bad quality.

Others described what they deemed to be very negative experiences with estate agents (Wera, Juditha). Wera was put under what she felt was significant pressure to accept a property. When she took another place because of the approach of the auctioneer, she did so, only to find out that the auctioneer had been untruthful and that the initial property would remain empty for a number of weeks. Katya never dealt with auctioneers. She tried once and did not like their attitude – she was told one place was 'lovely' but when she viewed it found it to be unclean. She likes to meet the landlord directly and get a feel for who she will be renting from and an indication of the relationship.

"Once it happened I called a lady and she was asking me where I'm from and as soon as she heard my accent, you could feel negative attitude. And I saw this house on the market for a while. Even my manager, she said 'Do you want me to call this lady and offer her?' I said 'No, I not going to rent:

if she had this attitude from the first place I'm not going to call this lady' even though I liked the house."

Katya.

Employer Networks

Employer-based networks for those who arrived as labour migrants did not just play a role in the arrival stories of labour migrants but continued to influence and shape the type of properties that labour migrants could access in Irishtown across their pathways. For Lech, Lidiya and Wojciech, pathways remained framed by employer networks throughout, with some intermittent use of formally advertised sources. For others, such as Wera, Adrianna and Katya, employer networks framed their earlier paths but later paths moved to 'advertised' or 'professional', though they continued to rely on the advice of their employers: "and [my boss] said 'Katya, I think she's going to give this house to you because she really enjoyed to talk with you and everything" (Katya).

When Lidiya moved to Irishtown, her employer put her in touch with a property agent who had arranged viewings for five properties. Lidiya selected a house and moved there with the assistance of her employer. Most of her earlier residences had also been arranged through her employer. Similarly Lech's tenancies were located via co-workers or friends of his employers. This tight community provided information to Lech and his family until they purchased their own home three years later.

Wera was helped by her employer in the early days to look for a place to live and later rented directly from her employer for a two year period. A period of ill-health and separation ended her work. This ill-health and connection to the welfare system meant that she lost her employer connections after some time. Thus she found the later search process more difficult. She felt she lacked understanding and needed time to think and to meet face-to-face with the people showing the house: "always was something that you don't understand..[...].. you have to think and sort out face-to-face." While her boss helped her in earlier searches, in later searches her loss of connections made the search process more daunting, though she relied on the migrant rights organisation for advice.

Networks of Ethnicity

Networks of ethnicity facilitated access to some of the most coveted properties in terms of quality. In these cases, people waited until they found out about a vacancy through a friend.

These would come up at fortuitous and happenstance times, almost always through word-of-mouth, and, in many cases provided an opportunity to escape some of the reoccurring problems of quality in the sector, as a lot of vacancies found in this way were coveted 'homely' properties. Juditha, within her Polish networks, heard about a homeowner who was moving abroad and was seeking somebody reputable to live there while he was away. She was having a difficult time finding somewhere to rent that was decent "so this home was absolutely perfect for me". Her language, and use of the word 'home' departs from much of the language surrounding other properties such as "a house built just to rent it or whatever" (Tomas) or "why don't you move out of your shed?", as Galya was asked by a friend. Galya also found a 'homely' property, at a time subsequent to the interview, when it was vacated by Lizaveta, who had earlier also acquired it through word-of-mouth. She and her husband had heard about it through friends and "grabbed" it.

"Through a friend. So, we even didn't look any other houses. So it was the first house we looked and we liked it and grabbed it [....] some of [my husband's] friends, they wanted to move into this house, but, something happened that they couldn't move into this house...[...]..and they just invited us, and we met with the same agent."

Lizaveta.

Having originally come through direct provision, Jules obtained his first residence in Irishtown through a friend. Moving a number of years later because of his growing family and the deteriorating quality of the property, the same friend then told him about an upcoming vacancy with the same landlord, in a neighbouring estate. These networks of ethnicity were a crucial resource in departing Direct Provision Centres. Lewa's early moves were facilitated by ethnic connections. A friend arranged her first living place and in later moves she replaced friends to the northwest of the town – a tenancy reputed to have a very reliable landlord. Esther had been trying to move for a long time from her place near the town centre, but had not been able to find anything suitable and faced a lot of discrimination as a tenant in receipt of rent supplement. A friend of hers then vacated a "good" house (in terms of size) and she moved in immediately. Similarly, Isabelle spent two years trying to find a place to live but moved only when a friend vacated a house to which she could move.

For African immigrants, these networks often provided a safety net, an important resource, in accessing accommodation that they would not otherwise find. Most of the participants of African origin faced much discrimination when trying to locate a property through advertised sources – a discrimination that was framed in terms of their status as rent supplement recipients, or the fact that they had children, but never explicitly that they were of African

origin. Both Abigail and Ray recounted the types of rejections they experienced and Abigail told of an Irish advocate who would phone on her behalf and yield a more positive response. The following two quotes, while lengthy, encapsulate the intricacies and nuances of racial discrimination experienced by many. Firstly, Abigail recounts:

"We looked for a house somewhere around [another town] and the lady was saying that somebody has put a deposit on it. That the lady in the hospital is putting down a deposit and that if it falls through, she will call us but she never did. Most of the landlords, they say they will call you but they never do. Or some of them will say, 'Oh, where are you from?', I say 'Nigeria'. They say 'How many kids?', I say how many and they say 'Oh, [we] don't want kids'. Some of them say 'Where are you from?', I say 'Nigeria', they say 'Oh, the house is gone'. I will probably see the house again, but they say it's gone. It happened once in [another town] too. When we call, they say the house is gone. Then there is one lady, very close, she wasn't living in the hostel, she was just a neighbour. She likes the kids and was good to us, she would come in to the hostel and say 'How are you?', greet us, me and my sister, and when we told her we wanted to move out, she said she would call, and they told her the house was available, but when we called, they would tell us that the house is gone. Those things happened but that was it."

Abigail.

This excerpt illustrates the multiple layers and dimensions of discrimination in accessing the private rented sector, experiences reflected in a study by Ahmed and Hammarstedt (2008) and Ondrich, Stricker, and Yinger (1999), which showed that landlords did actively discriminate against visible ethnic minorities when they tried to access housing. By having a connection who could call a prospective landlord on her behalf, to enquire about a vacancy, Abigail was privy to just how direct discrimination could be – an insight that not many other participants had, despite their suspicions.¹¹¹ Her excerpt illustrates how landlords attempt to conceal their discrimination – making it about children rather than race. For the most part though, discrimination took place in more subtle ways, with broken promises and phone calls unreturned. An Advocacy Officer who frequently supported people as they searched for a place to live explained these nuances. Again, while the quote is lengthy, it captures the nuances of discrimination in a meaningful way:

It's inferring from a conversation or incurring, inferring from a statement, it's not necessarily that it's outrightly saying that we don't have anything available. But it can be, a lot of the people we work with are on rent supplement, you know, so, I mean the landlord is saying rent supplement isn't acceptable and that's, a landlord can do that, or an agent can do that. Or will check if a rent supplement is available but maybe may never come back on the assumption that the house is not available for the person. But, here I mean, I have had experience with it before, but not here, I've experienced it in other locations where I've worked as well where people will ask where the person is from, you know. And what type of people they are, interestingly. Now obviously they aren't coming blatantly out and saying we will not accept somebody from X country - they are not saying that. But they are trying to find out or to steer in a particular way. But, I mean, that has happened

¹¹¹ McGinnity et al (2009) examined discrimination in recruitment by sending similar applications with ethnically different names. No similar study has been conducted in Ireland in the housing sphere although it would be very welcome.

on one occasion - other occasions where we have worked with people, there has not been any problems. People are curious, maybe in terms of where people are from, or curious in finding out that, but it hasn't been in terms of, it didn't seem to me or it didn't come across as being in an attempt to refuse, it was more in an attempt to actually genuinely find out where people were from or what their history was or why they were here.

Interview as part of the Community Assessment Process.

Adeleke recounted the discrimination she faced because she was receiving rent supplement and how she defended her reputation and good standing with the landlord: "I have to talk to the landlord that 'it's going to be alright, I'm not the kind of person that you think' or this and that. That he doesn't want you to come in today and move out tomorrow and things like that." She felt compelled to persuade the landlord of her good standing and attempted to work around the stereotype attached to her as a rent supplement tenant.

State Networks

The programme refugees in Irishtown were housed as part of a network of institutional support spanning the social welfare and community sectors. As part of their programme of settlement in the town, contacts were established with landlords, housing officers of the local authority, and social welfare officers. The members of this refugee group were divided between properties under the Rental Accommodation Scheme and properties in the private rented sector, with a rent supplement, and were dispersed between two estates. This was an informal, intuitive approach adopted to achieve a sort of social and spatial mix. For these residents, as they moved through the housing system, a reliance on these formal networks was maintained. Notably, the members of this group relied heavily on the migrant rights organisation in Irishtown for information and advocacy.

Those women who exited violent marriages – Melody, Lia, Wera – accessed the women's refuge in Irishtown, staying there for a number of weeks. From here, they transitioned to the private rented sector via estate agents, towards which they had been directed by staff at the women's refuge. In Lia's case, the staff at the refuge aided her in searching through properties, as did a teacher at the Education Institution. From this point onwards, the women were dealing with professional networks in the housing market.

The migrant rights organisation remained a crucial source of information and advocacy at many points in the pathways of immigrants who could not draw on other resources. This organisation, connected to the various institutions in the town, provided a range of supports, both formal and informal, ranging from assistance with applications to the housing list, assistance with viewing

properties, making representations on behalf of immigrants to landlords, to offering softer assessments and intuitions about the character of landlords, the quality of tenancies and contracts, and the expected possibility of being successful at obtaining a tenancy.

The social welfare system also played a role in house searches through fluctuating contributions towards the rent. Vasily and Ray were advised to find cheaper properties by the community welfare officer so that they could better match the supplement level that they were entitled to.

"They tell you ... 'You get the place'. I got the place – it's one bedroom or two bedroom – it's costing us ... and they say 'You know what? We don't give you that. Because, you know, we can't afford. No matter it can be three bedroomed house, you tell them that it's a hundred euros, they say 'No, we not giving you that'. Because I did get the two bedroomed house and I went to them and I say the rent is the same; and they say 'You know what? I can't."

Ray.

Routes through Housing: An Introduction

This next section examines the housing pathways of the study participants. It does so in order to provide a perspective on their consumption of housing over time, moving from their first accommodations, presented in the previous section, through to their place of residence at the time of interview. Examining housing journeys in this way helps to situate peoples' present housing circumstances within the context of their housing history so that their present situation is understood within the totality of their housing experience. In this study, situated within one site, the concept of the pathway assists in examining processes across Irishtown's housing system. This section is organised in the following way: firstly, it introduces the different types of pathways that were identified among the study participants. Subsequent to this, the junctures of the pathway are analysed. Thus, the discussion is organised according to the tenure in which people were living in at the time of interview - their career destination - as a way of conceptualising junctures in their housing pathways as they moved through the housing system. This allows for an examination of the processes across Irishtown's housing system at the interface of structure and agency. The characteristics of the study participants within these junctures are considered, as a way of getting beyond analyses based on nationality so frequently employed in other studies (Reeve and Robinson, 2007; Pillinger, 2008).

The Housing Paths of the Study Participants

There was considerable variation in the number of moves that individuals made as they changed residences. The arrival year of the study participants ranged from 1998 to 2008, and the number of moves ranged from a minimum of none to a maximum of nine times. Table 17 below

summarises these transitions. Participants' routes through housing varied considerably in terms of the number of moves across different time periods, with different experiences of stability and turbulence. Those who exhibited greater mobility in their housing careers were those with highly mobile working lives and those who were caught in the rent supplement sub-market of the private rented sector and were moving frequently in an effort to find accommodation of a better quality.

Table 17: Year of Arrival and Number of Moves

Year of Arrival	No. Arrived	Range of Moves
1998	1	7
1999	1	5
2000	2	3 and 7
2001	5	3 -> 7
2002	7	3 -> 8
2003	4	3 -> 5
2004	3	5 -> 6
2005	5	0 -> 9
2006	2	3 and 5
2007	2	3 and 2
2008	-	-
2009	1	5

Robinson and Reeve (2007) categorise the housing careers of immigrants¹¹² in their study into 'early phase' and 'late phase' careers, in order to examine early, more insecure and turbulent moves as distinct from movements into more secure accommodation. The same patterns were observed in this study with more frequent and unsettled moves in the early stages of the housing career. The longer time period over which careers were captured in this study capture how turbulence has continued for some. For many, this unsettled feeling predominated. "You always feel like you're on the bags, half in, half out. One leg is in and one leg is out. Very uncomfortable." (Galya). The later transitions – the seventh and eight ones - reflected a more limited range of occurrences: namely, either a continued mobility in working life or a continued circulation through poor quality private rented accommodation.

¹¹² In their study, they define 'new immigrant' as someone who has arrived within the previous 5 years and their examination of 'early' and 'late' careers is set within this time frame.

"But not in this stage. It's just, I'm moving around very much. I don't feel like I'm ... I like [this region] very much. But then again, you see, if you're looking for a job in those days, it's all everything in Dublin. And I don't think I ... I'm just in the place, on the stage of my life that I will, let's say, that I have a well-paid job in an area that I like it and I would make this decision."

Adrianna.

As illustrated in Table 15 in Chapter 4, most of the study participants continued to live in 'Private Rented' accommodation at the time of interview (28), with half (14) of the renters in receipt of a 'Rent Supplement' towards their rent. Three had moved onto the 'Rental Accommodation Scheme' and three had moved into 'Home Ownership'.

Few clear patterns emerged for those who were in the rental market, either with or without a supplement, in terms of number of times moved. Yet there were some trends in relation to the demographic characteristics of the participants in each tenure. Patterns emerged along lines of ethnicity within the rental market. There were a higher number of non-white (Black and Asian) ethnicity in receipt of rent supplement. The majority of these people had come through the system of direct provision. The most apparent characteristic though, was that people in receipt of a rent supplement were either single or separated. These characteristics mediated the effects of race and ethnicity, a phenomena which is recognised elsewhere in the literature (Peach, 1998; Bowes, Dar and Sim, 2002). The three 'Home Owners' were White European, two-income households, and married with children, who had arrived for work. The three people living in the 'Rental Accommodation Scheme' were all of Black African ethnicity, had originally arrived seeking asylum, were married with children, and had been employed since entering the Scheme. The next section turns to analyse the processes at each tenure in the housing system.

Pathway 1– Continued Renting in the Private Rented Sector

Fifteen of the study's participants were renting in the private rented sector, and not in receipt of rent allowance, at the time of interview. Five of these were male and the remaining ten were female. Five were from within the EU, four were Third-Country Nationals, and four were people who had arrived in Ireland seeking asylum. In terms of ethnicity, nine were White European, three were Black African, one was Hispanic and one was South Asian. Two, Eduard and Adrianna, were single, the former sharing with housemates and the latter with a partner. Eleven were married with children, one was a single parent and one was married but without any children. These participants ranged in age from 28 years to 58 years. Most were renting full houses, with the exception of two, one of whom was in a room share and the other renting an

apartment in a hotel with his wife.¹¹³ This account illustrates the full diversity of renters in terms of nationality, gender and age. There was no clustering, spatially, of these tenants. They were dispersed in housing estates throughout the town, albeit some in estates reputed for clusters of immigrants.¹¹⁴ The majority of the estates were on the outskirts of the study town, with some being closer to the town centre. All, including the few closer to the town centre, were relatively newer build estates within the town. There was substantial diversity in the number of moves made by these study participants living in the private rented sector, even amongst those who had spent a similar amount of time in Ireland. Participants moved a minimum of none and a maximum of nine times, with most moving between three and five times.

Moving through the Private Rented Sector

A broad compass of events and circumstances played a part in shaping people's housing pathways. Changes in the life-course, work, responses to the culture of the private rented sector, and discrimination all played a role in people's various decisions to move. Table 18 below lists the reasons that people moved with factors generally separated into choices and constraints. Again, Ratcliffe's (2009) caution against creating a check-list of choices and constraints comes to mind. Nevertheless, an initial summary of reasons for moving provides a useful introduction to the variety of factors that impacted on participants' movements through housing. In practice, these factors shifted, merged and diverged across time on participants' pathways and across space, both in the study town and beyond.

Table 18: Factors Contributing to Renters Moves through the Private Rented Sector

Choice	Constraint	
Information Exchange	Unresponsive / Irresponsible Landlord	
Changing Family Needs	Deteriorating Quality	
Being Upwardly Mobile	Landlord Selling the Property	
Moving out of Town Centre (Transport)	Relationship Breaks	
Relationship Formations	Racial Discrimination	
Change in Job	Anti-Social Behaviour in Neighbourhoods	

The experience of renting was framed by the economic and regulatory context of the housing system and this context was woven through participants' accounts of their situations. Several

 $^{^{113}}$ Wojciech's residence was an apart-hotel, of which the entire block was being rented as accommodation and not as holiday apartments.

¹¹⁴ Based on interviews carried out as part of the Community Assessment Process.

had researched buying a house, either as an investment or to live in, but had put off the decision because of the housing crisis. Furthermore, none of the participants held stable employment and a narrative of flexibility of work and study bordered their constructions of self. The study participants renting in the private market, without a rent allowance, had varying constructions of their situations, which affected their consumption of the private rented sector. During the interviews, participants were asked how they felt about their current living situation and based on this it was possible to build final categories of renters: those happy to stay where they are; those unhappy but can't find somewhere else to rent; those hoping to buy but unable to do so; and those hoping to have their housing needs met by the local authority.¹¹⁵ These are now discussed in turn.

Anchoring in the Private Rented Sector

Several of the study participants were living in the sector with a sense of stability and without any immediate plans to move on or to access another tenure. A small number exhibited a low mobility in their housing pathway and had remained in a stable private rented tenancy since their arrival to Irishtown. With his wife and two children, Viktor had resided within the same tenancy for 11 years, while Eduard had resided within the same house share for 8 years. At no time were either requested by their landlord to leave the property nor did they experience any change in their circumstances to precipitate a move. They had positive relationships with their landlord "It's good, it's good, I have not with him any problems" (Viktor, 58) and a contentedness with the quality of the place they were living in. "Definitely, [landlord] looks after this house. Must say that" (Eduard, 35).

Others, such as Juditha and Katya, had moved more frequently through the private rented sector, often in search of a home to better suit their family's needs. While moving through the sector, they conceived of themselves as 'renters' and 'tenants' and had no immediate plans to access another tenure. "We're going to stay here for at least three, two years" (Katya). Juditha rented because she was "not rich enough to buy something and I don't have too much savings to think about this". Katya's and Lidia's contentedness to remain renting also stemmed from the volatility of the housing market. Lidiya, very happy where she is living at the moment, with the

¹¹⁵ In all cases, what was meant here was to have long term housing need met by becoming a tenant in a house built by the local housing authority. Participants did not look to the Rental Accommodation Scheme for their long term housing need. In many cases, they had never heard of it and where they had, they did not know the difference between it and renting a property from the local authority in the social rented sector.

house, the location and the neighbours, when asked about home ownership, replied: "I don't know; I think maybe affordable houses is the route for us. Like now, it's ...price to the houses is going down; like it's very hard to get mortgage I think. No, we're not planning to buy for a while." There was also cautionary advice from friends against buying a house because of the housing crisis.

"We did. But we stopped everything, because we was going to buy a house in [a neighbouring town]. They started to build houses and we looked at the project and it was really nice; but a couple of Irish friends, people they said 'Guys, don't buy houses now'. So we decided ... We actually paid deposit even, and we applied for mortgage. And we just finished everything before it will go further. Yeah. It was a small deposit: it was five grand deposit just to enter before you'll get approval. So they stopped."

Katya.

These participants felt quite settled in their housing situations. Yet within this sense of settlement, some continued to conceive of themselves as mobile and free. "Like, I can imagine to leave it, yeah, probably I would be unhappy to leave it, but I could go, I could go like tomorrow lets' say" (Eduard). Juditha, tied to Irishtown until her son completes secondary school, envisages herself as moving to another part of Ireland for work or for study once he is finished - "This will depend on job". She sees flexibility in her future: "I don't know where I will go. Maybe I will stay. I don't mind. If I will find a nice job I don't mind."

Constructing a Mobile Life through the Private Rented Sector

"If we are talking about Ireland, Dublin first. But, for better future, I can see England."

Lizaveta.

Other participants were renting as part of a need for mobility in their lives and did not yet identify any place to 'settle down' in. These participants had a mobile working life, substantial financial resources and, for some, ownership of property in their country of origin. Some perceived themselves as working in other places in the future and were not attached to Irishtown (Adrianna and Tomas). Wojciech (52) had worked all over the world, in Ireland for the previous 10 years and had supported a now-grown family in Poland. For many in this group, house purchases had been considered as investments but not as homes.

"No. The reason I was going to buy a house is what to do. Like, where to invest money."

Wojciech.

Wojciech described the impact of his employment situation and the economic environment on his housing. He had intended to buy a house previously as an investment, but foreseeing the collapse of the housing market, had decided against it. Tomas' construction of himself as a mobile worker also framed his consideration of property as an investment. Furthermore, he was buoyed by property interests back in Poland, "that I can move to one or another", he felt quite secure in his options. Like Wojciech, Tomas had considered buying a house in Irishtown but changed his mind in anticipation of the housing market collapse and to avoid being tied to one place.

"Anyway, you see, I don't like to be in Ireland in the way that I have something and I don't know that I can move or can't move if something is holding me here. That was the reason probably I never bought it and I never was interested to buy it. Because if you are not planning to stay forever, you don't need it, you know. Even in the rent, through the last years, I have spent a lot of money, but it is okay. There is nothing holding me here. And with the recession and everything if I had bought it in 2004 then I would lose the money anyway."

Tomas.

Now, with his wife and young baby, Tomas was moving again: "I think I am going back home [to Poland]. Otherwise to Germany, but...I was living there for a while as well". These highly mobile participants, with higher incomes, good qualifications and strong financial and personal resources, could navigate the system with a degree of autonomy and freedom not known to many of the other study participants. The notion of moving on meant that each place was seen as a temporary stop along a pathway on which housing circumstances were expected to improve in time.

Seeking to Escape the Sector

A number of the participants renting in the private rented sector, without a rent supplement, were doing so under enforced circumstances, where they were either trying to buy an owner occupied house or were trying to move into local authority housing. Adam and Lewa were each trying to buy their own homes, and trying to acquire mortgages from the bank, "we tried very hard last year. Very, very, very hard last year" (Lewa). Lewa had also applied several years ago for a house under the Affordable Housing Scheme but no outcome had transpired and she and her husband are currently researching other housing schemes at the local authority. These barriers to both the owner occupied and local authority tenures were ongoing and framed the narratives of these participants. Adam, who had recently sold his house in his country of origin and was trying to buy one in Irishtown, was refused a mortgage because he could not illustrate a history of regular savings. "I have a lot of savings. I got savings and the bank, they were going to approve it and at the last minute they pulled the application. They are saying that these savings are not regular savings, you know?" Adam attributes his experience to discrimination based on his

ethnicity and nationality.¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ He and his wife now plan to "settle down" for six months, to work and save, with a view to "show the bank" that they are secure, committed and serious. Similar consolidation is planned by Lewa and her family, although they have had a string of setbacks to their plans lately: "so everything is just kind of going in the wrong places now. So I just said, okay, you have to take it easy now. Have to take it easy, that's it."

On the Border of Eligibility

Other participants were trying to access housing through the local authority. However the application process for this was lengthy and drawn out and there were barriers for those who were not in receipt of a rent supplement. Wavering eligibility (due to shifting income and employment statuses) was a common experience. Participants also gained a developing awareness of the lack of public housing available in the town.

"I went to Council and then I apply for Council house as I explain to you the other day. And since then, often times, sometimes we are working and sometimes we are not working, and I went to Council to apply but like, I get to understand there is no Council housing in Irishtown. Because I applied when I get to Irishtown in 2001"

Nneoma.

Nneoma's shifting employment status was affecting her eligibility to be housed through the local authority and she had given up. "I just give up. I don't go there any more". She had also been refused a mortgage by the bank because she and her husband were self-employed and did not have permanent jobs. Nneoma hopes in the future to have a local authority house, and, if not, she hopes for a mortgage. She does not want to stay renting." "We are self-employed and there is not really much coming from here. So a council house would be good, it would be cheaper and in the future I could buy the house myself". Adeleke's narrative similarly recounted these barriers:

"I've been there for over 5 years now. I don't really like it any more to be honest but I don't really have choice now because I applied for council house. It is not ready now. I don't know, I can't say anything for now. So I just leave everything till everything work out well."

Adeleke.

¹⁶ In another conversation during the fieldwork, a man of Zimbabwean origin but with Irish nationality recounted how a bank official had expressed shock at the fact that he had Irish citizenship. The bank official did not realise this was something he was entitled to apply for and had assumed he would always have a non-citizen status.

¹¹⁷ He had in fact been granted his Irish citizenship 3 weeks prior to the interview Adam voluntarily revoked his Sri Lankan citizenship when he got his Irish citizenship. He could have had a dual citizenship but did not want it – for him, he completely identified with his new life in Ireland and he wanted to leave behind his former life in Sri Lanka which had been marred by tension and discrimination based on his Tamil ethnicity. Racism was very high for he and his wife in Sri Lanka and it made him hate his country.

¹¹⁸ She has had extensive problems in several of the places she rented in the town.

¹¹⁹ About a year after the interview, Nneoma suffered very severe ill-health and was advised by her doctor to close her business so that she could take better care of herself. A short time after this, she and her husband were granted Irish citizenship and moved to the United Kingdom. They went to some family who lived there, in order to have a better chance at finding work and creating stability for themselves.

Limited options were another feature of trying to access housing through the local authority. Adeleke had been offered one place but it was 20 kilometres outside Irishtown. This was not feasible to her family's needs and so she had declined, requesting a place closer to Irishtown. But she had not been offered anything since and is still liaising with the local authority over her application. Additionally, Adeleke has an emerging awareness of the social profile of the local authority housing estates and how they relate to her family's needs. She is hearing more and more negative stories about life on local authority estates and does not want her children to grow up in this environment. Instead she is looking to the Rental Accommodation Scheme, which she is slowly learning about. Overall, her lack of certainty about the system shines through her account:

"And the information you are hearing about council house I don't my children to live in that kind of things....[...]...and thinking maybe there is a different kind of housing system now. There is this one, pay one year. My husband took the form, but I'm not really clear about it, so we are giving it a second thought."

Adeleke.

This section highlighted the way in which participants construct their living situations within the private rented sector and respond to the circumstances in which they find themselves. The structure of the housing system is visible through the listed reasons for moving, as is the agency that participants draw on in their moves. The analysis here aimed to take this further by revealing the way in which participants made sense of the situations they found themselves in. The way in which they respond to their present situation reveals the *discursive consciousness* (Giddens, 1984: 45) of these participants as agents and how they make sense of their situations within this consciousness.

What is notable is that all of those who are enforced within the rental sector are visible ethnic minorities. Their narratives are underpinned by very real structural constraints, encompassing their route through the immigration system (three through the asylum process and one recruited on a work permit) and their ethnicity (three Black African and one South Asian). Apart from Adam, discussed above, these participants did not attribute their situations to these factors but the ethnic pattern emerging from these categories of renting points to wider structural forces at play. Similarly, the mobile renters were of EU nationality, whose narratives are underpinned by the discourse of flexibility of working across the regional labour market of the European Union. Thus, the broader macro trends reported elsewhere (Bolt, Van Kempen and Van Ham, 2008) to explain housing outcomes are seen to underpin the participants' constructions of their social world. Finally, the analysis also illuminated elements of the policy environment. Policies and practices across the housing system - from the banking sector to the

local authority's provision of housing - and their effects, were revealed through the accounts of the study participants.

Pathway 2 - Renting with a Rent Supplement

At the time of interview, fourteen of the study's participants were renting in the private rented sector and in receipt of a rent allowance. Four were male and the remaining ten were female. Three were EU citizens (Wera, Vasily, Karina), three were third country nationals (Galya, Said, Lia) and eight were refugees (Than, Thura, Noelle, Jules, Melody, Ray, Isabelle and Abigail). Jules and Abigail were actively trying to move into the Rental Accommodation Scheme and were waiting for news of their contract. The majority of these participants were either single or separated with children. Only Than and Jules were married and managing the family home along with their partners (Thura was Than's daughter). Vasily and Noelle did not have any dependents and the remaining ten participants were all separated with children, although not all had their children residing with them. Family size ranged from one child to four children. Within this group there are also a higher number of people who arrived as asylum seekers than those who are renting without a rent supplement.

These participants ranged in age from 30 to 48 (with one exception: Thura, at 20, was younger and living in the family home). Most were renting full houses, with two in apartments. These tenants were living in estates throughout the town, again with no apparent clustering. They were living in a combination of older estates with houses of a poorer quality due to their age, and newer estates on the outskirts of the town. These were, for the most part, a separate set of estates to those who were renting in the private market without any supplement towards their rent and those who are home-owning. One participant was living in student residences and another in an outhouse connected to the landlords' house outside the town. This latter person (Vasily) felt it was of better quality compared to the rest of the rent supplement properties he had seen in the town, and could move out that far as he had a car. He described it thus:

"It's not as good as the places where I lived before. That place doesn't show that it's going to be better, like it's getting a little bit worse, the dampness coming up. But it's good, it's still good compared to what I've seen, what I've looked at. Because there are a lot of houses which are very bad."

Vasily.

Moving through Rent Supplement Properties

The participants in receipt of rent allowance had moved between one and eight times. Only Than had stayed in one place since she had arrived in Ireland and Noelle had lived in the same place since leaving the Direct Provision Centre in a neighbouring town. However the majority of participants in this group had moved from five to seven times, a greater number of transitions than the average number of those renting without a rent supplement or home-owning. Table 19 below details the factors that contributed to a decision to move, again categorised as choices and constraints. Within this group a greater number of moves was largely due to trying to find somewhere cheaper and easier to heat.

Table 19: Factors Contributing to Moves in the Rent Supplement Market

Choice	Constraint
Legitimacy to Social Welfare	Job Loss
Social Networks	Poor Heating
Stability for Children	Relationship Breakdown
Proximity to Schools	Bad Relationship with Landlord
Good Relationship with Landlord	
Good Neighbourhood for Children	

In the previous section on the private rented sector, categories were constructed in relation to participants 'orientations' towards the private rented sector. This was similarly possible among this cohort. Some of the participants saw themselves as returning to work and thus viewed their use of rent supplement as temporary. Others wanted more secure and stable housing through the local authority and were actively trying to achieve this. These divergences will be discussed later.

The Circumstances of Acquiring a Rent Supplement

A number of life factors featured in people's need to access a supplement towards their rental costs. For people who had been granted refugee status, most went directly onto a rent allowance, as part of a broader social welfare support upon leaving the system of direct provision. Some who had come through the asylum system had found work, however the majority faced strong barriers to labour market participation. There were strong and clear accounts of discrimination in the labour market. For example, Jules had never managed to find a job in Ireland, despite making around 600 applications:

I: 'Have you had [problems finding work] in many different places?'

R: 'Yeah. If I take my book, maybe 600 places. Answer if I go to [names 5 towns in the region] every time: "No, thank you for your effort". Before they open [a shop in the town], I go to interview, everything this man say, "Please Jules, this job, I'm looking for 500 Irish". He tells me like that, the manager. "500 Irish". But, "thank you for your effort, for coming to interview". Oh my god. After this, maybe three days, "Thank you for your effort, I don't have a job for you". I keep all these letters. I have plenty.'

Jules.

Besides coming from the asylum system, other factors also played a role. Many of this group were single parents, and their familial responsibilities, alongside any language or qualification differences, compounded their difficulty in accessing the labour market. Some who had found work on being granted leave to remain, later accessed social welfare support when they separated from their marriages (Melody and Abigail). Separation, ill-health or unemployment precipitated other moves onto the social welfare system, including the receipt of a rent allowance.¹²⁰

For other participants (labour and spousal migrants) entry to a rent supplement property was precipitated by a change in employment, relationship status, or the onset of ill-health, which usually involved moving to a smaller and more inexpensive residence. This transition involved making contact with the community welfare officer, assessing rent levels and finding another place to live. Vasily entered the social welfare system when he became unemployed. He needed to move out of a large four-bedroom house he had rented with his partner and downgrade to a smaller place by himself:

"Yes, then I moved because the social welfare, or community welfare, said that I cannot stay in that big place on my own. I have to find something smaller for myself and I found smaller apartment for myself, cheaper. That's where I live now...[..]... now I'm trying to find work, but it's difficult, I can't find work. It's very difficult. I'm fed up being home all the time."

Vasily.

'Moving On Houses' 121

Separation was a critical feature for many who accessed the social welfare system, and for some, corresponded with some time spent in the women's refuge in Irishtown. Lia left an abusive marriage in a rurally remote part of Ireland and moved to the women's refuge for some weeks.

¹²⁰ Eduard had experienced a period of unemployment upon leaving one position and finding another. While he had availed of job seekers benefit during this time, he did not look into any other form of income support such as rent allowance. He did not want it and did not feel he needed it, as he knew he would be finding work again in the near future and he did not feel he was legitimately entitled to it.

¹²¹ This expression emerged throughout the Community Assessment Process.

She was then supported from the refuge into the private rented sector with a rent allowance. Melody had similarly moved to the women's refuge at a crisis point and then transitioned into the private rented sector with a rent allowance. "The women at the refugee place just referred me to an estate agent." The women's refuge represented a mediating space between a home owned, family environment, characterised by a lack of safety, and an independent residence within the private rented sector – a situation with less security in terms of tenure but greater autonomy, safety and independence.

Varying Orientations towards Rent Supplement

There were variations in people's orientations towards their rent supplement, with some viewing it as a temporary respite and with others seeing it as a precursor to having their housing need met by the local authority. Galya, Vasily, Noelle and Said all saw themselves as mobile and working in the future, perceiving their use of the rent supplement as temporary. By contrast, Karina, Lia, Melody, Wera and Isabelle all wanted more secure and stable housing through the local authority and were actively trying to achieve this. Jules and Abigail, at the time of interview, were soon to go onto the Rental Accommodation Scheme.

Those who viewed their use of rent supplement as temporary were mostly living in less expensive and poorer quality tenancies around Irishtown's centre. These participants were single or separated and did not have any dependents residing with them, with the exception of Galya, who resided with her two children. Some had received communication from an officer of the Rental Accommodation Scheme although they had no interest in pursuing the issue, as they were eager to remain mobile to avail of any work opportunities that may arise. Said had no interest in being housed long term by the local authority as he saw himself as returning to work.

"I'm not sure myself because I'm not settled. [Here] sounds very hard to find a job. It's very hard. If I don't find after some time I will have to move to [the nearest city], or whatever. Wherever there is enough chance to find a job....but if I can't find a job and I have to move, I will just move here, in [the town]."

Said.

Furthermore, Said was aware of the uncertainty and limited availability of local authority housing. He had heard that applying for a house with the local authority takes up to ten years and thus it is not something he is prepared to try. Similarly Vasily does not see himself as relying on social welfare in the long term and is really hoping to find work.

"If I find work I don't even need it [social welfare]. This time, the most important is to find a job and the rest will come up itself. I wasn't interested. I never really was interested. I only need help now

while I don't have work. Otherwise I don't really need help....[...]... if you have work, there is no problem then. The housing is fine, you can rent."

Vasily.

The immigration system also plays a role in participants' orientations towards rent supplement. Applications for Irish citizenship were judged on being economically viable and, even though they were entitled, some, such as Galya, were reluctant to engage with the social welfare system, including rent supplement, for this reason.

Those who were looking to have their housing need met by the local authority were all single parents who had weaker conceptions of ties to the labour market. Karina, Lia, Melody, Wera and Isabelle were all caring for children and many, such as Karina and Wera, were experiencing ill-health as well. While some, such as Melody and Wera, had plans for work in the future and were involved in community and voluntary work at present, overall, these participants were eager to settle in Irishtown and to have their housing needs met by the local authority. Notably, none of these participants expressed any evaluation of the social profile of local authority estates and, furthermore, articulated a lack of clarity on the matter of having their housing need met via the Rental Accommodation Scheme or directly through the local authority. One participant was completely disengaged from the system. Ray's disengagement "I like to ignore" and eagerness to keep to himself was a result of a substantial level of discrimination throughout his housing history and a severe disillusionment with his capacity to exercise any influence over his situation.

"Because the moment they pick up the phone and then I say 'Hey, I'm looking for a place' and then they say ... the people hear and then they say 'Who is this?' They know. 'That property you have seen advertised, it's not for rent'. But it's there in the paper; I'm responding to the advert. Common sense. But somebody saying that 'that's not for sale', 'that's not for renting'. But it has been written that it's for sale. And it's going to be there for one week, even next week it's going to be still there...[...]., it was tough".

Ray.

The overall engagement of participants with rent supplement and with the broader social welfare system was complex and varied, a phenomenon which has been reported elsewhere (Timonen and Doyle, 2009).

Pathway 3 - Into the Rental Accommodation Scheme

Of the three study participants who were living in properties under the Rental Accommodation Scheme at the time of interview, all three were married with children, had arrived in Ireland originally to seek asylum and were of Black African ethnicity. Two other participants were waiting to go onto the Rental Accommodation Scheme. The three within the scheme were all living in an estate on the north east edge of the town, as was one of those waiting to enter the scheme. The second participant waiting to enter the scheme was living in another estate on the outskirts of Irishtown to the west. Faith had been living in her residence for 5 years prior to her interview as part of her application for the scheme, having previously moved multiple times around Ireland as part of her and her husband's work and study. Both Esther and Eve had been living in their residences since 2007, for both, the second place they had lived since they were granted permission to stay after seeking asylum in Ireland. They had both received rent supplement since leaving the direct provision system. All had moved to these estates seeking more space for their growing families.

Entering the Rental Accommodation Scheme

These participants exhibited a general lack of clarity, and vagueness, when recounting their entry to the Rental Accommodation Scheme. Overall, they had responded to the invitations to join the scheme without engaging too much. Their spousal status laced through most of their accounts, as they referred to their husband's organisation of the contractual elements. Faith and Esther took a passive role in the organisation of the scheme's tenancy, as Faith explains:

"My husband did all that. I don't really understand what the RAS is all about. Yeah but my husband was the one that had the meeting with them and everything but we had to go in together to sign the papers, yeah, to join RAS."

Faith.

One exception was Eve, who took a more active role in the organisation of her tenancy. A friend introduced her to the option and she called the office of the Rental Accommodation Scheme and registered for the programme. Initially, the office did not respond quickly and Eve and her family continued to receive a rent supplement. However when her husband found a job, their supplement was terminated and Eve's family had a very difficult month, struggling to meet their bills.

"When my husband was working full-time, the social just stopped the rent immediately. It was tough, you know, the rent, the other money.. Then, I wasn't working, it was only my husband. So the first month was really tough you know, to pay the rent."

Eve.

Struggling under these circumstances, she followed up with the RAS office. Once she did this, the office arranged everything for her very quickly. Her deposit was returned to her and the RAS office took over the tenancy contract.

"So they make everything so fast. Yeah, I really appreciate them for that. They took over from my landlord, then my landlord returned my deposit to me, RAS now pay my deposit. So they are now paying half of the rent, I am paying the other half of the rent. Which is fine by me now."

Eve.

Understanding of the Rental Accommodation Scheme

These participants assessed the scheme in terms of its financial benefits. Esther and Eve appreciated living within the scheme because it meant that they could manage their working lives and living expenses more easily than they could when they were in receipt of a rent supplement. Abigail, another participant waiting to go onto the scheme, was similarly eager to go back to work once she joined it. Esther recounts:

"Yeah, RAS is better, now that my husband is working full time. With RAS, you can still have a bit to save. With social welfare we draw everything. But with RAS, there is still some percent to have. I think RAS is better...because you know, for you to know that when you get a full time job, you can still have something for yourself, it's not just, you know, working at the end of the day, all you get is to pay rent. But at least now we have something for the family. Really I was happy about that."

Esther.

There was a general confusion and ambiguity among the participants on the distinction between RAS and housing built directly by the local authority. None could distinguish between the two, and those on RAS still held on to the idea of a tenant purchase, with the general desire to purchase their own house in years to come. The notion that a housing need has been met through RAS and precluded access to a local authority house was not held by Faith, Eve or Esther. Indeed the notion of obtaining a local authority house was one held by many participants within the study. However it was always referred to in a general, distant and abstract sense, never seen as something that could happen tangibly in the future. Faith, ideally seeking a house from the local authority, stated "but I thought, maybe when you are living in council house, after a few years, you can buy yourself." The idea that their housing need has been met and that their housing, for now, was through the private rented sector was not present for Faith. The practices around these shifting housing policies are emerging and for residents, there was some confusion around the various options and what they entailed.

Pathway 4 - Into Home Ownership

This section analyses the circumstances and events which framed immigrants' move into homeownership. Three people within the study bought homes of their own. Length of time in a country has been correlated with an immigrants' propensity to buy homes (Myers and Lee, 1998), but in this study a swift move into home ownership was strongly apparent. This was facilitated by a household of two working persons, 122 a favourable economic environment and one of easy access to mortgage credit.123 Edyta, Olga and Lech arrived between 2002 and 2005 and bought their homes between 2007 and 2008. These owner occupied properties were, respectively, their sixth, sixth and fourth places of residence. Two were married and one was in a significant relationship, and all three had partners who were also earning an income. All bought their houses just before the housing market crash, acquiring 100% mortgages and sustaining employment since the acquisition of their mortgage. Two bought in a more affluent estate (albeit unfinished) to the west of the town – and Lech bought in an estate to the north of the town, with a good reputation for having family homes. It is notable that the three participants who became home owners were of EU origin. This is not representative, but does indicate the way in which EU citizens do not face the same citizenship or administrative barriers to mortgage approval.¹²⁴ Third Country Nationals face greater administrative difficulties in terms of their migrant status, proof of means, and a lack of awareness on the part of bank officials in relation to their citizenship entitlements.¹²⁵

Embracing Economic Context and Home Ownership Culture

Those who bought homes did so in 2007 or 2008, just before the economic crash. All of these people remained gainfully employed and did not face difficulties in meeting their mortgage obligations. They made the decision to buy a house quite rapidly, and were able to apply for a mortgage before the housing market collapse. These study participants had been employed continuously since their arrival in Ireland, remaining employed into the recession.

¹²² With the exception of Edyta, whose husband spent one year in unemployment just after they had bought their house. Edyta was running her own business at this time.

¹²³ Each of these participants purchased their homes in 2007, when 100% mortgages were available and before the onset of the housing market collapse in 2008 (Fitzgerald, 2012).

¹²⁴ Indeed the absence of a non-EU home-owner is regrettable. Significant efforts were made to recruit some non-EU homeowners encountered during the course of the fieldwork but regrettably none agreed. Two men of non-EU origin were invited to participate but declined. One had been referred to the researcher by another participant and contact had been established with the other through a chance encounter in a business premises in the town.

¹²⁵ In conversation with one person, he explained that he could not get a mortgage from the mainstream mortgage providers. One issue was his citizenship – bank officials did not believe that he could become an Irish citizen through naturalisation and length of time in the country. He acquired a mortgage in the sub-prime lending market. (In conversation, August 2013).

These participants adapted the dominant social norms towards the rental sector, seeing the futility of paying rent when they could be paying a mortgage. This view is one typical to Anglo-Saxon housing systems, where the private rented sector is a residual one by comparison to home ownership (Kemeny, 1995).¹²⁶ Olga considered it to be the same to pay a mortgage as to pay rent, and with children in school for the next 15 years, she wanted to pay towards something that she could build for herself. This thinking was also reflected in the decisions of Edyta and Lech to buy homes. Lech's daughter commented: "well my parents came to a conclusion that it's pointless for them to pay rent when we can pay for the mortgage and own our own house". Paying rent was deemed futile in the context of needing a stable and secure house. Edyta, despite being quite content with renting, also began thinking in a more long term way, with the influence of local acquaintances: "...but Irish people used to come to me and say 'oh, that's dead money, you shouldn't pay them, you pay the mortgage'". However this did not make the decision an easy one for Edyta and her husband, who felt fearful of the level of debt they had incurred "So they told us, okay, we got the mortgage and actually, I was happy at the time but then I'm scared, and I'll be scared for the next 20 years to be honest". For home owners, cutting back on living standards to meet their housing costs was common: "We couldn't really claim social because I'm selfemployed so had to be really strict, we didn't live in very high standards" (Edyta). Within these participants' developing attitudes to the private rented sector, we can see "the embodiment within individuals of systems of social norms, understandings and patterns of behaviour" (Bourdieu, 2000 in Flint, 2003: 214). These home owners adapted the language around renting in Ireland, facilitated by the resources and circumstances which allowed them to exit the sector.

Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the study participants' entry to the housing system in the rural study town and charted their journeys through housing. It documented the varying routes that immigrants took to Irishtown, both geographically and through the immigration system. The social experience of these various routes was explored in detail, illuminating the relationships and interactions that facilitated immigrants' entry to the housing system and situating the analysis within the broader social changes taking place around the housing system. Participants' entry to housing via 'recruiter', 'dependent' or 'institutional' routes was framed by different networks and experiences. For each of these groups, there were varying interactions, exchanges

¹²⁶ There are some recent arguments that this characterisation of the Irish housing system is unravelling. Norris (2014) has suggested that the dualist character of the Irish rental market has been replaced by an embryonic unitary rental model.

and resources. A 'recruiter' route into housing was dominated by employer networks. These networks, for the most part, provided strong support to migrant labour in all aspects of entering housing, though there was one exception to this. These participants lived in houses that were connected to both recruitment and property agents, and to employers in the town. Those is the 'dependent' group were female migrants who had arrived on a spousal visa. Their situations were strongly linked to that of their spouses. In some cases these were migrant workers who had entered through a recruiter route, and in other cases their spouses were Irish citizens. The context of their arrival was linked to the social networks of their spouses. In some cases this time was dominated by childbirth and focused on the family home. The final route into housing, the 'institutional' route, was a route taken by those exiting the system of direct provision and entering the rent supplement market. These participants accessed different parts of the housing system to the other participants, an experience which was framed by agents of the State and by other friends and family who had come through the direct provision system. This process was a strained one for many, with less financial resources and racial discrimination in accessing housing.

The social interactions that took place when searching for properties were also examined in this chapter. The networks and connections that facilitated entry into housing continued to shape the housing paths of many participants. At the same time, more commonplace search mechanisms, such as newspaper adverts or the internet, were heavily drawn upon. However, social connections and networks tended to yield valuable knowledge and information on properties of a better quality and, in many cases, people waited to move until they heard of a vacancy through a friend or colleague.

The chapter then explored participants' routes through the housing system. Firstly their journeys were described. Twenty-eight had remained in the private rented sector, with half of these receiving a supplement towards their rent. Three were living in the Rental Accommodation Scheme, and three had acquired mortgages and were home owners. In term of housing transitions, there was great diversity in the number of moves taken by participants, with some linear journeys and other more turbulent ones. Those that were more turbulent were either related to mobility in working life, or to poverty and poor quality accommodation.

The chapter then went beyond this objective portrayal of position within the housing structure, to examine the way in which participants made sense of their situations, and the agency they both enacted and failed to enact in their housing paths. This form of analysis captured both consciousness and practice (Giddens, 1984). Participants displayed varying orientations towards

their situations. Those that were renting formed four categories, according to their use of the sector – those who 'moved through' poorer quality properties; those who 'anchored' in it; those who 'constructed mobility' through it; and those 'seeking escape' from the sector. This analysis revealed participants' *consciousness* (Giddens, 1984) towards their situations, and the barriers and enablers that they experienced on their housing pathways. They responded in different ways to the culture of the private rented sector, dependent on their circumstance. Those who anchored in it perceived no alternative. Those seeking to escape were actively trying to move to another tenure but were facing barriers in term of finance and racial discrimination. Participants similarly expressed differing orientations towards rent supplement, responses which were framed by their conceptions of themselves as economic actors.

Finally, the perspectives of the home owners and those living in the Rental Accommodation Scheme were explored. The *habitus* of the private rental sector prevailed for those living in the Rental Accommodation Scheme, with a sense of impermanence and a continued orientation towards Local Authority housing. There was little understanding of the fact that their housing need had been met. The situations of the home owners were remarkable for their rapidity in entering home ownership, approximately three to six years after arriving in Ireland. This rapidity reflected a two-income earner household, and being advantageous of the mortgage climate at the time (circa 2007).

In terms of the characteristics of the study participants there were no trends in ethnicity among those living in the private rental market. However, those on rent supplement were largely single or separated. Thus, family and relationship status was a more prominent characteristic impacting on experiences within the housing system. Those who were living in the Rental Accommodation Scheme and those who were Home Owning, were predominantly married with children. Racial differences emerged in these latter cases, with all of those in the Rental Accommodation Scheme having Black African ethnicity and all of the Home Owners having White European ethnicity. The analysis of orientations towards housing revealed that it was also visible minorities who were seeking to actively exit the private rental sector, but unable to do so, and that it was White Europeans who were exercising mobility through the sector.

The chapter thus explored both the visible components of choice and constraint in participants' housing journeys, and participants' own constructions of, and responses to, their situations. This latter part revealed the internal structures, the *discursive consciousness* (Giddens, 1984: 45) of the participants in response to their situations as well as the practices they could or could not engage in to effect change. The data presented also revealed the association of gender, socio-

economic status, family status and ethnicity in the housing outcomes of participants in the town and highlighted the greater complexity behind housing situations, than a focus on ethnicity allows for (for example, the way in which single parenthood often lies behind outcomes associated with ethnicity). Yet some of the broader trends did resonate with economic and political processes that structure racialized processes. The commencement of these racialized processes was made visible through the accounts of participants' entry routes to housing, discussed at the outset of the chapter. In summary, this chapter opened up a wider and deeper view on the complex processes at play in immigrants housing situations.

CHAPTER SIX: LIFE IN THE PRIVATE RENTED SECTOR

Introduction

This chapter explores the *everydayness* of life in the private rented sector. In doing this, the agency and strategies that the study participants employ as they negotiate their lives within the private rental sector are illuminated. This allows for an examination of their aspirations, and the resources and knowledge that they draw on to realise these aspirations. The work of Bourdieu is drawn on to conceptualise the culture of sector, its *habitus*, which is made visible through the participants' account of their interactions within it. Bourdieu's concepts of *capital* and *taste* can also be deployed to explain the social maps of the private rental sector, and the housing system more broadly, that are constructed throughout Irishtown. Finally, Giddens' conceptual tools of *agent* and *consciousness* are again deployed to provide guidance to the exploration of participants' actions and strategies as they navigate their lives within the sector.

The chapter begins by detailing the social aspects of the early living experiences of the study participants, portraying a time of getting settled in Irishtown. Concerns about living conditions were of secondary concern to the more important matter of establishing a base. Then, the administrative arrangements and living conditions within the private rental sector, through the eyes of the participants, are detailed. Their interactions with landlords and other actors in the housing field are then described. The chapter concludes with an examination of the social consequences of the diffusion of the private rental sector on estates throughout Irishtown, exploring various aspects of life on estates.

This chapter thus moves beyond the elements of structure and agency visible within the housing system in Chapter 5, to an exploration of the social processes taking place through the *everydayness* of life in the sector. This form of analysis sheds a light on the interactions both within and around the sector, within the *habitus* of the sector, and thus within its *culture*. It moves the analysis from an account of people's movements over time to one that explores the *everydayness* of life in and through the private rented sector. Overall, two stories are being told here: firstly, the micro level interactions that immigrants experience within the sector, and second, the social processes behind the growth of the private rented sector in Irishtown.

Life in the Private Rented Sector

This section explores aspects of life in the sector from the perspective of the participants. It first explores their views on the particulars of their rent, lease, and housing conditions, examining how the participants make sense of and engage with these matters. The section then turns to the social interactions around the maintenance of the property. Participants differed in the extent to which they negotiated with landlords over the upkeep of their rental properties and this played a role in their mobility through the sector. Finally, participants' constructions of 'self impacted on their engagement with the conditions in their property and the section concludes with an exploration of this.

The last large scale analysis of conditions in the private rented sector was through the Irish National Survey of Housing Quality (Watson and Williams, 2003), with some other data on conditions published by Threshold¹²⁷ (O'Brien and Dillon, 1981) and by the Combat Poverty Agency (2009). Accounts are also available through the Private Residential Tenancies Board (www.prtb.ie). The discussion here reveals some of the issues that the participants grapple with and how they respond to issues around the quality and living conditions of the sector.

Describing Early Living Places in and around Irishtown

The first living places of the study participants were in various locations in Ireland – some arrived directly to Irishtown, others lived and worked in other parts of Ireland before moving to Irishtown at a later date. For those seeking asylum, first living places were in the system of direct provision for most. Three of the study participants arrived to seek asylum before the system of direct provision was put in place, and lived in a series of hostels, hotels, and bed and breakfasts before being granted permission to stay. The remaining participants who arrived to claim asylum had their applications registered while staying at Balseskin Direct Provision Centre in Dublin, before being dispersed to other centres around Ireland. Overall, five participants who arrived to seek asylum initially lived in other areas of Ireland and moved to

¹²⁷ Threshold is the National Housing Charity of Ireland, which works to prevent homelessness and campaigns for housing as a right (<u>www.threshold.ie</u>).

¹²⁸ The conditions in Direct Provision Centres are widely reported and so are not covered here, although the interviews did capture the living conditions and residents' views on them. Their experiences broadly correspond to that reported elsewhere http://www.oireachtasbrief.ie/people/tanaiste-ministers/asylum-seekers-conditions-in-direct-provision/

¹²⁹ These three participants remained in the asylum process (and this hotel accommodation) for a far shorter period of time, as they arrived at a time when there were much fewer numbers claiming political asylum. The system of Direct Provision was introduced in 2001 to cope with the larger numbers arriving.

¹³⁰ All applications for asylum are processed here (EMN, 2014).

Irishtown later and the remaining moved directly to Irishtown from the Direct Provision Centres. Five migrant workers were recruited directly to Irishtown for work and were housed by their employer. Seven others followed friends and family to Ireland – five to Irishtown and two to the region. The first places lived in were dispersed throughout Irishtown, encompassing properties in the town centre and throughout the more recently built housing estates.

Migrant workers lived in the town, "rent some room" and sharing "with some other Polish people", in houses throughout some of the newer estates in Irishtown. The focus at this time was on getting set-up and on settling into work. This was the dominant narrative, with little consideration or care given to physical living space, "just house, like house", as Lech commented. Workers in the horticulture sector, on the mushroom farms outside of Irishtown, lived in onsite accommodation. Here, ten workers lived together, in four bedrooms and with one living room, one shower and one toilet. This was described as a "special place" by Karina – "a grey house, a small house" to her, but to Vasily "we called it 'bighouse'. [Laughs gently]."

Similar constructions were used for places in other parts of Ireland. Wojciech lived in "a little wooden cottage" on a building site. Adrianna first worked in a bookmaker's office and was housed informally with some other Polish employees.

"And the bookmakers' office was there, and above there was a few rooms for the girls which are working in those offices around their areas – there was like a main house, so I didn't have to looking for accommodation because has been provided. I was living with one girl, we were like kind of splitting the rooms. That was kind of weird because there were Polish girls only then there, but I don't know, the owner was coming over in the evening times and they were like having chat. And there was no privacy really there"

Adrianna.

Chain migrants did not experience these employer-related interactions. They could rely on the capital of their existing networks, social relations were more interpersonal, and, first housing was a stay with these connections. Those looking for employment could stay in spare rooms or on couches while trying to get set up. "I was living in the living room, on the sofa. It was like (laughs) crowded with people, they were times, like, it was really, everybody was saving and it was just like, you know, we were looking like, just to get started" (Olga).

For spousal migrants, the move was into the husband's place, sometimes a contained family home and sometimes as part of a home share. The husband's experience had typically been like those of the migrant workers recounted above.

"Well, my husband, he, he rented...a room, there was a room, in the shared place, with people, but there was nobody at the time, I think the people were on holidays so we were just ourselves in just one room and the kitchen. And there was old building, kind of old, and not looked after building, it was just really basic."

Galya.

The participants exiting direct provision and moving straight to the town accessed a different part of the rental market. They accessed properties in the rent supplement market, either alone or with their families. Few of these people shared or had existing family in Irishtown. Thus they acquired accommodation that was sole occupancy or appropriate for children and in which rent supplement was accepted. What was important was finding somewhere safe and secure to live, but typically these properties were in poor condition. For Noelle, the only thing that mattered was having a separate kitchen so that the smell of cooking would not permeate the entire residence:

"So that one I still live in until now, my kitchen is so tiny but as long as I have the kitchen has a door, I was just so happy, so it's a two bedroom apartment, with a small living room, small kitchen, small bathroom with no window, so when I just saw the kitchen separate, I thought 'oh, thank god'. So that was the thing. After the rent allowance limit that was the thing."

Noelle.

The quality of places reflected that of the larger rent supplement market – with poorer quality options for single people. Eve was very happy with her place in the town centre, which was in the newer, townhouse style complex. "Em, the house was beautiful. Like, me, I love neatness, clean. The house was so beautiful, not too old, yeah. It's easier for me to maintain." For many refugees who had been in other parts of the country prior to arriving in Irishtown, first residences were in estates or apartment blocks occupied solely by refugees. Jules spent his first two years as a refugee of the State in another town, living in the "asylum seeker apartment":

"This is the big apartment. Many people, because it is new. Many people living there. [....] Because for this place, every time people say, I see the black people live in this place, live in [name of apartment block]. Because its number 1, number 2, number 11, number 1 Congolese, Number 2 Nigeria, Number 4 from Togo. Number 5 Nigeria, Number 6 Nigeria, number 7 me, Number 8 Kenya. 9 Nigeria. 10 Ghana. 11 Nigeria. Full."

Jules.

Immigrants constructed their early living places in terms of the circumstances of their full arrival experience and their housing was dominated by the narratives of their new situation. Living conditions were not always important, though they did matter for many leaving the system of direct provision. Instead, senses and interactions came to the fore in describing this time. As noted earlier, these forms of interaction took place in residences throughout Irishtown, both in the centre and in estates throughout the town, revealing the micro-level effects of the processes of economic and political restructuring weaving through Irishtown's housing system.

Living Conditions in the Private Rented Sector

Some of the physical living conditions of the properties were reported at the end of Chapter 4, drawing on data from the survey which collected data on participants' current living conditions. Of course, throughout the interviews, the study participants talked about the quality of the different places where they had lived throughout their housing history and it is to this fuller picture that we now turn. How participants frame their living situations, what matters to them in terms of quality, and to what extent they feel they have this, are central to the analysis.

<u>Leases - Secondary to a Trusted Relationship with a Landlord</u>

Overall, participants' leasing arrangements were highly diverse – both among all of the participants and also for each participant along their housing pathway – and can largely be characterised as quite informal. Of the twenty-eight participants who were renting, seven people had a lease on their tenancy through an estate agent, eight had a lease on their tenancy arranged through a landlord, two had no lease and four had a rent book. For many, informal arrangements were acceptable. Wojciech, for example, did not want a lease because he was so mobile in his work and might need to move at any point:

"I paid him three months up front..[...]...and, he was about a few times to sign the agreement. And I said 'Look it, I can't sign it but, well, I don't know what I'm doing like. What I'm gonna do, maybe I'll move or something. So, while I'm here, I'll pay you.' That's it."

Wojciech.

Others who were more settled and might benefit from the security of a lease, felt intimidated by lengthy agreements and preferred more straightforward arrangements which were clearer and more succinct. There was sometimes a mistrust of estate agents and a sense that more autonomy was possible without a lease. "It was through the estate agent and I would call the estate agent and they would say, oh, we can't get hold of her. I don't know, those people were taking advantage of me" (Melody). Lengthy legal agreements were difficult to understand and perceived not to add any additional protection or rights within a tenancy:

"But honestly printing 21 pages in the different language and give only sign last of page, absolutely stupid. When I sign agreement with my landlord, only 6 points. Who will cut grass, who will pay TV license, bins, when is rent paid to, bank details. And if she would print all law, she should also translate into Polish or come with somebody who would represent them. People sign but they don't know that they won't get back their deposit."

Wera.

Tenants prioritised their relationships with their landlords over the lease – good rapport offered a far greater sense of security to them than the agreement itself. Leasing agreements were not

viewed as mechanisms to safeguard standards in relationships and responsibilities around the upkeep of the property.

Rent - Fluctuations, Negotiations, and Variable Bargaining Power

At the time of interview, just over half of the participants paid their rent weekly and the remaining paid it monthly. Rents were between €400 and €700 per month, with the majority being around €550. Eleven participants paid their rent by Standing Order, five with a manual deposit in their landlord's bank account or some other location¹³¹, and six paid their rent in cash. For those in receipt of a rent allowance or on the Rental Accommodation Scheme, there were varying levels of contribution towards the rent. Some had difficulty recalling how much they contributed because the amount had risen or fallen a few times since they started paying their rent. These participants spent a few minutes calculating the various amount they had contributed towards the rent at various times. Details of the experiences around rent supplement are published through housing agencies such as Threshold (Threshold, 2012) and the last comprehensive survey was conducted in 1999 (Guerin, 1999).

Participants' rents had decreased throughout the housing crisis. For example, Jules, in his current residence to the north of the town, paid €700 per month in rent¹³² when he first moved there in 2009. This rate was then reduced to €675 and, again more recently, to €600. This reduction came about as a result of the community welfare officer passing on the reductions in the rent allowance, with a letter to present to his landlord. Jules' landlord agreed to his rent reduction, evaluating that Jules was a "good man", a "family man", that he wanted to keep him as a tenant and that he would reduce the rent despite mortgage obligations. This illustrates the profiling and assessments that can be experienced by tenants in terms of their 'desirable' social attributes. By contrast, in a similar situation Noelle could not persuade her landlady to reduce the rent by much.

"I think she came $\in 3$ down (per week) and now the rent allowance is reduced, she said she can't come further...I don't like to bother people, so I say, it's up to me to find a new place if they don't want to come down. So I'm (sighs) desperate to find a new place now".

Noelle.

Unable to ask for any improvements to the residence or to negotiate any rent reductions, Noelle was eager to move. However she was having difficulty finding a place suitable for one person

¹³¹ Viktor dropped his rent each month into the secretary at his landlord's business premises in the town. Wojciech left his rent in cash with the hotel receptionist, at the apart-hotel where he was living. The estate agent then came to pick up everybody's rent from the secretary at a later time.

¹³² This rate is for a four-bedroomed detached house. In his previous residence, in a nearby estate, he had been paying €600 per month for a three-bedroomed detached house.

within her budget. Her relatively powerless position meant that she had less negotiating power with both her rent and the upkeep of her residence.

<u>Living Conditions – Homes v 'Houses for Investment'</u>

The importance of housing quality for sustainable communities (Maliene and Malys, 2009) and the social dimensions of housing (Domanski, Ostrowska, Przybysz and Kreiger, 2006) have been explored. A good standard of housing is crucial to quality of life, necessary for family well-being, for the socialisation of children, and for meeting our psychological needs (Domanski et al, 2006). The study participants grappled with many issues around poor living conditions within their tenancies.

When poor living conditions were reported by participants, they typically described rising damp, old and worn fixtures and fittings, dirty carpets, and poor insulation (although many places with good interiors nevertheless suffered from poor insulation). Poor conditions were frequently framed as a slow deterioration that could not be contained. Good living conditions were characterised as warm and dry places that were furnished in good taste. These places were usually properties which were viewed as 'lucky finds', perhaps a home-owner who needed to move away for a while or who had had to move unexpectedly. Furthermore, good quality houses were not seen as "houses for investment" but as "proper homes" (Galya). She called her first place, "a not looked after building". She knew it was just "a house for renting".

Generally, issues around damp were commonly reported; were very difficult to avoid or to contain; and were exacerbated by the damp climate of Ireland. This problem was especially apparent in households that could not afford to heat their homes (Healy and Clinch, 2004), either with oil or an open fire burning peat, turf and wood. Learning how to heat the house was an acquired skill and one that had to be learned in many cases. Over time, participants learned about ordering oil and how to make a fire. For a small number of participants, the landlord contributed either money or fuel towards the heating requirements.

¹³³ Irishtown was not connected to the gas mains for heating and participants needed to learn about ordering and filling oil tanks and building fires within fireplaces. Throughout the fieldwork, conversations with landlords yielded frustrations with the lack of knowledge some immigrant tenants had in relation to managing the heating of homes. This was often related to income. One significant problem was that many tenants would order small amount of oil and attempt to fill the tanks themselves, causing air locks and blockages and requiring repeated repair by the landlord. An ideal scenario instead would involve ordering deliveries of oil from an oil company and filling the tank to the value of a few hundred euro, something that many people could not afford.

"And I think he would like the house to being kind of warm up as well because he didn't have to send this cheque for the oil. We put \in 100, he gave us \in 100. We could top up heating, which was very nice, nice kind of Christmassy gift."

Adrianna

Living conditions had both visible and invisible components. Even if the property was not visibly damp in the beginning, it was sometimes the case that the evidence had been painted over and emerged just a few months later. Some participants explained that the damp rose through the paint over time – in Juditha's case this happened within only three months in one of the properties where she had lived.

"I was not really happy, but this was very close to [my son's] school and that's it. This was, this house was extremely cold. Very cold and damp inside, but when we come probably they clean and hide it."

Juditha.

"Worse is that when I come, the house is very clean but honestly I tell you upstairs is damp. Probably what people do before tenant comes, they clean, when it's damp, wash and sometimes painting and when you start live, damp is going up. I can show you. But it's not too much and I know some can be stripped."

Wera.

Similarly, the damp rose in Noelle's apartment after six months and her efforts to treat it were repeatedly unsuccessful.¹³⁴ These invisible elements of house quality were often concealed during a house search but emerged shortly after moving in. For some, these living conditions impacted on the health of their children. Abigail needed to vacate one damp property because her son had quite bad asthma. To exit the tenancy without penalty, she drew on the help of an advocate. Her doctor wrote a letter to the landlord on her behalf, to request that she exit the tenancy before the contract finished.¹³⁵

Many participants prioritised places that were small and easier to heat during their search. Favourable living conditions were described in terms of warmth, being 'homely', having good quality furnishings, and a strong relationships with the landlord. They included an appropriately sized place and privacy (Jules and Katya), clean, warm, and dry, with no damp (Wera). They meant a house that was "fresh" (Vasily), a term used to describe good quality in a few different places. Homes in good condition were seen as "a very well invested in house", a "proper

¹³⁴ Subsequent to the interview, Noelle did move. She later heard that her landlady had completely refurbished her previous apartment before putting it back on the market. Noelle was very disappointed about this, as she had implored her landlady many times to upgrade the property, and would have stayed in the long term if this had been done.

¹³⁵ Children's health was referenced by many parents. Isabelle and Galya were conscious of the damp impacting on their children's respiratory health and, as recounted, Abigail had had a doctor come to her house to evaluate it for her son's asthma.

¹³⁶ Except the "freshness" did not always last, as outlined in the previous section.

home".¹³⁷ These "proper homes" were "beautiful, lovely, with a fire place, between modern and old style" (Galya).

A sense of autonomy also fed into the notion of living in a quality property, autonomy in terms of decoration (Lia), responsibility for repairs and maintenance (Lidiya) and arranging fixtures both in the property and in the residence (Katya). In one place, Edyta bought blinds, curtains and paintings and deducted the cost from the rent. This place felt like a home to her because it reflected her taste. All of these interactions involved rapport with, and consent from, the landlord and contributed to creating a 'homely' space. "We moved to Irishtown and she let me do in the house what I wanted. I bought my own dishes and stuff like that, so I actually start to feel like this is home, so you know, I love it." (Edyta).

Relationships with landlords and the extent to which he or she engaged with the maintenance of the house were central to participants' assessment of their living conditions. Jules used familial expressions when referring to his landlord, being like an 'uncle' or an 'aunt' because he took such good care of the property. On the other hand, a negative or troublesome relationship with a landlord was of huge concern to participants, even where the property was a comfortable one to live in. Problems around living conditions were often exacerbated by an unresponsive landlord. This unresponsiveness was sometimes due to landlords living abroad (Isabelle, Lewa) and meant that tenants could not get fixtures repaired. Isabelle stressed the importance of the landlord's proximity in her house search:

"It's better for me when landlord is same country because some help you when you need someone. It's help you fast. Some time when something wrong yourself, or microwave is no work, you want to call your landlord because come to help you. Sometimes when not here, I go buy myself."

Isabelle.

Lewa compared the landlord-tenant relationship in Ireland to a more cohesive and connected interaction in Nigeria. There, her mother-in-law is a landlord, and landlords and tenants live together, viewing themselves as equals. "You know the way she lived with the tenants, you know that's how it's supposed to be. She just puts herself into their level. When she died, you know, all of them it take them a while to [get over it], because she's very too close to them" (Lewa). In Irishtown, participants had varying responses to an unresponsive landlord. Some moved to a

¹³⁷ Galya and her husband had rented this house in the first few years of their arrival, when they were earning enough money from her husband's work. However shortly after moving to this house, her husband's salary was cut and they had to move to a cheaper place in the town centre. Although he couldn't prove it, Galya's husband was convinced that his salary was cut when his boss saw what kind of house he was living in and figured that he was paying him too much.

different place (Lewa, Isabelle) and others had the confidence to address problems themselves (Adeleke). Adeleke's leaking ceiling collapsed into the living room. With no reaction from her landlord, from that point onwards she fixed things herself and sent the bill to him, rather than waiting for his response.¹³⁸

Interactions around Living Conditions

The previous section introduced the sorts of issues negotiated in participants' house searches and in their tenancies. Negotiating issues of quality forms a part of the culture of living in the private rented sector and thus forms a component of the housing structure. As Waters points out, "the distinction between culture and structure is of course exaggerated and somewhat arbitrary as cultures respond to structures and vice versa" (1999: 99). Participants' responses to issues of housing quality (for example whether they attempted to negotiate with their landlord, and if so, in what way, or whether they moved out of the tenancy) reveal the strategies they drew on, or felt they could draw on. Clegg's (1989) work on 'the rules of the game', which frames the challenging or altering of social rules, is useful in conceptualising participants' developing awareness around and responses to these interactions.

Living Conditions - An Emerging Engagement

In their early house searches, the immigrant participants focused less on matters around living conditions. The quality of the place was peripheral in the context of the stresses associated with their overall arrival in Ireland or the process of leaving Direct Provision Centres. Galya explained it thus:

"I don't even remember what I thought in the beginning, I was just excited to see something new. I couldn't even, I didn't have imaginary pictures ever, but when I arrived. I was so excited altogether and actually, the change, the move was a big stress altogether, and I don't think you are able to reflect any, like, in a sober way...how to say, in an objective way."

Galya.

For those leaving direct provision, the primary concern was independence (Adeleke, Ray). Adeleke's first living place was filled with rubbish but she was just happy to be in a new place. Ray prioritised being able to eat in his own time, and live independently of the direct provision system, not look for anything in terms of living conditions "as long as there is water, a stove, and that was that" (Ray). The only stipulation in terms of standards came from Noelle, who was

¹³⁸ These varying responses and strategies will be discussed later in the Chapter.

seeking a kitchen separate from the rest of the residence, so that the smell of cooking would not permeate everything in the residence, as it had done in the Direct Provision Centre.

While living conditions were not important for many participants in their earlier house searches, it was something that grew to matter more over time. Participants learned to look at the condition of the furnishings, even the cutlery and crockery (Melody) "it was just some of the little things to look for". Evaluating warmth, insulation, cleanliness, and an absence of damp were habits acquired over time (Adrianna, Katya), as was the knowledge that properties with these attributes were coveted finds. It was quite hard to find "nice" places (Adrianna, Vasily, Wojciech). For many, searching within the open market led to a limited choice and valued properties were often found through opportunities within networks.

Learning was not just about furnishings but also meant learning to read the characters of landlords and to accumulate knowledge about how to approach them: "Most of the landlords are very nice. Which I notice that most of Irish are very nice...[sometimes]... you see a little bit nasty, but mostly you just need to be nice to them, if you approach them, then they approach you also" (Abigail). This learning extended into the tenancy. For example, Adeleke, whose experience was recounted earlier, developed a greater sense of individuality and power in her activities as a tenant. She advised friends of hers, constantly moving in search of a better landlord, to do the same.

"It's very simple. Fix whatever you want to fix in your house. The most simple thing is send them the receipt. That's it. Because if you call them, you can't keep moving from one house to another because they are all the same, because this lady - she's my friend now - they have changed three houses now. I say you can't keep changing all the time. Because you been calling them for the past six months and they never turned up. And I say you don't need that."

Adeleke.

Landlords were central to participants' experiences of their living conditions. The character of the landlord, the relationship between the landlord and the participant, and indeed the character of the participant in terms of resilience and autonomy were all key to engaging with matters of living conditions. The responsiveness of the landlord to requests for repairs, the arrangements between the landlords and the tenants for the upkeep of the house, and the tenant's proactivity in arranging for things to be fixed varied substantially. Overall, two different strategies were identified: 'evaders' and 'negotiators', reflecting the varying approaches that participants adopted. This differentiation matters in relation to the question of structure and agency and is explored in the next section.

Negotiating for Better Conditions

Adeleke's experience, recounted above, illustrates how some participants responded to matters around their living conditions by engaging with them, feeling that moving through properties in search of better quality was a futile exercise. The confidence in Adeleke's approach lay in paying for the repairs and deducting the cost from her rent. This was an action that many other participants did not feel they could take, for a fear, expressed by Adeleke despite her engagement, that "they order you around and you are new in this system and you don't want anybody to throw you out of the house because he has every right." Those who negotiated for improvements to their properties typically built strong relationships with their landlords, and were cognisant of their landlords' character during their house search. Throughout the tenancy they leveraged good faith in this relationship to request improvements or to do them themselves. Others, such as Wojciech, just took it upon themselves to upgrade the property themselves: "No. No. But, eh, any small problems, that can create bigger, I do myself, I don't ask. Because I'm kind of handyman, I can do anything. Except block-laying. (laughs). This I cannot do" (Wojciech).

These types of experiences were more quotidian and reveal how crucial a good relationship with the landlord was for getting along in the property with ease. Participants felt comfortable in their housing when they had a good relationship with the landlord. Abigail had more confidence asking for what she wanted when she was working as opposed to unemployed: "When you are working, you can really demand what you want. Some of the landlords, you really have to ask for what you want...[...]..but it depends on the way you approach them". Oftentimes, asking for repairs involved a cognisance of the importance of framing the request lightly and using humour to address the power imbalance:

"But I don't like if I beg all the time either. So probably if something stuck like that I don't know how to deal, you know? The back of my house flood like swimming pool. I tell him, "No, I have swimming pool", you know. I say like that. And then, "Will you fix my swimming pool?" And he's just laughing you know. "OK. I'll be down there. There's not too many people have swimming pool. You must be rich." And I say, "Yes I am." He's nice you know."

Lia.

By contrast, Noelle explains how in order to keep a good relationship with her landlord, she felt she needed to adopt a more submissive role: "I think the more you don't bother your landlord, the more you have a good relationship, that's what I feel." This was a more prevalent sentiment among tenants and the following section explores this in greater detail.

Evading Conditions

Other participants adopted strategies of evading or eschewing efforts at negotiation, feeling that moving was a way to ameliorate their situation. However moving was not always possible, and so several languished in poor quality until such time that they found another property (Nneoma). Wera recounted how the landlord was busy and did not respond: problems with both the back boiler and a leaking shower were not addressed. She blamed herself for the delay in repairing things, feeling that she did not push him enough. Galya also endured deteriorating conditions and waited for a better quality place rather than persisting with the landlord or assuming for herself the responsibility for the repairs and billing the landlord:

"Well, I think I'm able to ask, but I'm not very good at insisting and unless they're not an emergency thing, if there would be I probably would but because they're not, they can wait a while."

Galya.

Those who did not develop this sense of agency or autonomy endured their situations. In one case a participant waited three months for repairs. Ray wrote a letter threatening to cease paying the rent, but never ceased to pay it, believing that he would be evicted if he did. He did not feel he had any grounds to defend himself within these interactions and did not consider the strategy employed by Adeleke in making repairs to his living place. As Clegg (1989: 221) contends "it is not that they do not know the rules of the game: they might not recognise the game, let alone know the rules". In explaining his interactions, Ray separated out the story into a 'before' and 'after' – meaning the time during the tenancy and the time at the end of the tenancy. He explained how landlords entice you before you enter the property, but then ignore you while you are living there. Then, once you decide you are leaving, they "suddenly" produce a book and have a list of where everything is. Having ignored you throughout the tenancy, checks and balances are suddenly produced at the completion of the tenancy.

"But he is carrying a book, the book that I didn't see on the first day when he comes in – when they came in, you know, you understand, you see? So you let it go sometime. You know, you just let it go and then hope things will be better."

Ray.

¹³⁹ Noelle, similarly, could not get her landlord to refurbish her place while she was living there. She left because of this, and after she had moved, heard that the property had been refurbished. She expressed disappointment as she would have stayed for the long term had this happened while she was still living there.

Turbulent and Circuitous Pathways

Some of the evading participants circled through poor quality properties rather than engaging with their landlords. Many left poor quality places, whether they were that way to begin with or whether they experienced extensive wear and tear over an extended period of time. Said and Wojciech just moved on from each place when the quality was too poor. These participants preferred not to engage with the landlord or discuss the conditions of the place, and instead, set about seeking an alternative rental property. They recognised the characteristics of the sector and the financial pressures that landlords were under and did not try to contest this. Said moved through a number of places in the town centre that were old, damp and mouldy. He was, however, quite sanguine about the landlord's role – for him, the landlords were "very nice" but just didn't have enough money themselves to fix things up. For Said, the only way out of this situation was to find a job, and, for him, that was the primary concern. On his landlord, Said commented:

"Nice people, nice people yeah. They were nice people, it was just that the house was very old. They tried to do something but they couldn't. I think it's maybe two or three hundred years old. They tried to make it nice but, but I think to get it right they have to spend a lot. To really do it."

Said.

These participants were among those who reported some of the more turbulent or circuitous careers in Irishtown. What is important is that they were always escaping a place that was substandard - moving constantly in an effort to escape a poor quality experience. A certain powerlessness or lack of autonomy, and an experience of lacking in any discussion of choice or bounded choice, was clear as searches became more about a quest to find some balance in terms of costs, warmth and quality.

"No. Cold of course. You know old house you know. There's only one glass window. But he promise he want to change, you know. I just, Mairéad, I just don't want to, I don't know, that's what my opinion, I just, I can't move house again. Every a single parent. Two year."

Lia.

However, as illustrated by Said's story, not all participants constructed themselves as powerless. Said and Wojciech maintained a sanguine and accepting approach to their transient movements. For them, their work was their primary concern "Wherever there is enough chance for job." (Said). The approaches of study participants to these relationships and interactions, to this 'game', varied dependent on their own constructions of their situations and capabilities. Similarly, their understandings of, and responses to, the rules and boundaries were diverse. Returning to Giddens' work on social practices, and the practical and discursive consciousness

behind these practices, the concept of discursive consciousness (an agents' ability to articulate his knowledge) also highlights the varying abilities participants drew on in grappling with the culture of the private rented sector.

Life on Estates in the Private Rented Sector

The characteristics of the sector as outlined in this chapter thus far impact on life in the estates of Irishtown. With private rented properties spatially diffused throughout the town, the participants' accounts of their own lives and those of their neighbours provide an insight into the changes taking place in the communities and neighbourhoods into which the private rented sector is diffusing. This section begins with field note excerpts based on my personal experience of searching for a tenancy, notes which illuminate the social interactions around the ownership of properties. The discussion then turns towards various elements of the interactions around private rented properties within housing estates.

Searching for a Home in an Investment Market

For the duration of the fieldwork, I was seeking a room within a house-share in Irishtown. The aim of this was to secure a sociable, warm and safe place with existing tenants, so that all conveniences and amenities such as internet, heating, television and phone, would be set up. Thus, in searching for a place to live, I examined the 'sharing' section of the website, www.daft.ie, a website for letting, buying and sharing listings. This process provided an initial indication of the locations of rental properties, the price range, and the quality of properties. As part of the search, I viewed about five properties, as well as making numerous phone calls to landlords and agents.

A first phone call was to a letting agent for a house in an estate to the north of Irishtown. During my first phone call to her, she described the house and the tenants, informing me that the existing tenant was Polish, and that the owner was in Dublin, but lived there in the house from time-to-time. Upon visiting the house, it transpired that the house was for sale, and that the landlady lived primarily in Dublin but had a room in the house where she frequently stayed. The existing tenant showed me the property, which was in very good condition and tastefully decorated but cold in both atmosphere and temperature. Although it was the summer time, the house was very cold and did not seem to have been heated for some time, something the tenant also complained about. In a later phone call, the letting agent became quite impatient and flustered by my questions about the set-up of the arrangements for paying bills, the lease, the extent of the landlady's presence, and the fact that the house was for sale. She was evasive when

I asked her the details about the owner and how often she would be around. For these reasons I did not take the vacancy. The interaction pointed to the informal approaches that can be found in some agents, and the way in which the interests of the homeowner can be prioritised over tenants concerns.

A second landlord I contacted was living about an hour away from Irishtown and requested that I meet him at a time when he would be visiting. I arranged to meet this man a few days later. He told that there was one existing tenant, who was very quiet and went home at the weekends. The estate was to the west of Irishtown, about a five minute drive from the centre. It was peripheral, edging into fields, with overgrown and untended grass and the houses had a red-coloured residue which built up on grey walls – this was visible in estates throughout the town. Yeo Several houses in the estate were for sale. When I viewed the house, the existing tenant was there, as well as another viewer. The house was bare and the furnishings were basic and functional. It was also cold in atmosphere. The landlord, as with the first agent, was surprised by how many questions I asked about the bill and rental arrangements, exclaiming "well, you're asking the right questions anyway....[...]...your one just wanted to know who else was living here!" He enquired about my work and when I told him, he retorted – "and where will you find them? Go to the dole queue, that's where you'll find them all!" This was an early indication of the casual discriminatory attitude that immigrants in Irishtown were subject to.

Some other properties I viewed were arranged on more professional and straightforward terms but were unsuitable to my requirements and I finally selected a house in an estate to the north of the town. This house was in extremely good condition, was warm and well-furnished with reinforced insulation, and was occupied by the landlady. One other tenant was living there and bills were set up and split between all residents. This final viewing was perfect for what I required.

When seeking advice on where to live in the early stages of the fieldwork, the language that emerged was whether estates were "rental" or "residential", with the implication being that I should look to live in an estate with more "residential" characteristics, even though I would be renting myself. "Residential" estates were perceived as being safer and more pleasant to live in. This tenure prejudice mirrors the work of Rowlands and Gurney (2000) who examined processes

¹⁴⁰ At the time of the fieldwork, several of the developers had gone bankrupt before ownership of the estate they had built was passed over to the local authority and thus many of the estates in the town did not have any organisation or body which was responsible for the maintenance of the estate.

^{&#}x27;41 'Your one' is a slang term in Ireland denoting 'that girl', with 'yer man' used to denote 'that guy'. In this case the landlord was referring to the other woman who had come to view the property at the same time as me and had just departed.

of housing socialisation among young people, with positive images of home ownership and negative images of local authority housing. In regard to the estate I was to live in, I was advised:

"It's a very nice estate, I have a lot of friends there. The houses are lovely. Now, I hope you don't mind but there are two Traveller families there, they used to cause a lot of trouble but things have settled down now. As long as you don't mind that."

In conversation as part of the Community Assessment Process.

I later discovered that the Homeowners' Association in this estate (as distinct from a Residents' Association) was set up prevent these members of the Travelling Community from joining because of the trouble residents were having with these tenants in the estate. The residents had telephoned the local authority over the problems but had not managed to reach a resolution. This comment was an initial insight into the layers of discrimination that would emerge throughout the course of the fieldwork.

The Private Rented Sector in Housing Estates

Recent studies (Vang, 2010; 2012) have highlighted the role that the characteristics of the housing structure in Ireland have played in the spatial settlement of immigrants in Ireland. Indeed, there is a long tradition of research of this kind across the United States and Europe, typically set with the discipline of urban studies, examining the spatial distribution of immigrant groups (Johnston, Forrest, and Poulsen, 2001a; 2001b; Drever and Clark, 2002; Harsman, 2006; Benenson, Hatna and Or, 2009). These studies reveal how intimately settlement patterns are bound up with economic processes in both the labour and housing markets (Arbaci, 2007; 2008). They provide a backdrop and context for the processes and developments uncovered at the micro-level in the present research, which are detailed in the next section.

"Keepers of Houses" 142

The excerpt from my field notes which, earlier in this chapter, documented the experience of searching for a place to live, introduced some data on where landlords are located. The participants recounted similar experiences. Furthermore, with many landlords living outside the town, 'agents' featured in the narratives of several participants. When I enquired of one participant, Lizaveta, as to the level and form of communication between her and the agent, she humorously reposted, "I can see her through the window [we all laugh143]." She went on to explain

¹⁴² This expression emerged verbatim from the data, as revealed in this section.

¹⁴³ For Lizaveta's interview, a previous participant who had arranged the connection also attended to act as a translator. Although the interview was in English, Lizaveta had been worried that she would not be

that the agent lived in the same estate and could be seen there every evening. Lidiya, similarly, lived in the same estate as her agent. "And actually, that lady who have this agency, she's living in the same estate with us. She has office in her house. And she has this agency long long time. {...} She's very nice lady. We never had any problems with her. And like if we have any problems she sort them straight away." The presence of agents in another estate close to the town centre was recounted by Adrianna.

"And I was pushing [to get the place] and then ..[...]..this agent – no, he wasn't even agent: that was the guy who was actually, I don't know, seems like he's doing this not as an agent working for agent's company, only like a private agent. He told us he's just a keeper of a few houses; so I don't know if he's taking care of his friend's houses or he has some customers from ... I don't really know. I thought maybe this is family member but he's not, he's actually, I don't know, doing this kind of work"

Adrianna.

In a town neighbouring Irishtown, migrant workers recounted how two estates in the town appeared to be managed by a particular shop owner. Many of the migrant workers knew of this person, and made frequent referrals to her for housing. Edyta, earlier in her pathway, had experienced some difficulty finding somewhere to live adequate to her needs. 144 She was referred to this person through a Polish acquaintance:

"You see, she was the one who own the shop, in [the neighbouring town], so I think she was, she didn't own the houses, I think she was kind of look after, management or something, kind of like agent, but I tell you now, she wouldn't have agency, I think it was just an informal relationship, it wasn't rented by the office, she was a private person, but everybody knew her and everybody knew that she rent the house. So she had the two estates."

Edyta.

Over a period of a few weeks Edyta implored this woman for a vacancy, returning to her repeatedly to make sure she was not overlooked. "It was, kind of, she, I kept asking this lady every time, and she said if 'I have anything free I will let you know'. So end of December (2004), she gave us this house." While Edyta and her husband were living there, if they needed anything they could ask this shop owner for it.

Residents' Associations

These interactions were taking places in estates alongside home-owned houses. In the estate in which I lived throughout the period of the fieldwork, approximately half of the houses were

able to properly articulate herself and so the translator could assist at any time that Lizaveta felt she needed it.

¹⁴⁴ The timing of this was around the year 2005 or 2006. Several participants referenced the fact that it was much more difficult to find somewhere to live during this time period. There was a much higher demand in the private lettings market at this time compared to later years.

home-owned and half were private rented. ¹⁴⁵ This division was visible in the relationships and interactions within the estate. Private rented houses were perceived not to participate as much in the upkeep of the estate, with responsibility passed between landlord and tenant as it suited. This vacuum of responsibility was all the more pressing in the context of the recession and the collapse of the housing market (Martin, 2011). Given that many of the developers had become bankrupt before the completion of the estates, and before the responsibility for the upkeep and maintenance of the estate was formally passed to the local authority, no authority was responsible for the upkeep of the estate. In many cases, residents had to organise this upkeep themselves, as well as lobby the local authority to take over responsibility. With a high number of private rented properties and a high turnover of residents, often times only the home owners came together to organise on these issues. Some tenants, such as Lidiya, did get involved with the resident's association. On the other hand, Than approached the Resident's Association in her estate, eager to participate, but was told she need not bother as she was 'just a tenant'. Yet in some cases, tenants were seeking stability on estates, even though they were sometimes living in houses that were on the market for sale:

"I started actually to look at the places and look at the houses, but I don't want to move to a different location because I like the actual estate, I like the people around, now that we've settled, after so many years, you know, and [my son] is such an age, 7 years, he is going out and about and he is playing, it's a very safe place to go and play and lots of friends and good social, good network for him, and that's why I feel again, I would probably move at some stage, for something more fancy house, or for something more appropriate, but that's because of that, keep staying there in that area."

Galya.

'For Sale' signs were visible on tenanted houses throughout estates. The first house I had viewed during my own search was for sale. Both Galya and Lizaveta were living in houses which were for sale. In Galya's case, this was impacting on the upkeep of the house, as her landlord was not maintaining it. "It was only investment house, and maybe that's why, that's why he really doesn't care about the house." Overall, these cases illustrate that even where efforts are made to participate and to settle, the profit-driven culture of the sector dominates and can hinder determinations to establish a base.

 $^{^{145}}$ This information was gleaned through informal communications with the Homeowners Association in the estate.

Interactions with Neighbours

Many of the study participants felt that they did not have adequate interaction with neighbours, that most stayed in their houses and kept to themselves. The demands of working life also sometimes meant that there was less interaction. For many, the insularity within houses and the lack of neighbourly interaction was apparent.

'Sitting in Houses'

Recounting life on her estate, Melody observed that things were very different to Africa, where everybody makes a concerted effort to get to know each other. By contrast, where she lived in Irishtown, people just sit in their houses.

"But I noticed that wherever I go in Ireland, it's so different in [my country]. If somebody new moves into the neighbourhood, everybody comes, they want to know about you, they bring a little something to you. In Ireland, you just come and you are in your house and that's it."

Melody.

Adeleke also described how in her estate, people just come and go and "everybody minds their own business. Since I've been living there I don't have any...we don't even greet each other." Others found it difficult to build a relationship with nearby residents to a level where he feels "this is my neighbour." He feels he has experienced only one very good neighbour since arriving to Irishtown. Abigail, living in her house about two years, comments, "I don't think I know much people here. Everyone is to yourself. It's not friendly."

Both Ray and Melody articulate the importance of good neighbourly relations. Ray describes how good neighbourly relations are even more important that friendships. "In Africa a neighbour – it's a must, that I must know my neighbour. Even if I don't know this person. It's not friendship, it's more than that. This is the person that can help me." Knowing your neighbours' character is crucial, as Melody explains:

"Because there is a lot of good purpose if you get to know your neighbour. It's like you get to know somehow the kind of character. You ask them a few questions, just like conversation and out of that you get to know who they are. But in this neighbourhood, you just walk up and down and that's it."

Melody.

Some other participants talked positively about the quiet character in their estates. Several participants, such as Isabelle, Lewa and Abigail, appreciated this in the different estates where they lived. Karina likes the tranquillity of her area. "I don't know how many, but this is nice quiet

place. I not need friends in this place. I maybe few, but good friends. I not need more friends." Lewa reminisces on a previous residence: 146

"Very quiet. Very very quiet. Everybody minded their own business...[...].. They're very good people there. Before I live (chuckles), but now I don't know. It's long time I've moved. But people are still say that it's good. It's a very good place."

Lewa.

Sometimes this peace and quiet was a function of the rhythm of work. For Adeleke, "it's very peaceful. I don't have any problem with anybody. In and out. Go to my work, come back late in the evening. That's it." Some, such as Viktor and Lidiya, did feel connected to their neighbours. This sense of connection was enhanced by having rented in the same property for a substantial length of time, and because their children played in the estates with others. The following two sections will explore these matters in greater detail.

Turnover of Tenants

Throughout their descriptions, the participants' accounts revealed the high turnover of tenants in their area and they found it hard to get to know people because there was so much movement. There was also a great variety in the character of changing neighbours. Than recounts: "because we stay here for three years, some houses moved. They moved and come in new people, some are nice, some are not nice, they are drug or something like that, they shock and sometimes they scream, just around the neighbours." Noelle has had four different neighbours next door within two years, which she attributes to the poor quality of the place. Lia recounts how she herself is tired of moving all of the time in search of better quality, because she has to get used to new neighbours and is tired of dealing with this. Despite Noelle's comment on the high turnover in the place next door to her, she does know a small number of her other neighbours quite well, having lived there three years. "Now I know some yeah, the one I am living with and the new one beside me, just say hi. But I know one woman who lives there, she is an old lady and she knows everybody." Viktor and Lidiya had rented in their estates for extended periods of time, had experienced stability in their own tenancies and that of their neighbours. While in theory they were susceptible to the instability of the private rented market, in practice they experienced great stability. For Viktor, consistency and stability was very important:

¹⁴⁶ Lewa had lived in this estate for five years and had really liked it and liked the house. She moved in the end because she could never get in touch with the landlord, who lived abroad. As things in the house deteriorated, such as the washing machine, and with emerging leaks, she had nobody to call to make any repairs and did not feel that she could do it herself. In the beginning, an agent in the estate had assisted her, but after some time, the agent claimed she was no longer working with the property. Still unable to establish contact with the landlord, Lewa moved out.

"It's a very good estate because everybody know me and my family, we living with neighbours, it's excellent. Some houses Irish, some have Lithuanian, some Polish. I like this estate because more houses living like permanently. With loads of neighbours we are living together 11 years. And kids have friendship, really loads of kids, it's very good."

Viktor.

Lidiya had likewise lived in her place for quite a long time and had gotten to know the different people living in her estate. She had read the leaflets dropped in her letter box by the Resident's Association, had gotten involved in estate clean-ups and had attended the meetings, and her son played football out on the roads with his friends, who all went to school together from a young age. At the Resident's Association meetings, estate problems were discussed. Despite her evident engagement, she qualifies it with her status as a renter rather than a home-owner:

"Even though I'm renting this house I'm going to these meetings anyway, because it's interesting to see people who is living in the estate, to hear about different problems that arise in the estate. Because when you're renting house it's not like your problem; because that agency when I'm renting house – she or landlord they sort out these problems. So I know like last year we collect a lot of money and we plant the trees and, like, flowers; and we try to organise, like, cleaning there; we just tidy up the estate. So all the time I try to take part of this."

Lidiya.

Higher turnovers sometimes resulted in a strong or extreme variation in the character of neighbours, even in 'good' estates. This caused a lot of distress for Adam. He initially lived next to a quiet family, but later a group moved in who were drinking, shouting and playing loud music late at night. This change in the quality of neighbour happened to Adam on more than one occasion and he moved repeatedly to escape loud and boisterous behaviour by neighbours.

"Em, these fellows were sitting in the door. What they do every day time they sleep, night time they drink...[...]...music and fighting each other and screaming. So afterwards we complained the Guards again but they was up and down and knock the door, maybe they were using drugs. We were scared."

Adam.

Furthermore, differing characteristics of residents and their different lifestyles sometimes caused conflict on estates. Adeleke and her family lived next door to a house share of four who were all working. They drank late at night, playing loud music, and this disturbed Adeleke and her family, especially her teenage children who were in school. After initial friendly requests to be quieter, Adeleke now calls their landlord and is threatening to call the Guards about it. By contrast, Jules and his family of four children received quite a lot of complaints from their next door neighbour about the noise levels coming from their house. Jules' neighbour worked night shifts and he tried to implore her to understand that children will make noise, but the relationship never improved. Than tells her son not to play his music too loudly so as not to

disturb the neighbours: "Sometimes my son play guitar loudly, I say 'Shhh!', because someone will give out. I know, because they are working, they will be tired."

The turnover of tenancies and the differing household characteristics, lifestyles, and routines, were a source of distress for many in their interactions with neighbours. Going back to the expressions of 'rental' and 'residential' estates that emerged throughout the Community Assessment Process, it was the turnover of tenancies, and the lack of calm this frequently entailed, that built the reputation of 'rental' estates. The following section turns to the issue of the way in which ethnic diversity and racial discrimination are emerging on housing estates in Irishtown.

Diversity and Discrimination

The ethnic diversity on different estates was recounted as participants listed off the nationalities of the different households within their estates: "[My estate] is very good to live, because I know a lot of Nigerians that are living there. And I know some doctors – Sudanese – and they are Muslims; we do the Muslim thing together" (Lewa). This ethnic diversity constituted a source of connection and support for many. Yet other participants, particularly those of Black African ethnicity, did experience discrimination. There were many interactions that constituted direct racial discrimination, beyond the more nuanced discriminatory accounts recounted in accessing housing. Ray told how one neighbour drew a line in the road and told him that his children must not cross this line:

"Even we've got another neighbour on the other side who didn't want nothing, who was putting a line on the road and saying my kids mustn't cross that line and go and touch his wall. So I said 'Thank you ...' You know people with that kind of thing, I just say 'okay, you know, you are racist'. And then sometimes they play the ball with the other kids, white kids; and then they come, they blaming my young fellow. But he is the youngest in the group of the kids who are playing on the same road."

Ray.

The discrimination was not only targeted at Ray, but at anybody who associated with him: "then another neighbour was having the same problem because he was so nice to us." Eve's child was told by a little girl that her mother had instructed her not to play together, and she was excluded from a birthday party because of her ethnicity.

"When the children are coming to play with my children, she will tell my child, 'My mammy said I should not come and play with you. You are not allowed.' Sometimes if my daughter go there she will say 'You are not allowed. Africa people are not allowed.' At that time, the girl want to play with my daughter, she had a party, my daughter went to the party. The mum said 'No, African people

are not allowed.' You see that now? (Laughs). Sometimes I feel bad, but you know, it's okay, there is nothing I can do about it."

Eve.

Than's children were teased about where they are from. Than asks her children not to argue "because we are refugee, we have to stay, be quiet." Later, she and her family did move to another estate because of the harassment problems her children faced. Nneoma tells how in the place where she lives, people park across her driveway every morning. She cannot get out to work or to drop her children to school and she has to go around knocking on doors to find out who owns the car. "When I come in the morning and I want to take the children out, they park in front of my house. They park across my driveway." Ray experiences some knick-knocking¹⁴⁷ in his current place and describes his search for a peaceful environment and his fear that he will end up stuck somewhere that he is being harassed:

"So sometimes you get a quiet place whereby nobody bothers you, it's a bonus. You can't get a place like this. So you going to move on, move on to a place whereby they going to treat you.... So I think that's my worry.... you end up going into a place where things can be very bad for you."

Ray.

Notably, one participant, Abigail, did not report any discrimination in any aspect of her life – either in her working or housing. She never perceived that she was the victim of discriminatory practices. She reported that she was the only Black resident living in her estate, and that this was a good thing. She felt that when too many African residents lived together, they received more discrimination from other residents. Abigail preferred the relative anonymity and independence afforded by living separately from other African residents. This finding corresponds to a study by Magee, Fong and Wilkes (2008), which found that less discrimination is perceived by immigrants who do not live in areas with a high concentration of other immigrants.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored various aspects of life in the private rented sector; from early social experiences in the sector; to negotiating issues of the quality and upkeep of housing; and to various elements of life on estates. In doing this, the chapter has investigated the social interactions that take place within the sector, and the way in which the study participants frame

¹⁴⁷ Knick-knocking is the practice of knocking on somebody's front door and then running away, so that when they answer the door, there is nobody there.

their responses to, and understandings of, these social interactions. This interactionist account moved the discussion beyond the analysis of structure and agency in the housing system presented in Chapter 5.

Exploring living conditions – leases, rent and maintenance of properties – opened a window on participants' constructions of their situations and highlighted the strategies participants drew on in their negotiations with landlords and tenants. Overall, participants placed greater trust in a strong rapport with their landlord than in any legal arrangements around the tenancy. However, a good tenant-landlord relationship was a fine balance, one requiring good-, but not over-rapport, and one in which negotiations around rent and upkeep needed to be managed. The responses of participants to these situations differed, sometimes depending on the resources available to them (Bourdieu, 1986), but also related to participants conceptions of self (Giddens, 1984). Some felt able to assertively negotiate for needs. This was often related to a working status. Others did not engage with their landlords, either out of a lack of confidence, or a sense of futility, and moved through properties in search of better conditions. Thus, the diverse ways in which participants explore their agency, or not, were illuminated. Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, *social capital* and *cultural capital* assist in explaining these processes within the private rented sector.

The way in which the social attributes of participants played a role in their treatment by actors in the housing field was considered. Discriminatory practices emerged through the accounts of participants. However, participants not only faced direct discrimination but also more subtle forms of discrimination that were not always clear, and intermingled with discrimination against those on a rent supplement and those with children. Thus the *everydayness* of racism was uncovered (Bloch and Solomos, 2010), a process that plays a role in "red-lining" (Ratcliffe, 2009: 435) in the housing market. The nuances of this were articulated in the excerpt from the Advocacy Worker in her own task of advocating for migrant tenants. Certain forms of identity or status enabled some participants to advocate more effectively on their own behalf. For example, participants with their own income often felt more confident negotiating against the stipulations of landlords. Both *social capital* and *cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1986) played a role in the confidence participants displayed and the opportunities open to them. The analysis of these micro-processes revealed the various factors that frame the choices that immigrants have as they travel along their housing pathways.

Finally, the chapter described life on estates in the town and how the diffusion of the sector throughout the town impacted on the character of estates. Residents and property agents

interact within living spaces. The issue of the upkeep of property plays out across estates in a diverse range of ways, some having agents in close proximity and others having landlords absent from regular interaction and a resulting deterioration. Tenants were both faced with and played a role in their own exclusion from activities related to the maintenance of the estate. Some actively engaged with residents associations, although this engagement was qualified by a status as a tenant. These processes were set against a back drop of a vacuum of ownership within newer estates, in which developers faced bankruptcy before responsibility for the maintenance of the estate was formally passed to the responsible local authority.

The full parameters of these processes shows the impact of the financial, profit-driven, character of the rental sector within communities in this 'revanchist era' (Cloke, May and Johnsen, 2010). The dynamics of the rental market, and of the investment culture that prevails within it, heavily frames the residential experiences of tenants, both within their houses, and, in the estates on which they live. It is against this context that immigrants strive to navigate their housing pathways. The analysis aligned with Giddens' (1984) work on agency, revealing the constructions and responses of participants towards their situations and the actions they took in relation to those situations. This analysis also illuminated the workings of the *habitus*, or culture (Jenkins, 2002) of the private rented sector.

CHAPTER SEVEN: IDENTITY, MOBILITY, HOUSE AND HOME.

Introduction

This final findings chapter explores the participants' constructions of self, as expressed through the concepts of house and home. The role of the nation-state, possibilities for transnational mobility and constructs of ethnicity comprise these notions of self and these diverse formations weave through the rubric of this rural town. The works of Bourdieu (1984), Beck (1992) and Bauman (1997) provide a palette of conceptual tools with which to analyse participants' consumption of housing as part of their constructions of self. Participants also reflected on their thoughts about the future, relating to both home and self. The findings echo a broad theme within the thesis – the lack of certainty and the difficulty of planning in the face of economic uncertainty; the difficulty of finding employment; and the retrenchment of welfare support and state-provided housing.

Thus this chapter builds on the analysis presented in the previous three chapters by exploring the participants' constructions of self, a process which underlies much of the discussion in the preceding three findings chapters. Constructions of self visibly both frame, and in turn are framed by, processes within the private rental sector, and the housing system more generally, in a dialectic process. The focus on participants' construction of self reveals the unbounded discursive consciousness that participants employ as they construct their life projects.

Conceptualising Home

In 2004, Gram-Hanssen and Bech-Danielsen carried out a qualitative analysis of thirteen indepth interviews with residents on the topics of the meaning and consumption of home. They located this analysis within theories of consumption in the sociological tradition, drawing on the work of Bourdieu (1984), Beck (1992), Miller (1995) and Bauman (1997). The authors used the work of Beck and Bauman to question the understanding of social classes in Bourdieu's work. A focus on consumption illuminates the communicative aspects of signals and symbols in relation to social groups; for example, the way in which 'good taste' is a way for higher social groups to distinguish themselves from the lower social groups (Bourdieu, 1984). In this way,

residential neighbourhoods also form part of the symbolic power structure of society¹⁴⁸ (Bourdieu, 1986 in Gram-Hanssen and Bech-Danielsen, 2004):

"In contrast with this descriptive based class-society analysis we find the post-modern perspective. This argues that societies are developing post- or late-modern structures where institutions from modern society, such as class, family and community, are under dissolution and where the individual therefore has to express and create his or her own individual identity (Beck, 1992). In this identity-creation, consumption of anything from houses to furniture and clothes is central"

(Gram-Hanssen and Bech-Danielsen, 2004: 17).

Gram-Hanssen and Bech-Danielsen, (2004) review Bourdieu's concepts of *practice*, *habitus* and *field*, where the area of housing may be viewed as such a *field*, and where the concept of *habitus* "includes how human beings take in the structures of the field they are in and in this way habitus becomes a practical sense, an acquired system of preferences for how the world should be perceived and divided" (2004: 19). They outline how the constitution of *habitus* is closely related to the social space where one grows up and is related to the cultural and economic capital of one's parents. This capital relates to Bourdieu's work on *taste preference* and how they depend on social and economic capital – that is, the social position that a person holds in society. Gram-Hanssen and Bech-Danielsen's description of taste assists in the conceptualisation of the taste preferences of different income groups:

"What characterises the taste of the bourgeoisie is that it demands a high level of either economic or cultural capital to be able to consume the specific products needed to make the bourgeoisie distinct from the lower classes. In contrast, the taste of the working class is characterised by the taste of necessity, and even though many working class families today have better economic conditions, the taste of necessity still acts through their habitus."

(2004: 19).

This account of Bourdieu's work lays great emphasis on structures (acquired systems and social positions) which are valuable tools to examine taste preferences in relation to housing. In contrast, Beck (1992) and Bauman (1997) focus on the dissolution of social classes, which impose a constraint on individuals to create their own biography and identity through consumption choices (using concepts of late-modernity and post-modernity respectively). Their works align more closely with that of Giddens (1984) and indeed, provide more helpful concepts to examine the way in which people 'do' their identity through the housing system, for example when searching for a place to live. The normalisation and stigmatisation of different tenures, the *habitus* of the housing system remains but participants' responses to this vary as they 'do' their

¹⁴⁸ Peter Saunders and Chris Gurney have also researched the meaning and constitution of *home* and the normalisation and stigmatisation of different tenures (Saunders, 1978; 1984; 1989. Gurney, 1999a; 1999b).

identities and biographies. The concept of the housing pathway (Clapham, 2005) and Giddens' work on agents (1984) assist in examining the 'doing' of identities and biographies.

The concept of home is multi-faceted and within this study - set within one geographic place and with a diverse sample - home was conceived of by the participants in a myriad of different forms and processes. In 'Understanding Home: A Critical Review of the Literature', Mallett (2004) reviews the various conceptions of home, conceptions which appear in the data of the current study. She introduced themes such as house and home; ideal house/home; real/ideal/actual/remembered homes; home as haven; home and family; home and gender; home as a journey; being at home in the world; and home, self, identity and being. Taylor (2013, 2014, 2015), having carried out a decades' worth of fieldwork on transnational migration between Britain and India, provides helpful signposts and reference points when analysing the participants' constructions of what home means in the migratory context. Incorporating the transnational experience, he explored "the pursuit of home as an aspect of diasporic identity" (2014: 1). He focused on the "ongoing, transnational (re)production of home, through human labour, within an aspect of the Punjabi transnational community" (2014: 1) exploring concepts such as 'from sojourners to multiple homemakers', 'contested diaspora spaces' and 'reproducing punjab'.

Given the diversity among the participants in this study, and the retrospective design of the study, there was a broad conceptual variety in the participants' constructions of home. Differing capacities for consumption did underpin many participants' accounts of their circumstances, but their responses to these circumstances were diverse. Constructions varied across gender, ethnicity, financial resources, and nationality, with participants from within the EU having far more fluid notions of home than non-EU participants.

The data collected for the purpose of this study greatly resonated with the varying conceptions of home reviewed by Mallett (2004). A blend of these components fused together within Irishtown to give a broad and multi-faceted conception of home in one place. The analysis revealed layers of formations of 'home', diversified across class, gender and ethnicity and which varied in transnational scope. Thus, across these differing identities, 'home' is illuminated in relation to physical places within the town; to ideal imaginings; and to notions of 'home country'. Since concepts of home are entwined with constructions of self, an understanding of participants' identities emerges throughout the analysis.

The Self and the Home

Literature on constructing the self through home spans themes of identity creation (Gram-Hannsen, 2004), identification with dwelling (Cuba and Hummon, 1993; Hauge and Kolstad, 2007), and ontological security (Saunders, 1990; Hiscock, Kearns, Macintyre and Ellaway, 2001). With the primary focus in this study being on the lives of immigrants in the private rented sector, the notion of home for many participants was framed by the characteristics of the sector. Life in the private rented sector brings a certain challenge in the search for home, as the lack of ownership imparts a sense of transience, insecurity, and dependence which impacts – albeit in diverse ways – on tenants' sense of home. For those tenants who see themselves as transiently residing in the sector, as part of their mobile lives, their needs marry with this cultural characteristic. But for those tenants seeking to build a more settled existence, to find a safe and secure home within the sector, efforts to do so are framed by these parameters of dependence, insecurity, and transience.

Creating a Home in the Private Rented Sector

The study participants did strive to create a home within the confines of the private rented sector, as explored in Chapter 6. Given the central role of the landlord or property agent in the experience of renting, the task of creating a home sometimes relied on relationships with these actors. For many, the relationship was central and was not only about the landlord fulfilling duties. It meant forging a positive personal relationship, one that could be relied upon and trusted:

"It was like when we talk about home, we talk about feeling, so this is feeling. Not only what is my duty, what is his duty, only more relationship. This is feeling of the home. That you don't only sign and pay and we sign and pay. It's also like a talking or make something nice for somebody".

Wera

With a good landlord-tenant relationship, a more pro-active approach could be taken by tenants in relation to the maintenance of the property, through activities such as painting and gardening. For example, Wera's landlord brought fuel for the fire at Christmas and Than's always engaged with any issues related to the upkeep of the house. These engagements contributed to their feelings of safety and security – to their ontological security (Hiscock, Kearns, Macintyre and Ellaway, 2001).

An increased sense of home through the landlord-tenant relationship contrasted with those who associated the idea of home with a feeling of autonomy within the property. Instead, independence in the maintenance, decoration and upkeep of the house brought a sense of *home*. Painting and decorating the property independently and having personal furnishings around

was central to the idea of home for many (Lia, Adeleke, Lidiya), as was autonomy in the upkeep and maintenance of the property (Lidiya, Juditha). This autonomy sometimes mirrored the interest of the landlord. Juditha's landlord was very happy to have a tenant that he could trust and in turn, Juditha appeared quite cognisant of his interests, understanding his needs in relation to the property.

"He is very happy that he have me here because he know that I care so much about home. You know this is his property, this is his money. Sometimes it is better drop a bit price down and know who you have at home, especially when you are not here".

Juditha.

Juditha identifies with her role in maintaining the property on her landlords' behalf and appreciates the mutual benefit of this to both her and her landlord. Being able to find, or create, quality in furnishings engendered a sense of ownership and homeliness, rather than a sense of existing in a profit-maximising unit (Edyta). Likewise, being forbidden from adjusting the property to taste, for instance in situations where the property was being preserved for resale or for other business uses, negated a sense of home:

"He said if we put any damage on the walls or anything like that, we lose deposit. Because he said the ten months we have to stay, and then two months, he said if we could get house for two months and then move back because he was happy with us but I said no, I cannot do that, and move for two months and come back again."

Edyta.

As Galya explains, "because the house was never a home, it was always designed for being rented out and that means it's really basic, in a way that it's never been put out of heart and energy". These sentiments reflect the experiences of those renting houses that are on the market for sale, visible throughout the estates of Irishtown. Galya talks about her search for a private rented property with "heart" and "energy", as she is searching for a more homely place in which to live, and to leave her "shed", as one of her friends referred to her house. Even though her children are settled and integrated within the estate, she feels like she is living in a property whose primary purpose is to generate profit and so she wants to leave. She dreams of being settled, in one place, with her possessions around her and to stop feeling like she is "always on the bags, half in, half out. One leg is in and one leg is out. Very uncomfortable."

The sense of autonomy and independence recounted above is something which the three homeowning participants cherished, and identified as having been lacking during their time living in the private rented sector. Lech's daughter described the importance of being able to decorate their own home as they wish, and of not being "under control":

"Well, you know, we can do whatever we want to it. I can go upstairs and make a hole in the wall if I want, no one can stop me except for my parents. But, before it was kind of, you had to ask for

everything basically, it depends, so you were kind of under control."

Lech's daughter (family interview).

She compares this autonomy to the place where they lived previously, where "he might have said yes or no" if they asked to change something in the house. Another homeowner, Olga, similarly conceptualises home in this way: "we did everything ourselves, you know, inside it. So it's like, our home."

Others talked about home in the private rented sector in terms of routine and family, in addition to being able to improve things around you. Wojciech experienced this routine in an earlier residence. Although he has been living in his current residence for three years he does not consider it a home, because there are no family or routine activities.

"For me, place to be called home have to have certain conditions. You know, like, over there, garden, garage, something like that, that I can, you know, I'm coming home, I have my dinner and then I go out and do something. Something that I am busy, that I feel I can improve something."

Wojciech.

Wojciech's conceptions are in line with Gurney's focus (1997) on practice – the way that people 'do' and 'feel' home rather than the way they think about home. For example, Katya has never fully 'felt' at home in the private rented sector because she can never 'do' exactly what she pleases. Instead, home is about spending time with loved ones.

"I don't really feel home when I'm right in the house, to be honest with you - 'home' home; because you still have to ask permissions to do things and everything: you can't change the way you want...[...].. No, this house would be described for me as a home, I wanna get back to here after work and everything, and rest here and spend time with the family. So this will be my meaning of the home: being homely when you want go back."

Katya.

Resigning to the Parameters of the Private Rented Sector

Some of the sentiments and expressions in the previous section point to the limitations imposed through residing in the private rented sector. While some claimed they were happy with their present houses, their overall tone reflected slight resignation (Eve and Esther). The houses are "fine" because they are comfortable and the landlord is "fine". Eve says she would decorate it differently if she had her way. Faith, in a similar tone, says that her home is where she is now, with a hint of resigned acceptance, rather than fulfilling an identity: "Well, because that's where you live at the moment so that's home to you. I think maybe if I really have my own house then I will call it my home" (Faith). Others have no expectation of homeownership and feel a long-term sense of a lack of 'home'. Than explains that she never feels at home because wherever she goes, she knows that it is not hers: "it feel not like a home, because I understand that every house, I will

move somewhere not my home." Others talk about doing their best to make a rented property homely, through decoration, the garden, belongings and trying to put homely things into the house, as discussed earlier. Yet a constant feeling of limitation remains, a limitation of living in the private rented sector, and of always wondering what you can do: "there is always this level that you cannot cross" (Adrianna). Nevertheless, with no other options, the creation of a sense of home is something that still must be achieved within this environment. Adrianna claims her current place is a home, with a similar tone of resignation to Faith's, earlier, "because it's all what I have. It kind of have to be."

Searching for Home through the Private Rented Sector

Chapter 6 explored living conditions in the private rented sector. Participants' perceptions of their living conditions were entwined with their search for a sense of home. In some cases, participants moved in search of a better place to express their identity and achieve a sense of home. Some moved to find more fulfilling spaces for work and family (Juditha, Katya, Wera). After living for two years in a centrally located property, enduring some deterioration in the condition of the property (leaks and rising damp), Wera moved, to try to find somewhere more "homely". By "homely", she meant somewhere smaller, cosier and warmer. She felt she could meet her childrens' needs as a mother more easily in this kind of environment. He This account also points to the role of gender in aspects of identity, as female participants felt far more attached to the home and to concepts of good living conditions to create a family space, than male participants.

Other elements of identity came to the fore in the search for home. Early in their housing pathways, those who left direct provision did not think about home at all but rather their sense of "freedom" (Ray). Initially "we don't care because we just want to get out of that place because that place is something else" (Adeleke) but later, families' needs came to the fore in searching for somewhere to live. Earlier in their pathways, both Isabelle and Jules had been concerned only with leaving direct provision and later moves were about meeting the families' needs and

⁴⁹ I met Wera after the fieldwork had been completed, on a return trip to Irishtown. Bumping into her while out walking, she told me that she had moved again. Some of the fixtures in the house, such as the cooker and oven, had deteriorated to such an extent that she felt it time to move on. She was delighted to have found somewhere just as close to the town centre, and just as small and cosy but with better quality fixtures and fittings. She told me that she really felt like she was being a good mother to her sons because the house was so nice and they had a quiet and stable routine of home and school.

building a space for the family: "when I see the house I like the house. It's good because I have a big place [for the children]" (Isabelle).

Dream Home

Transcending these accounts of creating a home in the private rented sector, are dreams and imaginings of an ideal home. Many express their sense of home through notions of a dream or ideal home (Melody, Than). Rather than talking about home in relation to where they are now in their physical dwelling, they draw on imaginings. Openness, space and the countryside are home:

"Land. I want a huge piece of land. And what can I say, one or two helpers. Because I am a garden person. I am hoping, because right now I have a very bad neck and hands. I used to do these things myself, if they get well, I'll be doing it myself. I like gardening so much. So this is quite a big issue and if I'm to get a house of my own I would be happy to have a bigger house, more rooms than this where I can put some of my produce."

Melody.

The idea of land, gardens and gardening, and, for Melody, to be able to grow her own produce on her own land and sell it, constitute an image of home. Adrianna's imagining of a dream home is visualised in the future. She sees this as something to work towards in a *life project* (Holstein and Gubrium, 2000): "No; I just start to dream now I'm at home in my dream house. I could see everything" (Adrianna). By contrast, Than, does not visualise her future home being in Ireland, but back with her family in Asia.

"When I get the Irish citizenship I will get a job in Thailand. Because in Thailand I have a lot of friends also. They didn't stay in refugee camp, they will stay close the town and big village, they working in the gardens, some people working the hospital, Thai hospital, in schools. Maybe me, I like in the garden, to feed pig! [laughs] Chicken, pig, to feed, easy money [laughs]."

Than.

The ideals of Melody, Than and Adrianna support Tucker's suggestion (1994) that most people spend their lives in search of home, at the gap between the natural home and their notion of an ideal home where they would be fulfilled.

Coming Home to the Self and Building the Self

Feeling at home comprised a sense of coming home to the self, a sense of foundation, a base from which one can plan and build on other areas of one's life. Where she is now, Adeleke feels "I even have time to sit down and plan out my life," indicating a sense of progressing and moving forward. This improvement of the self is something all individuals may aim for, given the opportunity and adequate resources. Adeleke feels at home in Irishtown: that it is her place and she can build her life there. Yet this is framed by the maintenance of a sense of mobility, with

the contention that if it ever becomes something she does not want, she can leave.

"I live here with my husband and my children - so, home. I'm happy and if I'm not I'll have to try somewhere else. Like move to [another town]. But I am living here because I love it, I'm comfortable, it's peaceful"

Adeleke.

Self-actualisation, safety and security feed into a sense of self in the home. Home, for Abigail, is about safety, security and a feeling that you can completely be yourself. There is no fear, no self-consciousness, and no harassment. For Abigail, this is supported by the fact that her landlord respects her boundaries:

"I have a home. Because here, I have like peace. You can walk in and you are not afraid to say, not afraid about what is going to happen. Because the landlord who owns this place doesn't come here unless there is something spoiled. Because like, when you are working, even though I am not the one who owns the house, I am feeling that this is my home. It's a home because when you say it's a home it means you can come in and there is peace. Every time there is always peace, you are happy, no one is harassing you."

Abigail.

This feeling arises when coming through the front door. Juditha describes her feeling of contentment and feels like she is home when she arrives to her house: "when I open the door I *sighs*, nice. This is the smell, it's something, you know". Abigail similarly talks about sighing contentedly and feeling like she is coming home, when she is returning to Ireland from Africa. For Nneoma, home is about routine and where you come home to at the end of the day: "Yeah where I live now is home to me because that is where I go back to every day." The notion of rest is central: "yeah so you know, that's the place where you feel comfortable, and where you can rest" (Eduard).

Home was not a safe place for all participants. Some of the women had separated from their husbands after difficult or violent marriages. For some, home was a place of restriction and fear, in which controlling partners would set parameters within the private home space. "He control everything. Telephone, I have to be put time..[...]..he put the clock beside me. Have to be quick, fast. I'm not allowed to access my internet" (Lia) and also outside the home: "I have time to sit with people [now], whereas before I had to chat and sit with people and go home as soon as he wanted us to go home. Because he was really controlling" (Melody). Both Lia and Melody recounted how their husbands' controlling behaviour developed gradually over time. These women finally left their family homes for the women's refuge in Irishtown, later transitioning to the private rented sector and a greater sense of self: "I just wanted my freedom" (Melody).

Home as Family, History and Relationships

A sense of ownership (as homeowners) and having the family around, the concept of the hearth to which Mallett (2004) refers, was essential for many participants. Pets and family members comprised a home for Lech and his family: "it's us, it's family, a little dog and a canary, it all makes it like a home." In some cases those without family found it difficult to create a homely feeling. Said found it too difficult to run a house by himself: "If you have a big family and a big house, its ok, but otherwise if you are on your own or just with a small family, it's harder if you want to keep running it." Galya also talks about the difficulty of maintaining a place by herself and how this negates a homely feeling: "I just found a little bit, a little bit a lot, because, because it's cleaning! Its extra work. I just found it little bit too much for me." The equating of home to family calls to mind the work of Gilman (1980) and Leonard (1980) who, in their interrogations of the concept of 'home', claim that without a family a home is only a house. Wojciech described a previous residence as a home because he had family around him; they were all there and they spent time together, he had a set routine involving work and dinner, as recounted in a previous section. He socialised there and also spent time improving the place. In his current accommodation, he would not characterise it as a home because none of these characteristics are present.

The concept of home as family also meant maintaining a happy and calm environment within the house. Lewa and her husband do their best to stay happy for the children, even though she feels that her "spirit doesn't enter the house" that she lives in now, meaning that she does not have a sense of being settled there. When talking about home, she talks only of the importance of her husband and children, saying "we're very happy all of the time" and "we have to be happy for those kids, you know. Just, we have to be." Lewa and her husband prioritise keeping a positive atmosphere in the house for the sake of the children. Whenever they have a disagreement, they take themselves to the car and go for a drive, so as not to contaminate the atmosphere of the house with arguments. There is a desire to keep the family home pure and sanctified.

Family in the vicinity also contributes to a sense of home, with family structure contributing to a feeling of homeliness. Adrianna told of her partner's family being in Ireland, and how this support network makes her feel at home, despite the absence of her own family: "well, they're saying the home is where your heart is, isn't it?" The 'obvious' connection of home with family is referenced even through its absence: "like obviously I don't have a family here, but still I have that feeling, you know, like I'm home" (Eduard). Eduard is comfortable where he is because he has good people around him and he feels good and can rest.

A sense of stability and maturity in relationships with neighbours and friends formed another component of home. Having lived in the same housing estate for eleven years, since he was first granted permission to stay in Ireland, Viktor values this sense of continuity in relationships with neighbours. This continuity is what home means to him: "my sons they feel like everybody remember himself when younger, yes, like home." Thus, the history and memory contained within relationships, and how these contribute towards a historicity of self, build a sense of home. Galya and Lizaveta also refer to their children's friends within the estates and the fact that they have a history of relationships there.

"I would probably move at some stage, for something more fancy house, or for something more appropriate, but that's because of [my son and his friends], keep staying there in that area."

Galya.

Although Galya and Lizaveta want to move from their respective places, they recognise these relationships as part of the component of home. This theme of childhood friendships also contributes to a sense of self and a historicity of self for the participants in recounting their own childhoods. Wojciech, who left Poland in 1989 and lived and worked across the world ever since, sets his transient life against a backdrop of loss of friendships and relationships in Poland.

"Like I don't really regret that I'm abroad. The other thing is, I lost all the friends in Poland. And I didn't make many friends here. Like all the old friends from school. Some of them died! Imagine. When did I meet him? When I was three. And all the time together, until I went abroad. But - that's the way it is. Like, some say that I shouldn't complain because I sorted my kids, I'm not badly off myself. I wouldn't be that good if I stay in Poland, that's for sure."

Wojciech.

Thus, the interview data clearly suggest that memories, relationships and proximity of family are crucial elements in one's understandings of home. These can contribute to a sense of home, even where insecurity of tenure prevails.

At Home in Different Worlds

"As Ahmed (1999) notes, in some postcolonial literature, home is a space of belonging and being with clearly defined, fixed boundaries in which the subject is free of desire, at rest, secure and comfortable. In contrast, migration and nomadism are conceived as exceptional and extraordinary encounters with strange lands and strangers that engender homeless states of being or identities in perpetual flux"

(Ahmed, 1999. in Mallett, 2004: 78).

Notions of home extended beyond dwelling (both real and ideal) and into cross-cultural and cross-national imaginings. Participants felt split between Ireland and their country of origin, to varying degrees. For example, Wera made a conscious decision that Ireland is now her home, and since this, does not feel as divided:

"So it's more about accept your thinking. We have to start accept. Here, my home is Ireland and for time when you not accept that you feel, feel still between two countries. So, for me, now I am accept decision my home is Ireland and I, now I am more settled down than before."

Wera.

Katya similarly seeks a decision and confirmation on where she and her family are supposed to be. Having felt their lives were "in the middle of nowhere", metaphorically, when they were in Russia, she now prioritises direction and focus in both her living place and in her work:

"I don't want to be in the middle of nowhere again as we were in Russia before we moved here. But it wasn't my decision actually to stay in Ireland, because [my husband] wanted to be here just for one year when I arrived. Then I said that 'V, it's no point. If we here we have to try. If you're staying here we have to stay here. It's no point to be here physically and be emotionally somewhere else."

Katya.

Home was also about finding one place in which to settle down after spending time in other parts of the world. Having lived and worked in many different countries, and lost his national citizenship during the break-up of the USSR, Viktor's chance to settle in one place was home: "yes, like home." Other participants spoke about this in an embodied sense. Lewa no longer considers Nigeria her home, but Ireland. She is not moved to visit Nigeria, and feels better in Ireland, physically, than she does in Africa:

"I just see some changes in me when I went to Nigeria; I started feeling some swelling, yeah, which is not a part of me...[...]...before I went last year people were saying "Go home. Go to Nigeria, go and see your family". I said "You know, it doesn't move me". You know when they're asking you to do something and you don't willing to do, you know, you can't feel that thing in you – "that's okay, I'm supposed to do this". You can't feel it. I tried, I tried, but there's no time for me to go."

Lewa.

This contrasts to Wojciech's experience of being abroad and how you will always feel a sense of being out of place, of being unwelcome, of being "abused".

"You know how it is, if you go abroad, you will be always abused. You won't feel as home. There is always someone trying to tell you, that, 'Why did you come here? Don't you have your own place?' No one told me that straight to my face but sometimes people try to tell you."

Wojciech.

Despite this, Wojciech is positive overall about his experiences abroad. Home, to him, is his house and small remaining bit of land in Poland, while he supports his family from Ireland.

"Very easy to get used to something good. That's why I decide to leave the country, even sell my land. I sold my land. I have nothing now, just the house there. On the little land, the house and the garden. And go all the time abroad, wherever I can."

Wojciech.

In a similar vein, Abigail and Isabelle feel that if you leave your country it is always different, recalling "there is a proverb in my country, that wherever you go you are foreigner" (Abigail) but both keep a positive outlook for an improved economic future in Ireland: "Ireland, I keep for

that country, its good." (Isabelle) and "I'm really praying for Ireland. I love this country and it's so painful to see where it's going a bit" (Abigail). In terms of place, Nneoma feels like both her country of origin and Ireland have some semblance of home for her: "I would say both. (chuckles). I would say both." Home in this sense can be neither 'here-nor-there' but a more fluid, elusive concept (Taylor, 2015).

Having originated from a small rural village in Poland, Lech's family is spread all over the world now: "it has changed and this makes our home". The family's idea of home has shifted from a sense of place to a set of relationships across the globe, spanning Poland, Ireland, England, Germany and Canada:

"It's like, it's kind of us all over the world. Even my godmother is in England, so it's not really, Poland as in the place. In Poland, in our culture, it would be all the grannies and cousins and aunties, all together, that's what it used to be years ago, a huge family living in one village, the maximum would be two or three kilometres away, where now, compare this (laughs), d'ye know? Like Canada, or Germany or whatever, it's all around."

Lech's daughter.

On home, others expressed a desire to be by their family member's side as they go through challenging times. Home was an emotional topic for Noelle, who talked of her relatives back in Africa and how she wished she could be with them in support. "Oh like, together, I was saying like, even I want to cry, I imagine I can be beside my mum now, holding her hand, oh sorry..." (Noelle).

Self and Nationhood

Participants' conceptions of home and self, traversed Ireland and their country of origin and varied in terms of having a real or an imagined mobility. The extent to which participants felt rooted to Ireland or to another place, or indeed did not feel rooted at all was highly varied. Yet, going further from feeling rooted, was the way in which participants used or rejected places in order to create lives and identities for themselves. Furthermore, some rejected their own communities within Irishtown in order to create a fresh identity in building a new life in Ireland.

National and Transnational Roots

Throughout the research there were differing interpretations of what feeling 'rooted' constituted. Some felt rooted to a particular place. In some cases this was Ireland:

"Oh yes. Yes. [Ireland is my home]. Not only now but from the beginning. I'm not an immigrant. Because I know myself immigrants think about making money, maybe working five years or ten

years and then going back. That's the way immigrants think, but it wasn't my case - no, no. I stay here, in Ireland"

Said.

In others it was about maintaining strong links with their country of origin and envisioning a return there: "I have plans to move back home you know, that home is my home" (Tomas). Even as an owner-occupier, and without immediate plans to move back to Poland, Lech and his family feel rooted in Poland, though they will live in Ireland for the next fifteen years. Despite the fact that their entire family is across the world, the roots will always be in Poland:

"Well, we are Polish. And you can't change that. We were born in Poland, we were raised in Poland. It's like all our family were, even my mum's godmother. She was raised in Poland, she got a husband and they moved to Canada and they had kids there, but the roots were in Poland. We were all born in Poland and raised there, like my auntie in Canada, she isn't saying well I'm not Polish. Or someone else, we're just Polish, that's it."

Lech.

Wojciech does not feel rooted in this sense, although he maintains a house and family back in Poland. He feels like he will always be away and always out of Poland. He feels too restless to stay and even when he does go back to Poland, friends tell him he is "twisted a little bit", meaning that he does not fit in anymore.

"Well, if I was all the time in Poland I wouldn't know that. But they, I tried it once and I couldn't stay anymore because you always wanted something else more. When you see the world and you know that you can have it, you can't stay there."

Wojciech.

Similarly, Lidiya feels like a stranger both in Ireland and in Russia: "Like it's very strange feeling. You know, I'm still feel as a foreigner here. And then I came home [to Russia] I will feel strange as well." These expressions of feeling 'strange' or 'twisted' in all locations point to a permanent sense of being an outsider, ambiguous feelings of belonging, and up-rootedness (Levitt, 2009). For others, a sense of national identity spans Ireland and their country of origin, a spanning that has been a temporal process. Katya talks about shifting between Russian and Irish identities. She feels like Ireland is her home now, describing her familiarity in terms of the ease of social interactions. She feels more comfortable interacting with Irish people rather than Russian. She tells of how she is increasingly understanding the Irish psyche over time:

"Because your mentality – like, I'm here nine years – and my mentality and my husband's mentality changed a lot. We kind of in the middle: we're still not fully Irish, but we understand the Irish people a lot."

Katya.

This sense of being at a halfway point in a process of adapting to, or acclimatising to, life in Ireland is comprised of procedures that disconnect them from life in their country of origin, even if they maintain a dream-like attachment to the place. Some talked of the elements that come into play when they think about living in Ireland and the way in which the connection to their country of origin is fading. This process entailed connecting more to Ireland in terms of networks, understanding of local customs; building a record of medical and health history; weakening bonds with friends and family in the country of origin; developing very close friendships with Irish nationals; feeling it is important to be focussed on Ireland emotionally as well as physically; and making an effort to learn about Irish customs and traditions such as learning about the anthem and the language. Abigail recounts:

"For me now, I have two home. One here in Ireland, and Nigeria is also my home. But if I decided to stay here as a permanent place, I still have to go home. That's it, I'm two homes. Because when I am here, my mind is reflecting on [Nigeria]. [When I go to Nigeria] you feel like 'oh yes, I am in Africa. This is the culture.' But when you come back, the two days it takes for you to come back, you feel (exhales contentedly) 'oh, I'm going back home, I'm going to my second home again.' Here is my base, where I base, where I live, everything in my life is here. In the 11 years I have left Nigeria, I cannot call it a home anymore. Because I don't know much. Anyone can tell me something and I will believe it. But in Ireland if anybody tells me something, I will say I know. I know what you are talking about, that's not the truth...[...]...It's just because I'm not an Irish, because I wasn't born here....but Ireland is my home, where I live, where everything of my life. If anything happen to me in Nigeria, the doctor cannot say, oh, this is what happened and everything. But, if anything happen in Africa, to me, I will be able to call my doctor and he will be able to tell me everything about myself. But Nigeria cannot help, they can only treat me. But it's only my doctor here that knows my history since I have been here. Just like, that's it."

Abigail.

This account reveals the process of change after spending some time in Ireland and also the ambivalence that shifting connections can contain. Multiple notions of home are visible within this narrative, containing notions of both *big home* (personal and national identity) and *little home* (daily activities) (Magat, 1999). It displays the weakening connections to the country of origin and the strengthening ones to the new place. Nevertheless, while making strong and clear efforts to integrate to Irish society and culture, there is still the sense "that wherever you go you are foreigner" reflecting the words of Wojciech and Lidiya, above. Turning to this deeper sense of belonging, Ray feels a strong lack of belonging in Ireland and provides the following account of this:

"These people, they know each other, they are brothers. If I'm going there and I report, then I'm going to make it worse for me, you know? I'm not going to do that. I just deal with it by myself. I mean, that's what makes it hard to say 'I'm home'. If you're home you're able to say something and then report: if you see something happening bad go and say 'I've seen something going on there'."

Ray.

Thus, for Ray, the meaning of home is about belonging and this is absent in his life in Ireland. In this example, his lack of voice and representation in Irishtown enforces feelings of non-belonging, powerlessness, and being unheard. Likewise, Abigail, despite explaining the process of developing a sense of home in Ireland, ultimately states that she will never belong in Ireland because she was not born here and because she is not white: "if I am white, I can say Irish is my country and my home". While Ireland is her home because this is where everything happens to her, where she 'does' home, she does not truly belong because of the colour of her skin. Her ethnicity precludes her from truly belonging.

Mobility and Identity

Wojciech, Lech, Juditha and Tomas talk of themselves as economic entities. Remaining completely focused on their work, they see themselves as being able to move anywhere and do not feel too attached to their country of origin, even if they know it is the original base. Earlier, Wojciech recounted how, when he is abroad, he will always be abused and will never feel that it is his place. Yet he constructs himself as global and mobile, seeking to be portable and unable to stay in one place. "I tried [to stay in Poland] once and I couldn't stay anymore because you always wanted something else more. When you see the world and you know that you can have it, you can't stay there." Wojciech does not identify too much with any particular place. He sees himself as everywhere and as always moving, works very hard, and is remotely connected to his nuclear family the majority of the time:

"I would call [my wife], but I wouldn't call the lads every day or every second day. Maybe once a month, once every two months. I know they have their own lives, their own friends. I am too many years away like. But for me it is enough that we go a few times a year and she is telling me every day what is going on. I am updated."

Wojciech.

Tomas similarly feels that he could be "dropped" anywhere and make a life for himself – he would go anywhere for work and feels no attachment to place. "Myself, I can live, you drop me in China, I can live there for one year, two years, probably five years. No problem. And it's fine for me." This discourse of mobility and freedom prevails for some whose lives in Irishtown are quite settled for now. Juditha and Edyta conceive of themselves as being mobile, free, and able to work anywhere. In practice, they both have children in school and will stay in Irishtown for the remainder of their children's education. But they envisage reigniting their mobility after that time. "But you see, a few years' time, we might go in England. Now we have to decide what we will

do for the next fifteen years, because [my daughter] is in school, but when she is twenty, we might go in Australia. You know?" (Edyta).

Creating the Self through Place

The previous two sections described feelings of belonging across and between different countries, as well as conceptions of mobility that did not adhere to any particular geographical place. However there were many for whom the process of identity creation was a far more purposive journey. Their lives in Irishtown were part of a deliberate effort to create a new 'self' within this place. Edyta had rejected most parts of her life in Poland (except for her grandmother and her grandmother's place) because of her family background. Furthermore, her business in Poland had been in significant financial difficulty. Her move to Ireland signified a new start, for family and for work. Within a short space of time, she had paid off her debts in Poland and built a life for herself in Irishtown, one she protected carefully.

"Because at home, my story is a bit complicated because my mother got pregnant with me, and she obviously didn't want to be and you see when I was three months, she got married, but not with my father, with someone else, so they honestly didn't want me so they left me with my Granny. And I was growing up with Granny until I was maybe 6 or 7 when I have to go to school. And you see, I never had home, because I used to be between Krakow and this village and then back again to Krakow. And, I never feel homely. Never. So that's why I get very emotional about having my own house...[...]...So you see, I love this place and I don't want to sell it because I make home here, and I think by my own hand, you know, so all my hard work put into this house, so I wouldn't like to sell it, even if I had two other houses, I wouldn't sell this one...[...]...Ireland is home now, that is for sure. And I wouldn't ever be Irish. I won't. But at least I know a lot of people do treat me like I'm local."

Edyta.

Edyta's narrative reveals how the creation of home and the importance attached to it are related to personal histories and biographies. Similarly, Adam has rejected his Sri Lankan life and identity, because of the difficulties caused for him by ethnic tensions in the country. He and his wife come from different ethnic backgrounds and faced significant discrimination when in Sri Lanka. Thus, Adam sold all of his property in that country and set about creating a new life and identity in Ireland for himself and his wife. Adam also talks about setting up a cricket club in the region.

"I want to tell you that why I am saying I am Irish is because in Sri Lanka, there are two different communities. And something like that discrimination over there, the racism is very high. I was really trying to stay in another country. And I came in here and after that I keep my foot in here. Long time I was thinking I want to get citizenship, because I hate my country, because of the discrimination and racism. But we both, our families, my relatives and my wife's relatives, because she has a lot of pressure on her side and my side. So when we came here, everybody forget about us,

so they don't know how we are living in here. So that kind of situation I like to say I am Irish. Because I hate my country today, yesterday, I hate few years back. I'm not going to move to another country again."

Adam.

Several of the study participants sought to maintain some distance from their own migrant group or communities, citing a desire to forge a more independent identity. A number of the participants told how they maintained a distance from the general national community because of the perceived insularity and competitiveness. "I am trying not make close contact with the Polish people here because you know, Polish people are a bit jealous or something" (Juditha). Others also expressed sensing a lack of authenticity among members of their national community: "between the Russians – our Russian-speaking people – it's not the real friendship. You know it's more – I don't know how to say that – 'using' relationship, put it this way" (Katya). These comments are not presented as descriptions of those national communities, as there were many other participants who drew on the networks within their communities, but instead are indicative of the way some participants situate themselves in an effort to build their identity.

"But you see Polish, especially Polish coming into here, they are very jealous about each other. You see, if you have a child, they want child too. So everyone gets pregnant. If you buy a new car, somebody will buy a new car or a better car than you. It's a bit competition, which I tell you now, I don't follow that competition because I don't tell anybody I bought the car, or I buy the house or I'm going to Spain or something. I'm doing my own thing because I don't want to be jealous because some people went to Spain or somebody bought the house here or Poland, All the friends say, 'oh, we bought the house' and I was laughing and just 'yeah yeah yeah'."

Edyta.

Abigail maintains a distance from her national community for privacy, and in an effort to orient herself more towards being Irish. But there is also a rejection of group identity here, as she attempts to distance herself from the negative perception that Black African residents face. She feels that African residents are perceived as "too noisy" and wishes to keep herself separate from such stereotypes. The sense that it is easier to carve out an individual path apart from the migrant group was also articulated by Olga. Early during her time in Ireland, she had enjoyed a gentle curiosity in where she was from. When a greater number of European migrants arrived, she observed a hardened attitude:

"I wanted to say as well, when I came here, the immigrants people were, like, not strange but, in a nice way, you were different. People were really nice, interested in you and everything. Then after a few years, when Lithuania, Poland, all those kinds of countries, joined the EU, it was just like, whoa, a lot of immigrants and then the Irish people wasn't so nice and wasn't, you know, it changed the view, of the immigrants.."

Olga.

These accounts reveal how some participants actively construct themselves away from their ethnic communities. This was not a general experience, with many others relying heavily on their ethnic networks and connections, a phenomenon which was explored in Chapter 6. However these excerpts highlight the multiple ways in which participants engage with their communities as part of their creation of self.

The Future

Reflecting on the future was an uncertain task for participants. Participants talked about both the near future and the distant future, framing their discussion in both positive and negative terms. Most talked about future plans such as setting up their own business, and building a life for themselves. Discourses of improvement, moving forward, and self-actualisation prevailed, despite a general context of uncertainty. Thoughts on the future encompassed housing futures and also the general future – in terms of practical matters such as work, and also in the broader sense of efforts to realise one's identity.

Housing Uncertainty

Most participants - except for those who were wealthier, well-resourced, and conceived of themselves in more mobile terms – were seeking housing security in some form. This applied to all participants, but notably for those on lower incomes, who were circulating through poor quality properties. The concept of the possibility of having their housing need met through the local authority prevailed, though no more houses were being built directly by the local authority, and knowledge of the Rental Accommodation Scheme was sparse. Participants generally had a vague awareness about it but did not understand what it was, compared to rent supplement or compared to local authority housing.

"I don't know much about them, to tell you the truth. I don't know much about them, because ... I don't know whether it's renting. I don't know. But I've seen the form."

Ray.

Even those who were living within the Rental Accommodation Scheme did not know that much about it, and talked of having their housing need met through the local authority in the future. This discourse was strong, despite the fact that there was no social housing availability: "well, I don't really know, I am just hoping that maybe I will get a council house. At the moment, that's all I really hope" (Faith). Participants were not cognisant of the fact that the private rented sector was being utilised to a greater extent to meet social housing need – with both a supplement towards rent and with contracts between the local authority and the landlord situated there.

"If I working, pay my council house myself, because the Council house is no very expensive, because they have many people from Africa, in Galway, Limerick, Dublin, they have a Council house, not expensive. Maybe you have job, this job no have plenty money to pay you the big salary, its good, because you wife work, you work yourself, you pay your council house, its good. This is a good idea. Because private house, too expensive."

Iules.

Thus, for many, the notion of the council house was just a distant dream. All participants with a housing need were on the local authority's list, which was increasing due to the changed rules, in which all in need of a supplement towards their rent also had to register themselves as having a housing need with the local authority. Isabelle's translator laughed when asked about Isabelle's housing future, knowing how difficult it was to come across a council house: "maybe a council house (laughs)." This is related to the impossibility of getting a house and how many people talk about it without anything being translated into action.

"I'm not, actually, only my application is there. I am on the list, but I am not...nothing with that yet. I would like one. But I don't want to get the house far away from the town, so, because we don't have car yet. Maybe in the future. But it's not easy get the house in, get the Council house. You know something about it?"

Wera.

This sort of longing for security and the failure to feel it within RAS permeates people's stories, as they look to their friends in other towns and witness that they have been given local authority houses. "I have a friend who lived in [a neighbouring city] and put her name for the council house which didn't take very long to get, so I don't know. I suppose they have fewer houses in Irishtown, I don't know" (Melody). The fact that there are fewer houses in this particular county than elsewhere was clear to several participants, as they compared their situations to friends in other places, a comparison which bolstered their hopes of having their housing need met through the local authority in the future. "It's not fair in Irishtown that whenever we want to get something they just said "mmm, sorry, sorry" (Lewa).

This discussion has covered the uncertainty that the participants, who have a registered housing need, face. The same narrative of uncertainty does not permeate the discourses of those on higher incomes. However those on higher incomes do maintain a sense of mobility, of openness and of possibility, including the homeowners of the study:

"Let's say at the moment we will stay here anyways, so we are planning, kind of, to save, to stretch, to pay the mortgage let's say in ten, fifteen, years. So, that time, the oldest one will be finished the school, so we'll see. Or even, you know, when they finish the primary school, my dream is you know, to send them to Germany. I have the friends in Germany."

Olga.

Thus we can see that the homeowners, who are committed to mortgages in Irishtown, and who have children in school, hold on to an idea of moving again after their child's education is finished. Participants envisage mobility for both themselves and their children.

Economic Uncertainty

"But, in future, I hope there is ... things change to better in Irishtown, because of our children. Things change. I know that the children you know they still have a lot to face, you know, going to university. They are going to move out of Irishtown, but they might come back to live in Irishtown. I think things change to better. I hope so. That's what I can say."

Lewa.

For many participants with a refugee status, securing work featured as a strong desire and a significant priority. All were looking for security in work and housing and for a meaning through their work. Jules was also seeking a job in order to regularise his identity within the family. He has never worked and is caring primarily for his four children due to his wife's illness. For him, to find a job is paramount. Similarly, Vasily and Viktor were just focused on finding a job and on developing their business, respectively. The economic uncertainty and difficulty of planning a working future impacts on participants' plans for themselves, and plans for their housing. Many talked abstractly about an interest in buying their own place, but did not feel it was something they could realistically plan for, both financially, and in terms of a cohesiveness with their working lives. In these ways, the insecurity of the labour market impacts on orientations towards housing security.

"I don't know, to be honest with you. I don't really know. Couple of years ago even I wanted to settle business fitness and everything and be focussing more on children fitness and everything. And my friend I was talking to you, he has very similar ideas; so we working - helping him with his classes and we working, we going together. But now I don't know. Again, it all depends on the Ireland. I can't promise anything. I wouldn't promise anything right now. Like I'm happy here; but sometimes you happy in the one place, as to be in a nice warm swamp, and you wanna move – another move. Right now I'm kind of ready to jump to the next section of my life. So I can't say anything; I'm unsure."

Katya.

A sense of moving forward was hindered by the difficulties within the economic and business environment. Yet all are focused on building a life in some way – a house, a job, education, a life for their children. Some participants, such as Juditha and Katya, centre their plans around the needs of their children, their education, and the stability they require as they grow up. However, Juditha, Olga and Edyta all see themselves as being mobile again after this time.

Conclusion

Set within this geographic place, the study participants conceived of home and self in a myriad of processes and combinations. "The term home functions as a repository for complex, interrelated and, at times, contradictory socio-cultural ideas about people's relationship with one another, especially family, and with places, spaces and things" (Mallett, 2004: 84). These complexities and contradictions were heightened in a single setting as the concept of home conjured up practices around the self and the house, and conceptions of a state of being either fixed or in flux. The majority of these varying conceptions were situated within the physical and legislative parameters of the private rented sector, parameters which were central in participants' constructions of home and identity. A sense of home was strongly linked to autonomy in the management and decoration of the dwelling, and to a good working relationship with the landlord of the property. Recently published research by Easthope (2014) argues that "the ability of tenants to personalise their rental property and make it a home is affected by their security of occupancy and their power to make changes to their dwelling" (2014: 593). The interactions described within Irishtown's rental sector would support, and indeed illustrate, the latter part of this - that a sense of home is created through the power to personalise the property. Yet security of tenure did not feature at all as contributing to a sense of home within this study. Participants consistently identified their relationship with their landlord as contributing to a sense of stability and security and to a sense of home. There was no faith in security of occupancy in a formal legislative sense. Security of occupancy was instead conceived of as a strong, clear and mutually reinforcing relationship with a landlord.

Returning to the work of Beck (1992) and Bauman (1997) referenced in the introduction to this chapter, Gram-Hanssen and Bech-Danielsen (2004) position their work as late-modern, or post-modern, against Bourdieu's more "static" (2004: 19), modernist approach.¹⁵⁰ Instead, Beck (1992) and Bauman (1997) see the dissolution of social classes, with a freedom for individuals to pursue self-realisation and pleasure. The narratives presented in this chapter articulated the ways in which individuals engaged in a process of identity building in many areas of their lives. This process took place in participants' dwellings; and in the organisation of their lives between Irishtown, the rest of Ireland, and their country of origin. Participants' orientations towards 'place' were highly varied, with people picking and choosing parts of life in Ireland and in their

¹⁵⁰ Though others (Featherstone, 1991) have used Bourdieu's work to develop post-modern understandings of social differences, by examining the "trendsetters of the bourgeoisie and the petite- bourgeoisie" (Gram-Hanssen and Bech-Danielsen, 2004: 20).

country of origin as part of their constructions of self, their *life project* (Holstein and Gubrium, 2000).

In tandem with this, the *habitus* of the housing system prevailed, with participants adopting the language associated with different tenures in the housing system. A "socialisation of tenure prejudice" (Rowlands and Gurney, 2001: 121) did arise within participants' discourses around home ownership, renting in the private market, and local authority housing. More fortified conceptions of home and self were evident in the narratives of the study's homeowners and many did orient their future selves towards a property of their own, whether this was through the local authority or through acquiring a home-owned property in the market. Despite this desire, many continued to maintain mobile conceptions of their future.

The transnational connections and networks of participants meant that their notions of home were frequently oriented towards other places and peoples. Home was about networks of connections across the globe – between Irishtown, the country of origin, and other places, as participants oriented their thoughts towards friends and family abroad in varying capacities (Al-Ali and Koser, 2002). The experience of rootlessness and States in perpetual flux was laced through the narratives of some. For many, building the self in a post-modern world was a journey bolstered by memories and imaginings of the structures of modernity, with participants harking back to times of security, stability and connection. This narrative formed a backdrop to their future journeys, dominated by increasingly fragmented, indeed *liquid* (Bauman, 1997) realities and narratives; narratives framed by the uncertain economic context.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This study set out to explore the housing experiences of immigrants in a changing housing system during the wave of immigration from 1998 – 2008. The opening chapters of the thesis described trends and patterns in the housing experiences of immigrants in the existing literature, which tend to stress immigrants' general inequality and lack of power within the housing market (Clann, 1999; ICI, 2004). This inequality has been linked to factors such as lower economic power, racism and discrimination (Equality Authority and NCCRI, 2003; Magee, Fong and Wilkes, 2008), as well as ethnic preferences (Beider, 2009; Tomlins et al, 2002). While these studies map several factors that *explain* immigrants' positions in housing markets and housing systems, they do not *situate* the phenomena within the wider societal developments of which the housing experiences of immigrants are just one part. Nor do they *explore* how immigrants' responses to their housing situations are bound up with their broader life experiences. Furthermore, immigrants are frequently researched from the standpoint of their nationality, and important aspects of identity such as gender, class, family status, and age, are frequently only given cursory attention or ignored (Murdie, 2002; Robinson et al, 2007; Pillinger, 2008).

The study, which is an interpretative, constructionist exploration of immigrants' housing experiences within a rural town in Ireland, set out to gain access to the meanings and processes associated with immigrants' position within the housing system. It deliberately situated this exploration within a carefully selected geographical location in order to position immigrants' housing experiences with the societal totality and as part of their broader life experiences. The approach to the study was closely aligned with the tradition of the Chicago School of Sociology, which examined social processes within physical places (Ritzer, 2007). The study drew on a number of other conceptual tools, derived from the 'Theories of Practice', developed by Giddens (1984) and Bourdieu (1977). As recommended by Ratcliffe (2009), there was a commitment to conceptualising structure, agency, and ethnicity as processual and emergent, so as to illuminate processes and meanings.

The findings documented in the four preceding chapters explored a range of phenomena and themes with the aim of extending understanding of developments within the housing system in the context of immigration. This concluding chapter now turns to examine the key themes to emerge from the study's findings. It first explores the contribution of interpretivist research of

this kind to the field of housing studies. It then discusses several key issues arising from the study's findings from which broad theoretical inferences can then be made. The chapter then examines the implications of the findings for private rented sector policy. It concludes by considering aspects of the study's findings which point to areas for further research.

Constructing Migration and Housing in a Time of Change

A core argument of the thesis was that there is a need to go beyond perspectives that emphasise immigrants' position within the housing system and draw on conceptual tools that permit an exploration of the processes and forces that frame immigrants' broader interactions with housing. Much policy-led research, both in the Irish context (NCCRI, 2008) and further afield (Robinson et al, 2007), take as their start point positivist principles and standards with which to examine the social world. Furthermore, research situated within the positivist tradition has, at its core, a concern with a 'social problem', which needs to be understood, solved and addressed. As an approach it does not always seek to engage with 'social worlds' in their own right. With a constructionist approach context, culture, and forms of identity, are considered to all shape the options of immigrants, their life chances, and their transitions through housing. Thus, a study that examines processes as part of the broader societal totality enables a detailed and critical examination of the housing system and its constituent parts. This is relevant both for tenants, generally, and for the role the housing system plays in relation to the settlement of immigrants.

The study's qualitative approach - incorporating depth-interviews, non-participant observation and a community assessment process – employed a retrospective research design in order to capture change over time. The data garnered from the in-depth interviews were supported by observation and a community assessment process (Clatts et al, 2002) in order to obtain a *thick description* (Geertz, 1973) of place and context. Direct participation in the fieldwork allowed for an approach that privileged immigrants' own constructions of their situations, their own 'categories' of response, all of which were located within their broader lives. This allowed participants to define the bounds of their own journeys through housing, and generated an 'insider' perspective on their housing situations. Obtaining these data would not have been possible had any advance definitions or constructs been employed in the research. By exploring the social context of housing the study sought to incorporate the broader dimensions of immigrants' lives of which housing is just one part, providing a powerful means of exploring the housing system.

The research prioritised a methodological approach aimed at enlisting a small and diverse group of immigrants with differing entry routes into Ireland. The recruitment process, detailed in Chapter 3, ensured the inclusion of immigrants with different backgrounds in terms of nationality, immigrant status, gender and socio-economic profile. Notwithstanding some problems with recruiting certain groups (discussed in detail in Chapter 3) the study sample was of sufficient quality to generate a new insight into the lives of these immigrants and the social processes associated with their housing experiences. The study has endeavoured to synthesise the narratives of these diverse participants with some degree of conceptual coherence. The excerpts presented through the study were selected to illustrate emerging themes, and it is hoped that the accounts provided throughout the findings chapters speak to the breadth of the participants' experiences and perspectives.

Looking beyond 'Immigrant' in Housing Research

The participants of the study were people with varied biographies and histories. Although their arrival to Ireland was framed by the immigration system, other aspects of their identity played a role in their arrival and came to the fore increasingly over time. Gender, class and family situation all impacted participants' housing pathways and mediated their housing experiences as much as nationality or ethnicity. Earlier, the processual nature of race and ethnicity was introduced (Bloch and Solomos, 2010). The study's findings suggest that these processes unfolded in two ways: firstly, in the ways that immigrants in Irishtown were treated by others and, secondly, through participants' constructions of, and identification with, their own ethnicity in their choices and decisions, for example, and in making decisions about where to live. Visible minorities were subject to substantially more discrimination in their activities – both in the labour market and in the housing market – than those immigrants who were White European. Participants also varied in their level of identification with their own ethnic group: some actively distanced themselves from their national communities while others relied upon them.

Viewing participants' experiences in light of characteristics beyond their ethnicity has illuminated ways in which other features of identity blend with ethnicity to shape housing experiences. For example, participant tenants who were single or separated faced great difficulty accessing good quality places to live and had substantially less choice in their housing. This was the case regardless of race or ethnicity. Similarly, the formation, and severing, of intimate partner relationships played a strong role in participants' housing journeys. Generally, more

stable intimate partner relationships were found among those in home ownership or renting in the private market. The participants in receipt of a rent supplement were predominantly separated, which signals the stress placed on housing situations by relationship breakdowns. There was no clear distinction in ethnicity between renters in the private market with a rent supplement and those without, but there was a clear trend in terms of marital status. Those in receipt of a rent supplement were largely single or separated individuals.

Yet, trends in ethnicity were visible among those who purchased homes and those who accessed the rental accommodation scheme. Their stories illustrate the ways in which broader economic and political context construct racial hierarchies. The three home owners were White European and the three living in RAS were Black African. The processes associated with these participants' entry to these sectors reveal the wider structural forces at play which impacted on their access to the labour market, access to mortgage credit, and the resources they accumulated throughout their time in Ireland.

Overall, in relation to housing, gender, income, age, and family status all played strong roles in participants' housing pathways, and the forming and breaking of intimate partner relationships also featured in their housing moves. The analysis therefore illuminated the breadth of characteristics and life events that played a role in shaping the contours of participants housing journeys. The findings also illustrate that experiences within similar ethnicities are diverse. However, there are overarching processes that reflect grand structural characteristics such as 'race' and 'the immigration system' - these did impact on the economic circumstances of certain groups, in turn impacting their housing choices and situations.

Housing Experiences within Mutually Embedded Processes

The forces of structure and agency that play a role in immigrants housing choices are described in detail throughout the literature. Discourses of *bounded choices* (Philips, 2008) and the choices and constraints that immigrants face are documented in several studies that have endeavoured to explain immigrants' position within housing markets. This piece of work sought to go beyond this "checklist" approach and explore the processes and meaning behind these observed patterns, while conceptualising structure and agency as dialectic and mutually embedded (Ratcliffe, 2009). It was evident that the interplay of structure and agency were highly complex, overlapping, and not easily dichotomised. This was apparent at the macro-, meso- and micro-level. The privileging of participants' agency, situated within a structural context, opened

up the possibility of understanding how they assessed, and weighed up, their choices and possibilities through their experiences and interactions within Irishtown. Giddens' (1984) concepts of *practical consciousness* and *discursive consciousness* assisted in framing the way in which the study participants both made sense of options open to them and took actions on these options.

At a global, macro-level, the growth of the private rented sector and its diffusion through Irishtown were revealed to be intimately linked to broader social and economic processes. Restructuring across political and economic spheres impacted on the arrival of immigrants to Irishtown and illustrates how "social systems are not bounded in any meaningful sense" (Ratcliffe, 2009: 436). Arrival was facilitated at the meso-level by networks of recruiters aiding migration to Ireland and to Irishtown. These processes brought about responses at the meso-level as agents within Irishtown reacted to these circumstances, creating networks with recruiters and employers to house migrant workers within the town. Furthermore, emerging policies on asylum and direct provision played a role in the geographic spread of asylum seekers across Ireland, and areas such as Irishtown received people leaving direct provision and entering its housing system. Actors such as agents in the social welfare system, landlords, and community development workers were bound up in responding to this new population in a variety of ways. Ratcliffe (2009), conceptualises these processes thus:

Table 20: Concepts of Structure and Agency (Ratcliffe, 2000).

Structure		Agency
international agencies).		to survive and cope in specific situations of
- Micro-social (families, gro	ups, social	change or crisis.
networks, local communities).		
- Meso-social (intermediate networks or		
collectivities like the migration industry or		
transnational communities).		

Participants assessments of, and responses to, the situations in which they found themselves were visible along their housing pathways. Firstly, their movements through the housing structure, categorised in terms of tenure, illustrated their objective 'placing' within the housing system itself. The majority resided in the private rented sector, with about half of these in receipt of a rent supplement. There were three in homeownership and three in the rental accommodation scheme, with none in local authority housing. Thus, participants' positions within the housing structure itself were largely in the private rented sector, a trend which is well documented in the Irish case (Duffy, 2007; NCCRI, 2008; Paris, 2005).

The research approach allowed for an exploration of the consciousness (Giddens, 1984) of participants towards their situations. Among those residing in the private rented sector, some were actively trying to access homeownership but facing barriers; others prioritised mobility in their lives and used the private rented sector as a temporary base; others circulated through poor quality properties in the sector; and others still anchored there, accepting the necessity of making a home there. This finding highlights a need to understand structure and agency within the housing system in terms of what individuals were trying to achieve and the extent to which they could achieve their goals. The structural barriers many faced in finding good quality places to live were responded to with varying strategies of agency - such as moving on, negotiating with the landlord, or planning to exit the sector. Overall, though, participants' narratives were underpinned by grander structures such as the broader economic context, race, and the culture of housing tenure, reflecting the necessity "to recognise the implications of the very different structural positioning on the part of migrant groups" (Ratcliffe, 2009: 440). This finding reflects Giddens' argument that actors carry knowledge of structures outside of the moment of action (Ritzer, 2007). Participants' internal structures, orientations towards action, and the capacity of those actions did reflect the broader structural context. Action was visible in two ways – firstly, in how participants envisaged action and managed to enact that vision, and, secondly, through their recurring actions, or social practices, which in turn contributed to change.

Constructing a Life in 'Investment Houses'

The previous two sections have highlighted a need to think beyond 'immigrant' and to incorporate more complex elements of identity as well as more fluid and mutually interdependent conceptualisation of structure and agency. The diverse ways in which participants responded to the housing structure, with varying capacities to navigate it, were further explored in Chapter 6. Here we saw that participants constructed their lives in the private rented sector in varying ways. The culture of the sector, its *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977), permeated their narratives and their constructions of self. Participants had varying capacities to transcend this *habitus*. Going beyond the individual level, the analysis opened a window into the submarkets that immigrant participants navigated in their house searches and into the ways in which the physical diffusion of the sector was impacting socially on estates.

The social map of the growth of the private rental sector emerged strongly from the study, as residents of Irishtown categorised estates as 'rental' or 'residential'. Their constructions of these terms were value laden, with connotations of class, and community quality, very apparent in

the narratives. Different forms of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) were accorded to each. The meaning associated with these terms did not refer to the number of rental properties in any one estate but rather to the class profile of estates, with lower income, more run down estates with problem tenants and a high turnover of tenants depicted as 'rental'. The social meaning of these expressions were revealed through advice to aim to rent a property in 'residential' estates rather than 'rental' ones.

Immigrants' relationships with their landlord were central to their assessments of the experience of private rented accommodation. Responses to landlords diverged, with 'evaders' and 'negotiators' emerging as key analytical constructs. Evaders circulated through properties in search of better quality, while negotiators interacted with landlords to improve their situations. These differences reflected varying levels of confidence and resources, varying capacities for action (Giddens, 1991) and varying strategies for navigating the habitus of the private rented sector. Yet overall, participants talked generally of insecurity, of feeling like they were always 'in the bags', reflecting a context of risk (Beck, 1992) and liquidity (Bauman, 1997). Those with greater resources in terms of income or property, aligned their sense of self with this culture of insecurity, conceiving of themselves as mobile and flexible. They did not seek security in the private rented sector. However those who were seeking greater security, in the sense of seeking to create a home in the sector, were subject to the same culture of insecurity, which did not marry well with their desire for ontological stability. For this group, differing strategies for dealing with this insecurity were identified. Returning to the 'evader' and 'negotiator' categories identified earlier, some had little option but move through this insecure sector. Negotiators accepted that they would face this insecurity irrespective of where they lived and so attempted to negotiate with their present landlord for better conditions, assuming greater autonomy within the relationship. These discourses prevailed for those living in the rental accommodation scheme. Tenants continued to need to negotiate with their landlord, and where this relationship had broken down, they felt frustrated at not being free to move on. This is the backdrop against which social housing need is being met. By contrast, the discourses of those within home ownership was one of autonomy and the creation of the self.

Discourses on properties in the sector told of an 'investment house' and the idea of a house for investment permeated participants' accounts of their living situations. Participants were living for ten years or more in 'investment houses', moving around in search of something to better fulfil their needs, both materially and in terms of their identity. Properties were talked of in terms of having no heart, no energy, sometimes described as sheds, and a number were living in properties for sale, with 'for sale' signs visible throughout Irishtown. Coveted 'homes' – rented

houses that were homes temporarily vacated rather than premises for business - were found through word-of-mouth and personal connections. This culture of investment is intimately bound with the culture, or *habitus*, of the private rented sector.

The findings revealed that tenants had little faith in formal contractual arrangements. Where these were in place, they were more frequently perceived to be a hindrance because of a lack of trust. Some felt that once signed in, they could not always rely on the landlord to live up to his or her responsibility and, where possible, they preferred to assess for themselves the character of the landlord and try to get a 'feel' for the potential quality of the relationship. For those for whom this was not possible, some relied on an advocacy organisation in the town for enhanced 'social capital' or 'insider knowledge', and others relied on friends and co-workers for advice. An especially vulnerable group in this regard were African immigrants exiting the system of direct provision to Irishtown's private rental market, almost always in the rent supplement submarket. They relied on friends, and the advocacy organisation. Yet their narratives were of freedom and independence, achieved for the first time as they saw it.

The economic context framed the immigrants' housing choices. Several of the study participants would have purchased a house for investment purposes had the economic circumstances been less volatile. Thus, housing change in the face of immigration is not just about housing immigrants themselves but also about seeing them as housing investors. The economic context also framed participants' discourses on their lives generally. Life in general, and the future, were talked about in terms of uncertainty; of not knowing; not being able to plan; and indeed a fear of the future. Within this setting, participants negotiated their identities in terms of *both* house or home *and* a context of uncertainty.

Constructing a life in the private rented sector was an endeavour that played out spatially in Irishtown as well as within individuals' lives. The analysis revealed the centrality of different forms of networks in the search strategies of participants. They relied on varying mechanisms and sources to find properties, and coveted, good quality, properties were almost always found through word-of-mouth. The networks that emerged reflect the economic and social changes in Irishtown, with recruiter networks, networks of ethnicity, and institutional networks forming as part of the migration experience. Advertised and professional gatekeeper networks were relied upon also, although perceptions of the value of these varied.

The construction of life in the private rented sector played out on estates. The perception of private rented properties as non-participatory, and their association with sometimes troublesome tenants, led to the development of Homeowners Associations in Irishtown.

Generally, those living in private rented tenancies were not encouraged, sometimes even discouraged, from participating in Residents Associations throughout Irishtown. The image of the private rented sector as transient permeated the treatment of tenants on estates by other home-owning residents and also impacted on tenants' construction of themselves in terms of their right to participate. Furthermore, the social role of 'letting agents' in estates was apparent in participants' accounts in that these 'keepers of houses' lived on the estates alongside tenants, but adopted a role of guardian of houses. All of this had implications for questions of cohesion, a sense of belonging, citizenship and participation within estates.

Migration, Housing and 'Self' Change

This research, situated within one place, took as its central focus the diversity of immigrant characteristics situated within one location. Both mobility and immobility were captured, and the varying ways in which they contributed to participants' constructions of themselves and their constructions of a sense of place also featured prominently in the analysis. Existing studies have typically focused on highly mobile or highly immobile individuals, rather than capturing both.

Participants' construction of self and the pursuit of identity permeated their pathways through the housing system. Varying patterns of housing use reflected different *life projects* (Holstein and Gubrium, 2000), which related to both the resources available to study participants and their sense of place. Some oriented themselves transnationally, using the private rented sector in Ireland with transience, already having secure properties in their country of origin. Others oriented themselves towards Ireland, and part of their construction of self was about building a new self in Irishtown. *Life projects* (Holstein and Gubrium, 2000), narratives of building and creating the self, in various capacities, wove through participants' accounts. Home was conceptualised in a myriad of ways such as physical dwelling, interpersonal relationships with friends and family, sense of self, ideal home, and being at home in different worlds. Furthermore, expressions of a sense of self were connected to nationhood, mobility, and transnationalism.

Yet, uncertainty in relation to both housing and the future of the economy generally framed the discourses of the participants, and against this they constructed possible futures. This *liquidity* (Bauman, 1997) within the setting of late modernity (Giddens, 1991) came to the fore and revealed the ways in which participants pursued a sense of self through their housing. In a postmodern world, there is scope to shake off aspects of group identity and carve out a more

individual path. The backdrop of risk (Beck, 1992), late-modernity (Giddens, 1991), and the opening up of the social world, allows for people to construct their sense of selves away from the parameters of modern structures such as *class* and *race*. Broader processes at the macrolevel were explored as part of the analysis and thus the impact of these processes on the social world at the micro-level was contextualised. Against a setting of political and economic restructuring, the study participants created their *selves* across dwellings, across the geography of Irishtown, and across Ireland and their country of origin.

Policy Implications

This section highlights a number of policy implications arising from the study's findings. Overall, the findings point towards both the social consequences of the characteristics of the private rented sector itself, and the social consequences of meeting social housing need via the private rented sector. They demonstrate how everyday experiences are influenced by the role that the private rented sector plays in the housing system presently, detailed in Chapter 1. The findings also tell the story of the impact that the characteristics of the sector play in immigrants' lives, with uncertainty, insecurity, and an absence of trust prevailing. Immigrant tenants seeking to make a home in the sector confront substantial challenges.

In policy terms the private rented sector continues to be conceived of as a residual tenure in the Irish housing system, despite its increasing role within the system, particularly in more recent years. Its image as a sector that is a transient and temporary abode for people at more flexible points of their lives remains. Lower income tenants, who may reside there for longer periods of time, are not afforded priority in terms of safety or security. The level of insecurity that this study's participants experienced in their residences within the private rented sector permeated their accounts of their living situations.

While there have been reforms to the sector, commencing in 2000, which have all moved towards regulating the sector to a greater capacity, practice has been slow to catch up in many areas, with policies and targets set to enhance this goal. Yet, the efforts to enhance the regulation of the sector have remained very much within the parameters of the existing conceptualisation of the private rented sector's role within the housing system. Thus far, reforms have not substantially contributed to the sustainability of the sector as a place in which to make a home. The findings of this study illustrate the limited regard afforded to legal and contractual arrangements governing tenancies on the part of tenants. The low level of trust associated with these contracts was also strongly apparent.

The reform of the private rented sector has been underway since 2000, the year in which the Report of the Commission on the Private Rented Sector was published, reviewing the sector and making recommendations for its regulation. The Private Residential Tenancies Board was set up in 2004, under the remit of the *Residential Tenancies Act 2004*, and a series of legislative acts have been implemented since that time, all aimed at increasing the regulatory environment of the sector and the living conditions within it. Developments at this policy level have been followed unevenly by practice; for example, registrations of tenancies remain low in many areas. The discourse around the sector remains centred on investment and this is reflected in the findings of this study. Many of the properties where participants resided were on the market for sale; many were filled with belongings of the landlords; and others were used as holiday homes at other times in the year. In the context of the growth of the private rental sector within the broader housing system, there is a need to prioritise its function as a provider of homes rather than as an investment.

To a considerable extent, the reputation of the sector as insecure dominated interactions, with tenants eager to stay out of contracts in case conditions deteriorated too much, or in case any unpleasant interactions arose with the landlord. Options to exit a tenancy in cases where these circumstances arose remained important to participants. These characteristics point to just how unsustainable the sector is in terms of providing homes, even within the most basic conceptualisation of what it means to make a home. The notion of stability was almost entirely absent from tenants' narratives and where it did exist, it is only a trustworthy relationship with a landlord that fostered any basic sense of security. Emerging from these findings is an important question: How is it possible to make the private rented sector more sustainable for both tenants and landlords?

Drawing on the work of Jim Kemeny (1995), which models rental systems into 'unitary' and 'dualist', we can examine varying perspectives on the function of the private rental sector within the overall housing system. Nations with dualist systems, including Ireland, have two distinct rental markets. One is open, private and largely unregulated. The other is protected, non-profit, state-subsidised and geared towards low-income households that cannot compete in the open market. Most Anglo-Saxon countries are categorised in this way. The unitary system, as found in countries such as Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands, is part of a single, integrated housing system with not-for-profit housing competing directly with private housing. The residualisation of the private rented sector - characteristic of dualist systems - was strongly illustrated throughout the study. The lived experience in this dualist system was strongly apparent throughout the thesis.

As the time of completing this work, two publications Rent Stability in the Private Rented Sector (DKM Economic Consultants, 2014a) and Future of the Private Rented Sector Final Report (DKM Economic Consultants, 2014b) were published. They contended that rent control is not a sustainable option in the private rented sector in Ireland as it would negatively impact on the supply of accommodation in the sector, and result in a deterioration of housing conditions. This finding has been met with dismay among those groups advocating for a control of rents in order to enhance stability for those on lower incomes living in the sector.¹⁵¹ However greater stability and financial sustainability, for both landlords and tenants, was recommended (DKM Economic Consultants, 2014b), with the suggestion of a ten-year lease for tenants and further tax relief for landlords. The findings of the study highlighted the *lived experience* of instability in the sector, illustrating that the relationship with the landlord was of core importance to tenants, and was trusted to a greater extent than any legal or contractual arrangements. The experience of low income tenants within the study, moving repeatedly through poor quality properties in the private rented sector, is also an unsustainable practice in terms of meeting housing need. Given the lack of support for a controlled rental sector and the lack of sustainability that both landlords and tenant face, an enhanced focus on meeting social housing need through the social rented sector and voluntary sector would appear to be the best mechanism to develop sustainable homes for low income tenants with a social housing need.

Yet the share of private rented accommodation within the housing system is increasing and its role in meeting housing need (if not creating homes) remains central. The findings of the study suggest that many properties are still not registered with the PRTB, a situation that requires urgent attention. Efforts must be made to facilitate the creation of a sense of home and stability for those requiring it within the sector. Drawing on the findings, this means safety, warmth, a sense of autonomy and a good relationship with the landlord. Thus, while registrations are important, so too are relationships with landlords. Mediation services are already employed, and there is some indication that this is a speedier resolution to disputes when relying on mediation as opposed to the PRTB.¹⁵²

 $^{151}\,http://www.independent.ie/business/personal-finance/housing-charity-insists-on-the-need-for-rent-controls-30689035.html$

¹⁵² This view was expressed throughout the Community Assessment Process in the study.

Recommendations for Future Research

As outlined in Chapter 3, the study recruited participants through a range of public spaces. Thus, it did not access people within the private sphere or within more hidden areas of social life. Those within these more hidden spheres may include people who are potentially socially excluded to a far greater extent. For example, there was substantial difficulty in recruiting third country nationals to the study. Those who were recruited were typically connected in some way to organisations or businesses in Irishtown and individuals who were not connected to a public sphere in any way were not included in the study. Future research might therefore usefully specifically target residents who are not connected to community organisations or other public settings. This would include invisible populations such as faith groups, and particularly female members of these groups. Similarly, the study was confined to immigrants who spoke English. Again, future research could be designed with community interpreters as part of the research, so that tenants who do not speak English could be included. It is likely that their housing needs are more acute than people who speak English and who are connected in some way to the public sphere of towns. In particular, future efforts could be made to research female members of faith groups, who are frequently both invisible in public spaces and lacking in English. This might best be achieved through community researchers or peer researchers of the same gender and/or through promoting the research through relevant gatekeepers in religious establishments.

The experience of individuals in the Rental Accommodation Scheme could also be examined in greater detail. This sector is emerging as an important one in meeting housing need and a focused investigation into this Scheme would be welcome. Three participants within the study resided in the sector and their stories point to clustering, and to variable relationships with landlords. A similar investigation could be carried out into life on local authority estates. As allocations are provided to immigrant tenants in the social leasing sector, the experience of this within estates could be examined in greater detail. There were a small number of immigrants living in Irishtown's local authority estates at the time of the research, with some from the Bangladeshi community due to be placed in local authority housing. Research into the way in which this is playing out on estates and whether or not there are any anti-racist policies needed would be timely. Furthermore, the voluntary sector comprises one percent of the housing stock in Irishtown and further research could be carried out into its capacity for an increased role in meeting housing need within towns. Research could examine the institutional capacity and political willingness to enhance its capacity.

Finally, interactions with landlords, estate agents and property agents as 'keepers of houses' emerged repeatedly through the accounts of the study participants. These actors were made visible through the accounts of the immigrant tenants but future research could target these actors as the focus of study. Returning to the concepts of macro-, micro- and meso- level change, the actions and perspectives of this network of actors at the meso-level remains underexplored. Future research could examine, in-depth, their contributions to and interactions within the housing system.

Concluding Remarks

The study sought to prioritise the worldview of the study participants and to achieve this employed a constructionist framework, guided by the metaphor of the housing pathway (Clapham, 2005). In prioritising their worldview, this approach facilitated an understanding of the housing changes taking place in Irishtown from the perspectives of the study participants and thus provided an understanding of the processes and meanings that are at work behind the position of immigrants within the housing structure. The thesis sought to increase our understanding as to the processes at work behind the position of immigrants within the housing system and their responses to that position. It sought to situate their perspectives and understandings at the forefront.

Theoretically, the study contributes to the debate on structure and agency within housing research and to the idea that structure and agency are mutually embedded, developments put forward through the work of Giddens (1984), Castles (2007) and Ratcliffe (2009). The metaphor of the housing pathway illuminated the journeys that the study participants took through Irishtown's housing system and the constructionist frame of the study revealed elements of agency beyond the label of 'immigrant', such as gender, class and ethnicity.

The study also provided an exploration of the increasing use of the private rented sector to meet housing demand – both in the private market and in the increasing reliance on the sector by local authorities to accommodate those who have a housing need. Its use in these ways has substantial implications for life on estates, in relation to estate management and upkeep, and in relation to the mixing of social housing need into private estates. This is a phenomena that is emerging for the first time in such a capacity in Ireland and is an area within which policy implications are emerging.

References

Aarland, K. and Nordvik, V. 2009. 'On the Path to Homeownership: Money, Family Composition and Low-income Households' *Housing Studies* 24: 1: 81 – 101.

Abramsson, M. 2008. 'Housing Careers in a Changing Welfare State – A Swedish Cohort Study.' *Housing, Theory and Society 25: 4: 231 – 253.*

Abramsson, M. 2008. 'Housing Careers in a Changing Welfare State – A Swedish Cohort Study.' *Housing, Theory and Society* 25: 4: 231 – 253.

Abramsson, M. Borgegard, L.E and Fransson, U. 2002. 'Housing Careers: Immigrants in Local Swedish Housing Markets' *Housing Studies* 17: 3: 445 – 464.

Abramsson, M. Borgegard, L.E. and Fransson, U. 2002. 'Housing Careers: Immigrants in Local Swedish Housing Markets' *Housing Studies* 17: 3: 445 – 464.

Access Alliance. 2003. Best Practices for Working with Homeless Immigrants and Refugees. Toronto: Access Alliance.

Agar, M. H. (1996). *The Professional Stranger: An Informal Introduction to Ethnography*. London: Academic Press.

Ahmed, A.M. and Hammarstedt, M. 2008. 'Discrimination in the Rental Housing Market: A Field Experiment on the Internet' *Journal of Urban Economics* 64: 2: 362 – 372.

Ahmed, S. 1999. 'Home and Away: Narratives of Migration and Estrangement' *International Journal of Cultural Studies 2: 3: 329 – 347.*

Al-Ali, N.S. and Koser, K. 2002. *New Approaches to Migration? Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home* (eds.) London: Routledge.

Allen, J. 1998. 'Europe of the Neighbourhoods: Class, Citizenship and Welfare Regimes' in Madanipour, A. Cars, G. & Allen, J. (eds.) *Social Exclusion in European Cities*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Allen, J. 2006. 'Welfare Regimes, Welfare Systems and Housing in Southern Europe'. *European Journal of Housing Policy 6: 3: 251-277.*

Anacker, K.B. 2013. 'Immigrating, Assimilating, Cashing In: Analysing Property Values in Suburbs of Immigrant Gateways' *Housing Studies 28: 5: 720 – 745*.

Anderson, N. 1923. The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Anderson, B. 2007. 'A Very Private Business: Exploring the Demand for Migrant Domestic Workers'. *European Journal of Women's Studies*. 14: 3: 247-264.

Anderson, I. 2000. 'Housing and Social Exclusion- the Changing Debate' in Anderson, I. and Sim, D. (eds.) *Social Exclusion and Housing: Contexts and Challenges.* Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing.

Anderson, I. 2003. *Migration and Homelessness in the UK*. Report for the European Observatory on Homelessness. Brussels: FEANTSA.

Andersson, R. Musterd, S. Galster, G. and Kauppinen, T. 2007. 'What Mix Matters? Exploring the Relationships between Individuals' Incomes and Different Measures of their Neighbourhood Context' *Housing Studies* 22: 5: 637 – 660.

Arbaci, S. 2007. 'Ethnic segregation, housing systems and welfare regimes in Europe.' *European Journal of Housing Policy* 7: 4: 401-433.

Arbaci, S. 2007a. The Residential Insertion of Immigrants in Europe: Patterns and Mechanisms in Southern European Cities. Ph.D. London: Routledge.

Arbaci, S. 2007b. 'Ethnic Segregation, Housing Systems and Welfare Regimes in Europe' European Journal of Housing Policy 7: 4: 401-433.

Arbaci, S. 2009. '(Re)Viewing Ethnic Residential Segregation in Southern European Cities: Housing and Urban Regimes as Mechanisms of Marginalisation' *Housing Studies* 23: 4: 589-613.

Arthurson, K. 2002. 'Creating Inclusive Communities through Balancing Social Mix: A Critical Relationship or Tenuous Link?' *Urban Policy and Research 20: 3: 245-261.*

Aspinall, P.J. 2009. 'The Future of Ethnicity Classifications' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35: 9: 1417 – 1435.

Association of Metropolitan Authorities. 1985. *Housing and Race: Policy and Practice in Local Authorities*. London: Association of Metropolitan Authorities.

Atkinson, R. and Flint, J. (2001). Accessing Hidden and Hard to Reach Populations: Snowball Research Strategies. Surrey: University of Surrey. Available at: http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU33.html

Atkinson, T. Cantillon, B. Marlier, E. and Nolan, B. 2002. *Social Indicators: The EU and Social Exclusion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Balchin, P. 1996. Housing Policy in Europe. London: Routledge.

Baldwin-Edwards, M. 1997. 'Third Country Nationals and Welfare Systems in the European Union' *Jean Monnet Working Paper in Comparative and International Politics* <a href="http://db.jhuccp.org/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll?BU=http://db.jhuccp.org/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll&QFo=DocNo&QIo=255636&TN=Popline&AC=QBE QUERY&MR=30%25DL=1&&RL=1&&RF=LongRecordDisplay&DF=LongRecordDisplay

Baldwin-Edwards, M. 2002. *Immigration and the Welfare State: A European Challenge to American Mythology*. MMO Working Paper No. 4. http://www.mmo.gr/pdf/publications/mmo-working-papers/MMO-WP4.pdf

Ball, M. 2010. The UK Private Rented Sector as a Source of Affordable Accommodation. University of Reading: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Banfield, E.C. and Wilson, J.Q. 1963. City Politics. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Bannon, M. 2005. *Spatial Planning Frameworks and Housing* in Norris, M. and Redmond, D. (eds.) *Housing Contemporary Ireland: Policy, Society and Shelter.* Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.

Barber, A. Groves, A. and Murie, A. 2006. 'Changing Housing Markets, Race and Community: Policy and Practice in Birmingham' in Beider, H. (ed.) *Neighbourhood Renewal & Housing Markets: Community Engagment in the US & UK*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Barbour, R.S. (2001) 'Checklists for Improving Rigour in Qualitative Research: A Case of the Tail Wagging the Dog?' *British Medical Journal* 322: 1115 – 1117.

Barceló, C. 2006. Housing Tenure and Labour Mobility: A Comparison Across European Countries. Madrid: Banco de España.

Barlow, J. & Duncan, S. 1994. Success and Failure in Housing Provision: European Systems Compared (Oxford: Elsevier Science).

Barrett, A. and Kelly, E. 2008. How Reliable is the Quarterly National Household Survey for Migration Research? Dublin: ESRI.

Barrett, A. and McCarthy, Y. 2007. 'Immigrants in a Booming Economy: Analysing their Earnings and Welfare Dependence.' *Labour 21: 4/5: 789-808*.

Barrett, A. and McCarthy, Y. 2008. *Immigrants and Welfare Programmes: Exploring the Interactions between Immigrant Characteristics, Immigrant Welfare Dependence and Welfare Policy*. Bonn: IZA Discussion Paper No. 3494.

Bate, R. Best, R. and Holmans, A. 2000. *On the Move: The Housing Consequences of Migration.* York: York Publishing Services.

Baubock, R. 2003. 'Towards a Political Theory of Migrant Transnationalism'. *International Migration Review* 37: 3: 700 – 723.

Bauman, Z. 1997. Postmodernity and its Discontents. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bauman, Z. 1998. *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. Cambridge: Polity.

Baycan-Levent, T. Nijkamp, P. and Sahin, M. 2009. *The Urban Growth Potential of Second-Generation Migrant Entrepreneurs*. The Netherlands: Tinbergen Institute. Discussion Paper 2009-026/3.

Beck, U. 1992. Risk Society. London: Sage Publications.

Beck, U. 1992. Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity. London: SAGE Publications.

Beck, U. 1996. 'World Risk Society as Cosmopolitan Society' *Theory, Culture and Society 13: 1 –*

Beck, U. 2000. What Is Globalisation? Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beck, U. 2005. Power in the Global Age: A New Global Political Economy. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Becker, H.S. (1963). *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: Free Press.

Beider, H. 2009. 'Guest Introduction: Rethinking Race and Housing' *Housing Studies 24: 4: 405-415.*

Bell, C. and Newby, H. 1975. *Community Studies: An Introduction to the Sociology of the Local Community*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. (2nd. Ed.)

Benenson, I. Hatna, E. and Or, E. 2009. 'From Schelling to Spatially Explicit Modelling of Urban Ethnic and Economic Residential Dynamics' Sociological Methods & Research 37: 4: 463 – 497.

Bengtsson, B. 2009. 'Political Science as the Missing Link in Housing Studies'. *Housing, Theory and Society 26: 1: 10-25.*

Blasius, J. and Friedrichs, J. 2007. 'Lifestyles in Distressed Neighbourhoods: A Test of Bourdieu's 'Taste of Necessity' Hypothesis' *Poetics* 36: 1: 24 – 44.

Blasius, J. Friedrichs, J. and Galster, G. 2007. 'Introduction: Frontiers of Quantifying Neighbourhood Effects' *Housing Studies* 22: 5: 627 – 636.

Bloch, A. and Solomos, J. 2010. *Race and Ethnicity in the 21st Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Blunt, A. 2005. 'Cultural Geography: Cultural Geographies of Home' *Progress in Human Geography* 29: 4: 505 – 515.

Bockmeyer, J. 2007. 'Building the Global City – The Immigrant Experience of Urban Revitalisation' in Hambleton, R. and Gross J. S. (eds.) *Governing Cities in a Global Era: Urban Innovation, Competition and Democratic Reform.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Boeri, T. Hanson, G. and McCormick, B. (eds.) 2002. *Immigration Policy and the Welfare System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bohning, W.R. 1991. 'Integration and Immigration Pressures in Western Europe' *International Labour Review* 130: 4: 445-458.

Bolt, G. and Van Kempen, R. 2002. 'Moving Up or Moving Down? Housing Careers of Turks and Moroccans in Utrecht, the Netherlands' *Housing Studies* 17: 3: 401-422.

Bolt, G. and Van Kempen, R. 2003. 'Escaping Poverty Neighbourhoods in the Netherlands' Housing, Theory and Society 20: 4: 209 – 222.

Bolt, G. Burgers, J. and Van Kempen, R. 1998. 'On The Social Significance of Spatial Location: Spatial Segregation and Social Inclusion' *Netherlands Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 13: 1: 83-95.

Bolt, G. Van Kempen, R. and Van Ham, M. 2008. 'Minority Ethnic Groups in the Dutch Housing Market: Spatial Segregation, Relocation Dynamics and Housing Policy' *Urban Studies 45: 7: 1359* – *1384*.

Bonifazi, C. and Sabatino, D. 2003. 'Albanian Migration to Italy: What Official Data and Survey Results Can Reveal' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 29: 6: 967 – 995.

Borkert, M. Bosswick, W. Heckmann, F. and Luken-Klassen, D. *Local Integration Policies for Migrants in Europe*. Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living an Working Conditions.

Bosswick, W. and Heckmann, F. 2006. *Integration of Immigrants: Contribution of Local and Regional Authorities*. Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.

Bosswick, W. Luken-Klassen, D. and Heckmann, F. 2007. *Housing and Integration of Migrants in Europe*. Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. Outline of a Theory of Practice. London: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1980. The Logic of Practice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1984. Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1986. 'The Forms of Capital' in Richardson, J. (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P. 1989. 'Social Space and Symbolic Power' Sociological Theory 7: 14 – 25.

Bourdieu, P. 1990. In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1994. 'Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field' *Sociological Theory 12: 1 – 18.*

Bower, A. Dar, N. and Sim, D. (1997) 'Life Histories in Housing Research: The Case of Pakistanis in Glasgow' *Quality and Quantity* 31: 109 – 125.

Bowes, A. Dar, N. and Sim, D. (1998) 'Too White, Too Rough and Too Many Problems': A Study of Pakistani housing in Britain. Stirling: University of Stirling.

Bowes, A. Dar, N. and Sim, D. 2000. 'Citizenship, Housing and Minority Ethnic Groups: An Approach to Multiculturalism' *Housing, Theory and Society* 17: 83 – 95.

Bowes, A. M. amd Sim, D. 'Patterns of Residential Settlement Among Black and Minority Ethnic Groups.'

Bowes, A.M, Dar, N.S. and Sim, D.F. 2002. 'Differentiation in Housing Careers: The Case of Pakistani's in the UK' *Housing Studies* 17: 3: 381 – 399.

Brassett, J. and Parker, O. 2005. 'Contingent Borders, Ambiguous Ethics: Migrants in (International) Political Theory' *International Studies Quarterly 49: 233-253.*

Brettell, C.B. and Hollifield, J.F. (eds.) 2008. *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. London: Routledge.

Brewer, J. D. (1994) 'The Ethnographic Critique of Ethnography: Sectarianism in the RUC' *Sociology* 28: 231 – 44.

Brewer, J. D. (2000). *Ethnography*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Brooke, S. and Clayton, V. 2005. 'The Changing Nature of the Housing Association Sector' in Norris, M. and Redmond, D. (eds.) *Housing Contemporary Ireland: Policy, Society and Shelter.* Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.

Bridge, G. 2001. 'Estate Agents as Interpreters of Economic and Cultural Capital: The Gentrification Premium in the Sydney Housing Market' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25: 1: 87 – 101.

Briggs, C. L. (2003) "Interviewing, Power/Knowledge, and Social Inequality" in Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F. (eds.) *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns.* London: Sage.

Bright, S. and Hopkins, N. 2011. "Home, Meaning and Identity: Learning from the English Model of Shared Ownership" *Housing, Theory and Society* 28: 4: 377 – 397.

Broadhead, R.S. and Rist, R.C. (1976). "Gatekeepers and the Social Control of Social Research" *Social Problems* 23: 3: 325 – 336.

Bruyn, S.T. (1966). *The Human Perspective in Sociology: The Methodology of Participant Observation*. New Jersey: Englewood Cliffs.

Bryant, C. and Jary, D. (eds.) (1990) *Giddens' Theory of Structuration: A Critical Appreciation*. London: Routledge.

Bryant, C. and Jary, D. 2000. 'Anthony Giddens' in Ritzer, G. (ed.) *The Blackwell Companion to Major Social Theorists*. Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Bryant, C. and Jary, D. 2001a. 'The Uses of Structuration Theory: A Typology' in Bryant, C. and Jary, D. (eds.) *The Contemporary Giddens: Social Theory in a Globalizing Age.* New York: Palgrave.

Bryant, C. and Jary, D. 2001b. 'Anthony Giddens: A Global Social Theorist' in Bryant, C. and Jary, D. (eds.) *The Contemporary Giddens: Social Theory in a Globalizing Age*. New York: Palgrave.

Burgess, Ernest & Bogue, Donald J. (eds.) (1967). *Urban Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Burgess, R. (1991) "Sponsors, Gatekeepers, Members and Friends: Access in Educational Settings" in Shaffir, W. B. And Stebbins, R. A. (eds.) *Experiencing Fieldwork: An Inside View of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Burns, T. R. and Dietz, T. 1992. 'Cultural Evolution: Social Rule Systems, Selection, and Human Agency.' *International Sociology* 7:250-283.

Burr, J. and Mutchler, J. 2007. 'Residential Independence Among Older Persons: Community and Individual Factors' *Population Research and Policy Review 26:* 85 – 101.

Burt, R.S. 1992. Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Busch-Geertsema 2007. Measures to Achieve Social Mix and their Impact on Access to Housing for People who are Homeless. Brussels: FEANTSA.

Bush, M. 1976. Immigrant Housing: Bibliography. London: Greater London Council.

Busteed, M. A. 1996. 'Irish Migrant Responses to Urban Life in Early Nineteenth-Century Manchester.' *The Geographical Journal 162: 2: 139-153.*

Byron, M. 1993. *The Housing Question: Caribbean Migrants and the British Labour Market*. Oxford: School of Geography.

Cangiano, A. and Walsh, K. 2013. 'Recruitment Processes and Immigration Regulations: The Disjointed Pathways to Employing Migrant Carers in Ageing Societies' *Work, Employment and Society (Forthcoming) Available Online at:*

http://wes.sagepub.com/content/early/2013/11/13/0950017013491453

Carter, S. K. And Bolden, C. L. (2012) "Culture Work in the Research Interview" in Holstein, J. A., Gubrium, J. F., Marvasti, A. B. and McKinney, K. D. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft.* London: Sage.

Castles, S. (2007) 'Twenty-First Century Migration as a Challenge to Sociology' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33: 3: 351 – 371.

Castles, S. 1993. 'Explaining Racism in the New Germany'. Social Alternatives 12: 1: 9-13.

Castles, S. 1999. 'International Migration and the Global Agenda: Reflections on the 1998 UN Technical Symposium'. *International Migration* 37: 1: 5-19.

Castles, S. 2002. 'Migration and Community Formation under Conditions of Globalisation' *International Migration Review 36: 4: 1143 – 1168.*

Castles, S. 2007. 'Twenty-First Century Migration as a Challenge to Sociology' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33: 3: 351 – 371.

Castles, S. 2007. 'Twenty-First-Century Migration as a Challenge to Sociology' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33: 3: 351-371.

Castles, S. and Miller, M. J. 1998. The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World (2nd ed.). London: Macmillan.

Caviedes, A. 2004. 'The Open Method of Co-ordination in Immigration Policy: A Tool for Prying Open Fortress Europe' *Journal of European Public Policy 11: 2: 289 – 310*.

CECODHAS. 2007. Social Housing and Integration of Immigrants in the European Union. Brussels: CECODHAS (European Social Housing Observatory).

Central Statistics Office. 2004. *Population and Labour Force Projections* 2006-2036. Dublin: Central Statistics Office.

Central Statistics Office. 2007a. Population and Migration Estimates. Dublin: CSO.

Central Statistics Office. 2007b. Foreign Nationals: PPSN Allocations and Employment, 2002-2006. Dublin: CSO.

Central Statistics Office. 2008. *Census* 2006: *Non-Irish Nationals Living in Ireland*. Cork: Central Statistics Office.

Central Statistics Office. 2012a. *This is Ireland. Highlights from Census 2011 – Part 1.* Dublin: The Stationery Office.

Central Statistics Office. 2012b. *Profile 4 The Roof Over our Heads – Housing in Ireland*. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

Central Statistics Office. 2012c. *Profile 6 Migration and Diversity in Ireland – A Profile of Diversity in Ireland*. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

Cerna, L. 2009. 'The varieties of high-skilled immigration policies: coalitions and policy outputs in advanced industrial economies' *Journal of European Public Policy 16: 1: 144-161.*

Charmaz, K. (1983). 'The Grounded Theory Method: An Explication and Interpretation' in Emerson, R.M. (ed.) *Contemporary Field Research*. Boston: Little Brown.

Charmaz, K. (2000). 'Grounded Theory: Objectivist and Constructivist Methods' in N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed.). California: SAGE.

Charmaz, K. (2003) "Qualitative Interviewing and Grounded Theory Analysis" in Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F. (eds.) *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns.* London: Sage.

Charmaz, K. (2006). Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis. London: SAGE.

Chen, S. (2011). "Power Relations Between the Researcher and the Researched: An Analysis of Native and Non-Native Ethnographic Interviews" *Field Methods* 23: 2: 119 – 135.

Cheshire, L.A. Rosenblatt, T. Lawrence, G. and Walters, P. 2009. 'The Governmentality of Master Planning: Housing Consumption, Aesthetics and Community on a New Estate' *Housing Studies* 24: 5: 653 – 667.

Choudry, A., and Henaway, M. 2012. 'Agents of Misfortune: Contextualizing Migrant and Immigrant Workers' Struggles against Temporary Labour Recruitment Agencies.' *Labour, Capital and Society*, 45: 1: 36-64.

Chua, J. and Miller, P.W. 2005. The *Immigrant Housing Market: Analysis for Australia*. http://ideas.repec.org/p/uwa/wpaper/05-23.html

Clapham, D. (2002) 'Housing Pathways: A Post Modern Analytic Framework' *Housing, Theory and Society* 19: 2: 57 – 68.

Clapham, D. (2004) 'Housing Pathways – A Social Constructionist Research Framework' in bJacobs, K. Kemeny, J. and Manzi, T. (eds.) *Social Constructionism in Housing Research*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Clapham, D. (2005) *The Meaning of Housing: A Pathways Approach*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Clapham, D. 1996. *Citizenship and Housing: Shaping the Debate*. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing. SANTRY PX-141-787.

Clapham, D. 2002. 'Housing Pathways: A Post-Modern Analytic Framework.' *Housing, Theory and Society*, 19: 2: 57–68.

Clapham, D. 2006. *Identity and Lifestyle in Housing Research*. Paper presented at the ENHR Conference 'Housing in an Expanding Europe: Theory, Policy, Participation and Implementation' Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2 – 5 July 2006.

Clapham, D. 2009. 'Introduction to the Special Issue – A Theory of Housing: Problems and Potential' *Housing, Theory and Society 26: 1: 1 – 9.*

Clapham. D. 2002. 'Housing Pathways: A Postmodern Analytic Framework' *Housing, Theory and Society 19: 2: 57 – 68.*

Clark, M.J. Cary, S. Diemert, G. Ceballos, R. Sifuentes, M. Atteberry, I. Vue, F. and Trieu, S. 2003. "Involving Communities in Community Assessment" *Public Health Nursing* 20: 6: 456 – 463.

Clark, W. A. V. 1986. 'Residential Segregation in American Cities: A Review and Interpretation'. *Population Research and Policy Review.* 5: 95–127.

Clark, W. and Dieleman, F. (1996). Households and Housing: Choice and Outcomes in the Housing Market. New Jersey: Rutgers.

Clarke, P. and Wheaton, B. 2007. 'Addressing Data Sparseness in Contextual Population Research: Using Cluster Analysis to Create Synthetic Neighbourhoods' *Sociological Methods & Research* 35: 3: 311 – 351.

Clatts, M.C., Welle, D.L., Goldsant, L.A., and Lankenau, S.E. (2002). 'An Ethno-Epidemiological Model for the Study of Trends in Illicit Drug Use: Reflections on the 'Emergence' of Crack Injection' *International Journal of Drug Policy* 13: 4: 285 – 295.

Clegg, S. 1989. Frameworks of Power. London: SAGE.

Cloke, P. Goodwin, M. and Milbourne, P. (1997). *Rural Wales: Community and Marginalization*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Cloke, P. May, J. and Johnsen, S. (2010) *Swept Up Lives? Re-envisioning the Homeless City*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

Cloke, P. Milbourne, P. and Widdowfield, R. (2002) *Rural Homelessness: Issues, Experiences and Policy Responses.* Bristol: The Polity Press.

Coates, D. 2008. Private Rented Minimum Standards: The Case for Better Delivery. Dublin: Cornerstone.

Coates, D. Anand, P. and Norris, M. 2013a. "Housing, Happiness and Capabilities". *International Journal of Energy, Environment and Economics*, 21: 3: 56-128.

Coates, D. Anand, P. and Norris, M. 2013b. "Housing and Quality of Life for Migrant Communities in Western Europe: A Capabilities Approach" *Journal on Migration and Human Security 1: 4: 163-209.*

Coates, D. and Feely, N. 2007. 'The Monitoring and Enforcement of Standards in the Irish Private Rented Sector: Evaluating Local Authority Performance' *Progress in Irish Urban Studies 3: 25 – 38.*

Coates, D. and Norris, M. 2006. 'Local Authority Housing Rents: Equity, Affordability and Effectiveness' *Administration* 54: 2: 3-26.

Coenders, M. & Scheepers, P. 1998. 'Support for ethnic discrimination in the Netherlands 1979–1993: Effects of period, cohort and individual characteristics' *European Sociological Review 4:* 405–422.

Cohen, A. (ed.) 2004. Urban Ethnicity. London: Routledge.

Cohen, A. Razin, A. and Sadka, E. 2009. *The Skill Composition of Migration and the Generosity of the Welfare State*. NBER Working Paper No. 14738.

Collett, E. and Sitek, K. 2008. Making migration work: the role of employers in migrant integration. EPC Working Paper No. 30.

http://sei.isn.ch/serviceengine/FileContent?serviceID=47&fileid=9AA85E24-D11A-5446-3DF7-2583AD10BC49&lng=en

Combat Poverty Agency. 2004. Housing, Poverty and Wealth in Ireland. Dublin: CPA.

Combat Poverty Agency. 2010. Migrants and Poverty in the Private Rented Sector in Dublin City: An Analysis of the Experience of Migrants Seeking Assistance from Threshold Working Paper Series 10/09. Dublin: Combat Poverty Agency. Available at:

http://www.combatpoverty.ie/publications/workingpapers/2010-11 WP MigrantsAndPovertyInThePrivateRentedinDublinCity.pdf

Comhairle. 2002. Rent Supplement: A Social Policy Report. Dublin: Comhairle.

Commission for Racial Equality. 1989. Race, Housing and Immigration. UK: Commission for Racial Equality.

Conroy, P. and Brennan, A. 2003. *Migrant Workers and their Experiences*. Dublin: National Anti-Racism Awareness Programme.

Cooke, S. and Spencer, S. 2006. *The Contribution of the Voluntary Sector to Migrant Integration in Europe*. Oxford: COMPAS.

http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/files/pdfs/Non_WP_pdfs/Reports_and_Other_Publications/BCT-KBF-Report-Maro6.pdf

Corbin, J. and Strauss, A. (2008) Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory 3rd Edn. London: SAGE.

Cotter, N. and Murphy, C. 2009. *Students in the Private Rented Sector: What are the Issues?* Dublin: Private Residential Tenancies Board.

Council of Europe. 2003. Foreigners Integration and Participation in European Cities. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Coussey, M. 2000. Framework of Integration Polices. Brussels: Council of Europe.

Creswell, J. W. (2007) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*. 2nd Edn. London: SAGE.

Cuba, L. and Hummon, D.M. 1993. 'A Place to Call Home: Identification with Dwelling, Community and Region' *The Sociological Quarterly 34: 1: 111 – 131.* No Access – Link is here: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1533-8525.1993.tboo133.x/abstract

Cuba, L. and Hummon, D.M. 1993. 'A Place to Call Home: Identification with Dwelling, Community and Region' *The Sociological Quaterly 34: 1: 111 – 131*.

Czischke, D. 2007. 'A Policy Network Perspective on Social Housing Provision in the European Union: The Case of CECODHAS'. *Housing, Theory and Society 24: 1: 63 – 87.*

Daly, G. 1996. 'Migrants and Gatekeepers: The Links between Immigration and Homelessness in Western Europe' *Cities 13: 1: 11-23.*

Danish Cabinet Office. 2000. *Minority Ethnic Issues in Social Exclusion and Neighbourhood Renewal*. http://www.cesi.org.uk/kbdocs/mesocex.pdf

Davis, E. and Fine-Davis, M. 1981. "Predictors of Satisfaction with Housing and Neighbourhood: A Nationwide Study in the Republic of Ireland" *Social Indicators Research* 9: 4: 477 – 494.

Davis, E. and Fine-Davis, M. 1991. "Social Indicators of Living Conditions in Ireland with European Comparisons" *Social Indicators Research* 25: 2 – 4: 103 – 365.

De Decker, P. 2001. 'Jammed Between Housing and Property Rights: Belgian Private Renting in Perspective' *European Journal of Housing Policy 1: 1: 17 – 39*.

De Decker, P. 2008. 'Facets of Housing and Housing Policies in Belgium'. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 23: 155-171.

De Decker, P. and Kesteloot, C. 2002. Migration, Housing and Homelessness in Belgium. Brussels: FEANTSA.

De Decker, P. and Kesteloot, C. 2003. *Migration, Housing and Homelessness*. Report for the European Observatory on Homelessness. Brussels: FEANTSA.

De Groot, C. Mulder, C.H. and Manting, D. 2011. 'Intentions to Move and Actual Moving Behaviour in The Netherlands' *Housing Studies 26*: 3: 307 – 328.

de Haas, D. (2011) *The Determinants of International Migration: Conceptualising Policy, Origin and Destination Effects. Working paper no.* 32. Oxford: University of Oxford.

De Laforcade, G. 2006. 'Racialisation and Resistance in France: Postcolonial Migrants, Besieged Cityscapes, and Emergent Solidarities' Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society 9: 389-405.

De Sipio, L. Garcia y Griego, M. and Kossoudji, S. (eds.) 2007. *Researching Migration: Stories from the Field.* New York: The Social Science Research Council.

DeCuir, J.T. Marshall, P.L. and McCulloch, A.W. (2011). "Developing and Using a Codebook for the Analysis of Interview Data: An Example from a Professional Development Research Project" *Field Methods* 23: 2: 136 – 155.

Dell'Olio, F. 2004. 'Immigration and Immigrant Policy in Italy and the UK: Is Housing Policy a Barrier to a Common Approach Towards Immigration in the EU?' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30: 1: 107 – 128.

Department of Environment Heritage and Local Government. 2003. *Housing Refugees*. Dublin: Dept. of Environment, Heritage and Local Government.

Department of Environment Heritage and Local Government. 2007. *Delivering Homes, Sustaining Communities: Statement on Housing Policy*. Dublin: Dept. of Environment, Heritage and Local Government.

Department of Environment Heritage and Local Government. 2011. *Housing Policy Statement*. Dublin: Dept. of Environment, Heritage and Local Government.

Deumert, A. Inder, B. and Maitra, P. 2005. 'Language, Informal Networks and Social Protection' *Global Social Policy* 5: 303-328.

Dey, I. 1996. Qualitative Data Analysis – A User Friendly Guide for Social Scientists. London: Routledge.

Dhalmann, H. 2013. 'Explaining Ethnic Residential Preferences: The Case of Somalis and Russians in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area' *Housing Studies* 28: 3: 389 – 408.

Diacon, D. Pattison, B. Vine, J. and Yafai, S. (2008) *Home from Home: Addressing the Issues of Migrant Workers' Housing*. Leicestershire: Building and Social Housing Foundation.

Diaz McConnell, E. And Akresh, I. 2008. 'Through the Front Door: The Housing Outcomes of New Lawful Immigrants. *International Migration Review. 42: 1: 134-162.*

Dickson-Swift, V. James, E.L. Kippen, S. and Liamputtong, P. (2007). "Doing Sensitive Research: What Challenges do Qualitative Researchers Face?" *Qualitative Research* 7: 327 – 353.

DKM Economic Consultants. 2014a. Rent Stability in the Private Rented Sector Final Report. Dublin: DKM Economic Consultants.

DKM Economic Consultants. 2014b. Future of the Private Rented Sector Final Report. Dublin: DKM Economic Consultants.

Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination. 2003. *National Analytical Study on Housing in Denmark*.

http://fra.europa.eu/fra/material/pub/RAXEN/4/house/DK_Housing.pdf

Dodson, J. 2006. 'The "Roll" of the State: Government, Neoliberalism and Housing Assistance in Four Advanced Economies" *Housing, Theory and Society* 23: 4: 224 – 243.

Doherty, J. Busch-Geertsema, V. Karpuskiene, V. Korhonen, J. O'Sullivan, E. Sahlin, I. Tosi, A. and Wygnanska, J. 2006. *The Changing Role of the State: Homelessness and Exclusion: Regulating Public Space*. Brussels: FEANTSA.

Doherty, J. De Decker, P. Busch-Geertsema, V. O'Sullivan, E. Sahlin, I. Tosi, A. and Patari, J. 2004. *The Changing Role of the State: The State and the Housing Markets of Europe.* Brussels: FEANTSA.

Domanski, H. Ostrowska, A. Przybysz, D. and Kreiger, H. 2006. *First European Quality of Life Survey: Social Dimensions of Housing*. Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.

Dorr, S. and Faist, T. 1997. 'Institutional Conditions for the Integration of Immigrants in Welfare States: A Comparison of the Literature on Germany, France, Great Britain and the Netherlands.' *European Journal of Political Research* 31: 401-426.

Drever, A. and Clark, W. 2002. 'Gaining Access to Housing in Germany: The Foreign Minority Experience' *Urban Studies 39: 13: 2439-53.*

Drudy, P.J. 2006. 'Housing in Ireland: Philosophy, Problems and Policies' in Healy, S. and Reynolds, B. (eds.) *Social Policy in Ireland*. Dublin: Liffey Press.

Drudy, P.J. and Punch, M. 2002. 'Housing Models and Inequality: Perspectives on Recent Irish Experience' *Housing Studies* 17: 4: 657-672.

Drudy, P.J. and Punch, M. 2005. *Out of Reach: Inequalities in the Irish Housing System.* Dublin: New Island Press.

Duffy – Jones, R. 2012. 'Moving Home: Theorizing Housing within a Politics of Mobility' *Housing, Theory and Society 29: 2: 207 – 222.*

Duffy, D. 2005. 'Symposium on the Irish Housing Market: Issues and Prospects' *Journal of Statistical and Social Inquiry in Ireland 34: 93-103.*

Dufty-Jones, R. 2013. 'Moving Home: Theorizing Housing Within a Politics of Mobility' *Housing*, *Theory and Society 29: 2: 207 – 222.*

Duke, K. 2002. "Getting Beyond the 'Official Line': Reflections on Dilemmas of Access, Knowledge and Power in Researching Policy Networks" *Journal of Social Policy 31: 1: 39 – 59.*

Duncan, J.S. 1981. Housing and Identity: Cross-Cultural Perspectives. London: Croom Helm.

Dunleavy, J. A. 1993. 'Migrant stock v lagged migrant flow as a determinant of migrant settlement'. *Population Economics 6: 2: 181 – 188*.

Dutch Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia. 2003. *National Analytical Study on Housing in the Netherlands*.

http://fra.europa.eu/fra/material/pub/RAXEN/4/house/NL_Housing.pdf

Dwyer, P. and Brown, D. 2005. 'Meeting Basic Needs? Forced Migrants and Welfare' *Social Policy and Society*. *4*: 4: 369-380.

Easthope, H. 2014. 'Making a Rental Property Home' Housing Studies 29: 5: 579 – 596.

Edgar, B. 2004. Policy Measures to Ensure Access to Decent Housing for Migrants and Ethnic Minorities.

http://ec.europa.eu/employment social/social inclusion/docs/decenthousing en.pdf

Edgar, B. and Doherty, J. 2003. *Ethnicity and Housing: The Contribution of Housing Associations*. CORE Analysis Paper no. 5, London: The Housing Corporation.

Edgar, B. Doherty, J. and Meert, H. (eds.) 2004. *Immigration and Homelessness in Europe*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Edin, P., Fredricksson, P. & Aslund, O. 2003. 'Ethnic Enclaves and the Economic Success of Immigrants: Evidence from a Natural Experiment.' *Quarterly Journal of Economics 113: 329–357.*

Ellis, C. and Berger, L. (2003) "Their Story / My Story / Our Story: Including the Researcher's Experience in Interview Research" in Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F. (eds.) *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns.* London: Sage.

Ellis, M. and Almgren, G. 2009. 'Local Contexts of Immigrant and Second-Generation Integration in the United States' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35: 7: 1059 – 1076.

Ellis, M. and Wright, R. 1998. 'When Immigrants are Not Migrants: Counting Arrivals of the Foreign Born Using the U.S. Census' *International Migration Review 32: 1: 127-144*.

Elrick, T. and Lewandowska, E. 2008. 'Matching and Making Labour Demand and Supply: Agents in Polish Migrant Networks of Domestic Elderly Care in Germany and Italy' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34: 5: 717 – 734.

Ergun, A. and Erdemir, A. (2010). "Negotiating Insider and Outsider Identities in the Field: 'Insider' in a Foreign Land; 'Outsider' in One's Own Land" *Field Methods 22: 1: 16 – 38*.

Essed, P. 2001. 'Multi-Identifications and Transformations: Reaching Beyond Racial and Ethnic Reductionisms' *Social Identities* 7: 4: 493 – 509.

European Commission. 1990. *Policies on Immigration and the Social Integration of Migrants in the European Community*. Brussels: European Commission.

European Commission. 2005. Policy measures to ensure decent access to housing for migrants and ethnic minorities.

http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/social_inclusion/docs/decenthousing_leaflet_en.pdf

European Commission. 2008. *Green Paper on Migration and Mobility: challenges and opportunities for EU education systems.*

http://ec.europa.eu/education/school21/com423 en.pdf

European Foundation Centre. 2006. *Mapping European independent funders' initiatives on migrant integration*.

http://www.efc.be/ftp/public/Orpheus/MigrationMappingReporto60306.pdf

European Migration Network. 2012. *Misuse of the Right to Family Reunification: Ireland.* Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute.

European Migration Network. 2014. *The Organisation of Reception Facilities for Asylum Seekers in Ireland.* Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute.

European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia. 2005. *Migrants, Minorities and Housing: Exclusion, Discrimination and Anti-Discrimination in 15 Member States of the EU.* Brussels: EUMC.

European Parliament. 1997. *Housing Policy in the EU Member-States*. Luxembourg: Directorate General for Research, Division for Social Affairs, Working Document W-14a, 3. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/workingpapers/soci/w14/text2_en.htm

Evans, D. (1991) "Maintaining Relationships in a School for the Deaf" in Shaffir, W. B. And Stebbins, R. A. (eds.) *Experiencing Fieldwork: An Inside View of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Fahey, T. 2004. 'Housing Affordability: Is the Real Problem in the Private Rented Sector' *Quaterly Economic Commentary*

Fahey, T. and Fanning, B. 2009. 'Immigration and Socio-Spatial Segregation in Dublin 1996 – 2006'. *Urban Studies*

Fahey, T. and Fanning, B. 2010. 'Immigration and Socio-Spatial Segregation in Dublin, 1996 – 2006' *Urban Studies 47: 8: 1625 – 1642.*

Fahey, T. Nolan, B. and Maitre, B. 2004. *Housing, Poverty and Wealth in Ireland.* Dublin: Institute of Public Administration and Combat Poverty Agency.

Faist, T. and Haubermann, H. 1996. 'Immigration, Social Citizenship and Housing in Germany' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 20: 1: 83-98.

Fanning, B. 2009. 'Immigration and Social Cohesion' Studies 391: 273 – 284.

Fanning, B. and Pierce, M. 2004. 'Ethnic Data and Social Policy in Ireland' *Administration 52: 3:* 3-20.

Farrell, C. Silke, D. Clayton, V. 2011. *Good Practice in Housing Management Guidelines for Local Authorities. Housing Minority Ethnic Communities, Facilitating Inclusion.* Dublin: Housing and Sustainable Communities Agency.

Faugier, J. and Sargeant, M. (1997). "Sampling Hard to Reach Populations" *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 26: 790 – 797.

FEANTSA. 2002. Housing in EU policy making: Overview of EU policies affecting the social function of housing policies. Brussels: FEANTSA.

Featherstone, M. 1991. *Consumer, Culture and Post-Modernism*. London: Sage Publications. Fellini, I. Ferro, A. and Fullin, G. 2007. 'Recruitment Processes and Labour Mobility: The Construction Industry in Europe' *Work, Employment and Society 21: 2: 277 – 298*.

Fernandez, B. 2013. 'Traffickers, Brokers, Employment Agents, and Social Networks: The Regulation of Intermediaries in the Migration of Ethiopian Domestic Workers to the Middle East.' *International Migration Review 47: 4: 814 – 843*.

Fincher, R. and Gooder, H. 2007. 'At Home with Diversity in Medium Density Housing'. *Housing, Theory and Society 24: 3: 166 – 182.*

Findlay, A. and Li. F.L.N. 1999. 'Methodological Issues in Researching Migration' *The Professional Geographer* 51: 1: 50-59.

Fitzgerald, J. 2012. 'The Irish Economy Today: Albatross or Phoenix?' *The World Economy 35: 10:* 1239 – 1255.

Fitzpatrick, P. et al. 2007. *Migration and Social Security Handbook*. London: Child Poverty Action Group.

Flint, C. and Taylor, P. 2007. *Political Geography, World Economy, Nation State and Locality*. 5th Ed. Essex: Pearson Education Ltd.

Flint, J. 2009. 'Cultures, Ghettos and Camps: Sites of Exception and Antagonism in the City.' Housing Studies 24: 4: 417-431.

Flint, J. and Rowlands, R. 2003. 'Commodification, Normalisation and Intervention: Cultural, Social and Symbolic Capital in Housing Consumption and Governance.' *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 18: 213 – 232.

Foley, D.L. 1980. 'The Sociology of Housing' *Annual Review of Sociology 6: 457 – 478*.

Fong, E. and Chan. E. 2010. 'The Effect of Economic Standing, Individual Preferences, and Co-Ethnic Resources on Immigrant Residential Clustering.' *International Migration Review 44: 1:111–141.*

Fonseca, M.L. 2008. 'New Waves of Immigration to Small Towns and Rural Areas in Portugal' *Population, Space and Place 14*: 525 – 535.

Ford, J. Rugg, J. and Burrows, R. 2002. 'Conceptualising the Contemporary Role of Housing in the Transition to Adult Life in England' *Urban Studies* 39: 13: 2455 – 2467.

Forrest, J. and Poulsen, M. 2003. *Multiculturalism and the spatial assimilation of migrant groups: The Melbourne and Sydney experience*. Macquarie University: Department of Human Geography.

Forrest, R. and Kearns, A. 2001. 'Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood.' *Urban Studies* 38: 12: 2125 – 2143.

Frazier, E.F. (1932). The Negro Family in Chicago. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Freeman, G. 1997. 'Immigration as a Source of Political Discontent and Frustration in Western Democracies'. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 32: 3: 42-64.

Freeman, G. 1998. 'Homeland citizenship policies and the status of third country nationals in the European Union' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 24: 4: 769-788.

Freeman, G. 2005. 'Are Ethical Asylum Policies Politically Sustainable?' *International Studies Review 7: 460-462.*

Freeman, G. 2006. 'Disaggregating Immigration Policy: The Politics of Skilled Labor Recruitment in the US'. *Knowledge, Technology & Policy* 19: 3: 7-21.

Freeman, G. 2006. 'National Models, Policy Types, and the Politics of Immigration in Liberal Democracies'. *West European Politics* 29: 2: 227-247.

Freeman, G. and Kessler, A. 2008. 'Political Economy and Migration Policy'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 34: 4: 655-678.

French, S. and Mohrke, J. 2006. *The Impact of New Arrivals upon the North Staffordshire Labour Market*. Keele University: Centre for Industrial Relations. http://www.lowpay.gov.uk/lowpay/research/pdf/toZ96GK3.pdf

Gabriel, M. and Jacobs, K. 2008. 'The Post-Social Turn: Challenges for Housing Research' Housing Studies 23: 4: 527-540.

Galgóczi, B. Leschke, J. and Watt, A. 2009. *Intra-EU labour migration: flows, effects and policy responses*. Brussels: ETUI.

Galligan, Y. 2005. 'The Private Rented Sector' in Norris, M. and Redmond, D. (eds.) *Housing Contemporary Ireland: Policy, Society and Shelter*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.

Galster, G. 2007. 'Neighbourhood Social Mix as a Goal of Housing Policy: A Theoretical Analysis' *European Journal of Housing Policy 7: 1: 19 – 43*.

Galster, G. 2007a. 'Should Policy Makers Strive for Neighbourhood Social Mix? An Analysis of the Western European Evidence Base' *Housing Studies* 22: 4: 523 – 545.

Galster, G. 2007b. 'Neighbourhood Social Mix as a Goal of Housing Policy: A Theoretical Analysis' *European Journal of Housing Policy* 7: 1: 19-43.

Garview, D. 2001. Far from Home: The Housing of Asylum Seekers in Private Rented Accommodation. London: Shelter.

Gavosto, A. Venturini, A. and Villosio, C. 1999. 'Do Immigrants Compete with Natives?' *Labour* 13: 3: 603-622.

Geertz, C., 1973. "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture" in Geertz, C. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Gergen, K. 2009. An Invitation to Social Construction. (2nd Ed.) London: Sage.

Gibb, K. 2002. 'Trends and Change in Social Housing Finance and Provision with the European Union' *Housing Studies* 17: 2: 325-336.

Gibney, M.J. 2001. Outside the Protection of the Law: The Situation of Irregular Migrants in Europe. Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre.

Gibson, M. Thomson, H. Kearns, A. and Petticrew, M. 2011. 'Understanding the Psychosocial Impacts of Housing Type: Qualitative Evidence from a Housing and Regeneration Intervention' *Housing Studies 26: 4: 555-573*.

Giddens, A. 1979. Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Giddens, A. 1981. A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism. Vol. 1. Power, Property and the State. London: Macmillan.

Giddens, A. 1984. The Constitution of Society: Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Giddens, A. 1991. Modernity and Self Identity: Self and Society in Late Modern Age. California: Stanford University Press.

Giddens, A. Runaway World: How Globalisation is Reshaping Our Lives. New York: Routledge.

Gijsberts, M. 2004. Ethnic Minorities and Integration: Outlook for the Future. The Hague: Social and Cultural Planning Office.

Gijsberts, M. and Dagevos, J. 2007. 'The Socio-Cultural Integration of Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands: Identifying Neighbourhood Effects on Multiple Integration Outcomes' *Housing Studies* 22: 5: 805-831.

Gilchrist, A. and Kyprianou, P. 2011. *Social Networks, Poverty and Ethnicity*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Gilderbloom, J.I. and Appelbaum, R.P. 1987. "Toward a Sociology of Rent: Are Rental Housing Markets Competitive" *Social Problems* 34: 3: 261 – 276.

Gill, F. 'The Diverse Experiences of Black and Minority Ethnic Women in Relation to Housing and Social Exclusion'

Gilman, C.P. 1980. 'The Home: Its Work and Influence' in Malos, E. (ed.) *The Politics of Housework*. London: Allison and Busby.

Ginsburg, N. 1991. 'Racism and Housing: Concepts and Reality' in Braham, P. et al (eds.) *Racism and Anti-Racism: Inequalities, Opportunities and Policies*. London: Sage.

Glaser, B.G. and Strauss, A.L. (1967). The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. Chicago: Aldine Publishing.

Glytsos, N.P. 1997. 'Remitting Behaviour of 'Temporary' and 'Permanent' Migrants: The Case of Greeks in Germany and Australia.' *Labour 11: 3: 409-435.*

Goetz, J.P. and LeCompte, M.D. (1984) Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research. London: Academic.

Goss, J and Lindquist, B. 1995. 'Conceptualizing International Labor Migration: A Structurationist Perspective.' *International Migration Review.* 29(2): 317-351.

Gothan, K.F. and Brumley, K. 2002. 'Using Space: Agency and Identity in a Public Housing Development' *City and Community 1: 3: 267 – 289.*

Goulbourne, H. and Solomos, J. 2003. 'Families, Ethnicity and Social Capital' *Social Policy and Society 2: 4: 329 – 338.*

Gram-Hanssen, K. and Bech-Danielsen, C. 2004. 'House, Home and Identity from a Consumption Perspective' *Housing, Theory and Society 21: 1: 17 – 26.*

Gray, P. and McAnulty, U. 2008. 'The Increased Role of the Private Rented Sector in Catering for Low-Income Groups in Northern Ireland' *European Journal of Housing Policy 8: 4: 361 – 377.*

Gray, P. and McAnulty, U. 2009. 'Moving Towards Integrated Communities in Northern Ireland: New Approaches to Mixed Housing'. *European Journal of Housing Policy 9: 3: 337 – 353.*

Greater London Authority. 2004. London's Housing Submarkets. London: Greater London Authority.

Groves, R. 2004. *Understanding the Private Rented Sector*. Birmingham: Centre for Urban and Regional Studies.

Gruis, V. and Priemus, H. 2008. 'European Competition Policy and National Housing Policies: International Implications for the Dutch Case' *Housing Studies 23: 3: 485 – 505.*

Gubrium, J.F. (1991) "Recognizing and Analyzing Local Cultures" in Shaffir, W. B. And Stebbins, R. A. (eds.) *Experiencing Fieldwork: An Inside View of Qualitative Research.* London: Sage.

Guerin, D. 1999. Housing Income Support in the Private Rented Sector. A Survey of Recipients of SWA Rent Supplement. Dublin: Combat Poverty Agency.

Guerin, D. 1999. *Housing Income Support in the Private Rented Sector*. Dublin: Combat Poverty Agency.

Guibernau, M. and Rex, J. (1997) *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gurney, C.M. 1997. '.....Half of Me Was Satisfied: Making Sense of Home Through Episodic Ethnographies' Women's Studies International Forum 20: 3: 373 – 386.

Gurney, C.M. 1999a. 'Pride and Prejudice: Discourses of Normalisation in Public and Private Accounts of Home Ownership' *Housing Studies* 14: 2: 163 – 183.

Gurney, C.M. 1999b. 'We've Got Friends Who Live in Council Houses: Power and Resistance in Home Ownership' in Hearn, J. and Roseneil, S. (eds.) *Consuming Cultures: Power and Resistance*. London: Macmillan Press.

Gwyther, G. 2009. 'The Doctrine of Social Mix in the Mobile Society: A Theoretical Perspective' *Housing, Theory and Society 26: 2: 143 – 156.*

Haffner, M. Elsinga, M. and Hoekstra, J. 2008. 'Rent Regulation: The Balance between Private Landlords and Tenants in Six European Countries' *European Journal of Housing Policy 8: 2: 217-233.*

Hagendoorn, L. Veenman, J. & Vollebergh, W. (eds.) 2003. *Integrating Immigrants in the Netherlands. Cultural versus Socio-Economic Integration*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Halfmann, J. 1998. 'Citizenship, Universalism, Migration and the Risks of Exclusion.' *The British Journal of Sociology* 49: 4: 513 – 533.

Hamalainen, K. and Bockerman, P. 2004. 'Regional Labour Market Dynamics, Housing, and Migration' *Journal of Regional Science* 44: 3: 543-568.

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1995). Ethnography: Principles in Practice. Oxford: Routledge.

Hanley, L. 2008. Estates: An Intimate History. London: Granta. SANTRY: PB-283-527.

Hann, M. 2007. 'The Homeownership Hierarchies of Canada and the United States: the Housing Patterns of White and Non-White Immigrants of the Past Thirty Years'. *International Migration Review 41*: 2: 433-465.

Harrison, M. 1995. Housing, 'Race', Social Policy and Empowerment. Aldershot: Avebury.

Harrison, M. 1998. 'Theorising Exclusion and Difference: Specificity, Structure and Minority Ethnic Housing' *Housing Studies* 13: 6: 793-806.

Harrison, M. 2005. Housing, 'Race' and Community Cohesion. London: Chartered Institute of Housing.

Harrison, M. and Phillips, D. 2003. *Housing and Black and Minority Ethnic Groups: Review of the Evidence Base.* London: ODPM.

Harsman, B. 2006. 'Ethnic Diversity and Spatial Segregation in the Stockholm Region' *Urban Studies 43*: 8: 1341 – 1364.

Harvey, B. 1999. *Private Rented Housing: Issues and Options*. Dublin: Threshold. Harvey, W.S. 2011. "Strategies for Conducting Elite Interviews" *Qualitative Research* 11: 4: 431 – 441.

Hastings, A. 2009. 'Neighbourhood Environmental Services and Neighbourhood 'Effects': Exploring the Role of Urban Services in Intensifying Neighbourhood Problems' *Housing Studies* 24: 4: 503-524.

Hauge, A.L. and Kolstad, A. 2007. 'Dwelling as an Expression of Identity. A Comparative Study Among Residents in High-Priced and Low-Priced Neighbourhoods in Norway' *Housing, Theory and Society 24: 4: 272 – 292.*

Hawley, A.H. 1950. *Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure*. New York: Ronald Press.

Healy, J. 1988. *No One Shouted Stop (Formerly Death of an Irish Town)*. (2nd Edition). Achill: The House of Healy. (1st Edition published in 1968 by Nineteen Acres).

Healy, J.D. and Clinch, J.P. 2004. "Quantifying the Severity of Fuel Poverty, its Relationship with Poor Housing and Reasons for Non-Investment in Energy Saving Measures in Ireland" *Energy Policy* 32: 2: 207 – 220

Heckmann, F. & Schnapper, D. (eds) 2003. *The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies: National Differences and Trends of Convergence*. Stuttgart: Lucius and Lucius.

Hedberg, C. and Haandrikman, K. 2014. 'Repopulation of the Swedish countryside: Globalisation by international migration' *Journal of Rural Studies* 34: 128 – 138.

Herzog, H. (2012) "Interview Location and its Social Meaning" in Holstein, J. A., Gubrium, J. F., Marvasti, A. B. and McKinney, K. D. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft.* London: Sage.

Hill, P.S. Lee, V. and Jennaway, M. (2010). "Researching Reflexivity: Negotiating Identity and Ambiguity in a Cross-Cultural Research Project" *Field Methods* 22: 4: 319 – 339.

Hirayama, Y. and Ronald, R. (2008) 'Baby-boomers, Baby-busters and the Lost Generation: Generational Fractures in Japan's Homeowner Society' *Urban Policy and Research 26: 3: 325 – 342*.

Hiscock, R. Kearns, A. Macintyre, S. and Ellaway, A. 2001. 'Ontological Security and Psycho-Social Benefits from the Home: Qualitative Evidence on Issues of Tenure' *Housing, Theory and Society* 18: 50 – 66.

Hjerm, M. 2007. 'Do Numbers Really Count? Group Threat Theory Revisited' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33: 8: 1253-1275.

Hollifield, J. 1992. *Immigrants, Markets and States*. London: Harvard University Press.

Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F. (2000) *The Self We Live By: Narrative Identity in a Postmodern World.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hondagneu – Sotelo, P. (1994) *Gendered Transitions: Mexican Experiences of Immigration.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hondagneu – Sotelo, P. (2007) *Doméstica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Influence.* 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hope, E. Kennedy, M. and De Winter, A. (1976). "Homeworkers in North London" in Leonard Barker, D. and Allen, S. (eds.) *Dependence and Exploitation in Work and Marriage*. London: Longman.

Hughes, G. and Quinn, E. 2004. *The Impact of Immigration on Europe's Societies: Ireland.* Dublin: ESRI.

Hulse, K. 2008. 'Shaky Foundations: Moving Beyond "Housing Tenure" *Housing, Theory and Society* 25: 3: 202 – 219.

Hulse, K. and Milligan, V. 2014. 'Secure Occupancy: A New Framework for Analysing Security in Rental Housing' *Housing Studies 29: 5: 638 – 656.*

Iceland, J. and Scopilliti, M. 2008. 'Immigrant Residential Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1990-2000.' *Demography 45: 1: 79-94.*

Immigrant Council of Ireland. 2003. Labour Migration into Ireland: Study and Recommendations on Employment Permits, Working Conditions, Family Reunification and the Integration of Migrant Workers in Ireland. Dublin: ICI.

Immigrant Council of Ireland. 2004. *Voices of Immigrants: The Challenges of Inclusion.* Dublin: ICI.

Ineichen, B. 1981. "The Housing Decisions of Young People." *The British Journal of Sociology* 32: 2: 252 – 258.

Jackson, J. 1963. The Irish in Britain. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Jacobs, K. and Atkinson, R. 2008. 'Special Issue: Theoretical Concerns in Australian Housing and Urban Research' *Housing, Theory and Society 25: 3: 157 – 163.*

Jacobs, K. Kemeny, J. and Manzi, T. 2004. (eds.) *Social Constructionism in Housing Research*. United Kingdom: Ashgate.

Janowitz, M. 1952. *The Community Press in an Urban Setting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jarowsky, P.A. 2009. 'Immigrants and Neighbourhoods of Concentrated Poverty: Assimilation or Stagnation?' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35: 7: 1129 – 1151.

Jasso, G. and Kotz. S. 2008. 'Two Types of Inequality: Inequality between Persons and Inequality between Subgroups' *Sociological Methods & Research 37: 1: 31 – 74.*

Jeffers, S. and Hoggett, P. 1995. 'Like Counting Deckchairs on the Titanic: A study of institutional racism and housing allocations'. *Housing Studies* 10: 3: 325- 345.

Jenkins, R. (2008) *Social Identity* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge.

Jenkins, R. 1996. Social Identity. London: Routledge.

Jenkins, R. 2002. Pierre Bourdieu. (2nd Ed.). London: Routledge.

Johnston, R. Forrest, J. and Poulsen, M. 2001a. 'The Geography of an EthniCity: Residential Segregation of Birthplace and Language Groups in Sydney, 1996'. *Housing Studies* 16: 5: 569-594.

Johnston, R. Forrest, J. and Poulsen, M. 2001b. 'Are there Ethnic Enclaves/ Ghettos in English Cities?' *Urban Studies* 39: 4: 591 – 618.

Johnston, R. Poulsen, M. and Forrest, J. 2007. 'The Geography of Ethnic Residential Segregation: A Comparative Study of Five Countries' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers 97:* 4: 713-738.

Joppke, C. 2004. 'Ethnic Diversity and the State' British Journal of Sociology 55: 3: 451 -463.

Joppke, C. 2007. 'Beyond National Models: Civic Integration Policies for Immigrants in Western Europe'. West European Politics 30: 1: 1-22.

Joppke, C. 2007. 'Transformation of Citizenship: Status, Rights, Identity'. *Citizenship Studies 11:* 37-48.

Joyce, C. 2008a. Annual Policy Report on Migration and Asylum in Ireland. Dublin: ESRI.

Joyce, C. 2008b. Annual Policy Report on Asylum and Migration Statistics for Ireland (2006). Dublin: ESRI.

Joyce, C. and Quinn, E. 2014. *The Organisation of Reception Facilities for Asylum Seekers in Ireland*. Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute.

Jupp, B. 1999. *Living Together: Community Life on Mixed Tenure Estates*. London: Demos.

Kalra, V. and Kapoor, N. 2009. 'Interrogating Segregation, Integration and the Community Cohesion Agenda' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35: 9: 1397 – 1415.

Kasinitz, P. Mollenkopf, J.H. Waters, M.C. (eds.) (2004) *Becoming New Yorkers: Ethnographies of the New Second Generation*. New York: Russell Sage Found.

Kastoryano, Riva. 2002. Negotiating Identities. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Kauko, T. 2009. 'The Housing Market Dynamics of Two Budapest Neighbourhoods' *Housing Studies* 24: 5: 587 – 610.

Kawulich, B. (2011). "Gatekeeping: An Ongoing Adventure in Research" *Field Methods 23: 1: 57 – 76.*

Kearns, A. and Mason, P. 2007. 'Mixed Tenure Communities and Neighbourhood Quality' *Housing Studies* 22: 5: 661 – 691.

Keels, M. 2008. 'Residential Attainment of Now-Adult Gautreaux Children: Do they Gain, Hold or Lose Ground in Neighbourhood Ethnic and Economic Segregation' *Housing Studies 23: 4: 541* – 564.

Kemeny, J. 1992. Housing and Social Structure: Towards a Sociology of Residence Working Paper 102. Bristol: University of Bristol.

Kemeny, J. 1992. Housing and Social Theory. London: Routledge.

Kemeny, J. 1995. From Public Housing to Social Renting: Rental Policy Strategy in Comparative Perspective. London: Routledge.

Kemp, P. and Rhodes, D. 1997. 'The Motivations and Attitudes to Letting of Private Landlords in Scotland' *Journal of Property Research* 14: 2: 117 – 132.

Kendrick, J.H. 1999. 'Multi-Method Research: An Introduction to its Application in Population Geography.' *The Professional Geographer 51: 1: 40-50.*

Kenna, P. 2005a. Housing Law and Policy in Ireland. Dublin: Clarus Press.

Kenna, P. 2005b. *Housing Rights and Human Rights*. Brussels: Feantsa.

Kenna, P. 2010. 'Local Authorities and the European Convention on Human Rights Act 2003' in O' Connell, D (eds.). *Irish Human Rights Law Review*. Dublin: Clarus Press.

Kenna, P. 2011. Housing Law, Rights and Policy. Dublin: Clarus Press.

Kesteloot, C. and Meert, H. 2000. 'Segregation and Economic Integration of Immigrants in Brussels' in Body-Gendrot, S. and Martiniello, M. (eds.) *Minorities in European Cities: The Dynamics of Social Integration and Social Exclusion at the Neighbourhood Level.* London: Macmillan. ARTS 301.451 P0991

Khoo, S.E. Hugo, G. and McDonald, P. 2008. 'Which Skilled Temporary Migrants Become Permanent Residents and Why?' *International Migration Review 42: 1: 193-226.*

Kibria, N. (2003). Becoming Asian American: Second Generation Chinese and Korean American Identities. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kildal, N. and Kuhnle, S. 2005. *Normative Foundations of the Welfare State. The Nordic Experience*. London: Routledge. ARTS 361.6 P52.

King, P. 2009. 'Using Theory or Making Theory: Can there be Theories of Housing?' *Housing Theory and Society 26: 1: 41 – 52.*

Kintrea, K. and Atkinson, R. 2001. *Neighbourhood and Social Exclusion: The Research and Policy Implications of Neighbourhood Effects.* Glasgow: University of Glasgow.

Kirk, J. and Miller, M.L. (1986). Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. London: SAGE.

Kloosterman, R., van der Leun, J. & Rath, J. 1999. 'Mixed Embeddedness: (In)formal Economic Activities and Immigrant Businesses in the Netherlands.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 23: 2: 252–267.

Komolafe, J. 2008. 'Nigerian Migration to Ireland: Movements, Motivations and Experiences.' *Irish Geography 41*: 2: 225 – 241.

Koopmans, R. 2010. 'Trade-Offs between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State in Cross-National Perspectives' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36: 1: 1 – 26.

KPMG. 1996. Study on the Urban Renewal Schemes. Dublin: Department of the Environment.

Krings, T. Moriarty, E. Wickham, J. Bobek, A. and Salamonska, J. 2013. *New Mobilities in Europe: Polish Migration to Ireland Post-2004.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Kudenko, I. and Philips, D. 2009. 'The Model of Integration? Social and Spatial Transformations in the Leeds Jewish Community' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35: 9: 1533 – 1549.

Kurien, P. (2003). 'Gendered Ethnicities: Creating a Hindu Indian Identity in the United States' in Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (ed.) *Gender and US Immigration: Contemporary Trends*. Berkeley: University California Press.

Kvale, S. and Brinkman, S. 2009. *Interviews. Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London: SAGE.

Lee, R. M. (1993). Doing Research on Sensitive Topics. London: SAGE.

Leishman, C. 2009. 'Spatial Change and the Structure of Urban Housing Sub-Markets' *Housing Studies 24*: 5: 563 – 585.

Lemos, G. 1997. Safe as Houses: A Guide to Supporting People Experiencing Racial Harassment in Housing. London: Lemos and Crane.

Lentin, A. 2004. *Racism and Anti-Racism in Europe*. London: Pluto.

Leonard, D. 1980. Sex and Generation: A Study of Courtship and Weddings. London: Tavistock.

Levitt, P. (2001). *The Transnational Villagers*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Levitt, P. 2009. 'Roots and Routes: Understanding the Lives of the Second Generation Transnationally' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35: 7: 1225 – 1242.

Lichter, D.T. and Johnson, K.M. 2009. "Immigrant Gateways and Hispanic Migration to New Destinations" *International Migration Review* 43: 3: 496 – 518.

Lieberson, S. 1969. 'Measuring Population Diversity' American Sociological Review 34: 6: 850-862.

Lofland, J. and Lofland, L.H. (1995) *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis* 3rd Ed. London: Wadsworth.

Logan, J.R. 2012. 'Making a Place for Space: Spatial Thinking in Social Science' *Annual Review of Sociology* 38: 507 – 524.

Low, S.M. 2008. 'Fortification of Residential Neighbourhoods and the New Emotions of Home' *Housing, Theory and Society 25: 1: 47-65.*

Loyal, S. 2003. The Sociology of Anthony Giddens. London: Pluto Press.

Lu, P. and Zhou, T. 2008. 'Housing for Rural Migrant Workers: Consumption Characteristics and Supply Policy' *Urban Policy and Research* 26: 3: 297 – 308.

Luk, W.E. 2009. 'Chinese Ethnic Settlements in Britain: Spatial Meanings of an Orderly Distribution 1981 – 2001' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35: 4: 575 – 599.

Lund, B. 2006. *Understanding Housing Policy*. UK: The Policy Press.

Lurbe i Puerto, K. 2003. 'Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Germany and the Influence of the European Employment Strategy.' *Transfer 9: 3: 525-540*.

MacDonald, J. and Sampson, R.J. 2012. "The World in a City: Immigration and America's Changing Social Fabric" *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 641: 1: 6 – 15.

MacÉinrí, P. 2006. 'Migration in Ireland: A Changing Reality' in Healy, S. et al. (eds.) *Social Policy in Ireland*. Dublin: Liffey Press.

MacLaran, A. and Punch, M. 2004. 'Tallaght: The Planning and Development of an Irish New Town.' *Journal of Irish Urban Studies* 3: 1: 17-40.

MacLaran, A. and Williams, B. 2005. 'Urban Renewal and the Private Rented Sector' in Norris, M. and Redmond, D. (eds.) *Housing Contemporary Ireland: Policy, Society and Shelter.* Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.

Magat, Illan N. 1999. 'Israeli and Japanese Immigrants to Canada: Home, Belonging, and the Territorialization of Identity' *Ethos* 27: 2: 119-144.

Magee, W. Fong, E. and Wilkes, R. 2008. 'Neighbourhood Ethnic Concentration and Discrimination.' *Journal of Social Policy* 37: 1: 37-62.

Magnusson Turner, L. 2008. 'Who Gets What and Why? Vacancy Chains in Stockholm's Housing Market' *European Journal of Housing Policy 8: 1: 1 – 19.*

Mahler, S. J. (1995) *American Dreaming: Immigrant Life on the Margins*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Malheiros, J. M. 2002. 'Ethni-Cities: Residential Patterns in Northern European and Mediterranean Metropolis. Implications in Policy Design.' *International Journal of Population Geography 8*: 2: 107–134.

Maliene, V. and Malys, N. 2009. 'High-Quality Housing – A Key Issue in Delivering Sustainable Communities' *Building and Environment* 44: 2: 426 – 430.

Mallett, S. 2004. 'Understanding Home: A Critical Review of the Literature.' *The Sociological Review* 52: 1: 62 – 89.

Malpass, P. 2008. 'Housing and the New Welfare State: Wobbly Pillar or Cornerstone?' *Housing Studies 23: 1: 1 – 19.*

Markkanen, S. and Harrison, M. 2013. "Race', Deprivation and the Research Agenda': Revisiting Housing, Ethnicity and Neighbourhood. *Housing Studies 28: 3: 409 – 428.*

Marsden, T. 1992. 'Exploring a Rural Sociology for the Fordist Transition: Incorporating Social Relations into Economic Restructuring' *Sociologia Ruralis Vol. XXXII* (2/3) 209 – 230.

Marston, G. 2008. 'Technocrats or Intellectuals? Reflections on the Role of Housing Researchers as Social Scientists' *Housing, Theory and Society* 25: 3: 177 – 190.

Martijn, C. and Sharpe, L. (2006). 'Pathways to Youth Homelessness' *Social Science & Medicine* 62: 1: 1 – 12.

Martin, R. 2011. 'The Local Geographies of the Financial Crisis: From the Housing Bubble to Economic Recession and Beyond' *Journal of Economic Geography 11: 4: 587 – 618.*

Mason, J. (1996). *Qualitative Researching*. London: SAGE.

Massey, D. Arango, J. Hugo, G. Kouaouci, A. Pellegrino, A. and Taylor, J.E. 1998. Worlds in Motion: International Migration at the End of the Millennium. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mateos, P. Singleton, A. and Longley, P. 2009. 'Uncertainty in the Analysis of Ethnicity Classifications: Issues of Extent and Aggregation of Ethnic Groups' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35: 9: 1437 – 1460.

May, J. and Thrift, N. (2001). *Timespace: Geographies of Temporality*. London: Routledge. May, T. (2011). *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*. Berkshire: Open University Press.

Mayock, P and Sheridan, S. 2012. *Migrant Women and Homelessness: Key Findings from a Biographical Study of Homeless Women in Ireland.* Dublin: School of Social Work and Social Policy, Trinity College (Research Paper 2 – SSWSP, TCD.)

Mayock, P. Corr, M.L. and O'Sullivan, E. (2012). 'Moving On, Not Out: When Young People Remain Homeless' *Journal of Youth Studies 16: 4: 441 – 459*.

Mayock, P. Corr, M.L. and O'Sullivan, E. 2008. *Young People's Homeless Pathways*. Dublin: The Homeless Agency.

Mayock, P. Corr, M.L. and O'Sullivan, E. 2013. 'Moving On, Not Out: When Young People

Remain Homeless' Journal of Youth Studies 16: 4: 441 - 459.

Mayock, P. Corr, M.L. and O'Sullivan, E. (2008) Young People's Homeless Pathways. Dublin: Homeless Agency.

McCashin, A. 2000. The Private Rented Sector in the 21st Century: Policy Choices. Dublin: Threshold.

McEwen, M. and Prior, A. 1992. *Planning and Ethnic Minority Settlement in Europe: The Myth of Thresholds of Tolerance*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh College of Art.

McGarrigle, J. and Kearns, A. 2009. 'Living Apart? Place, Identity and South Asian Residential Choice' *Housing Studies* 24: 4: 451-475.

McGinnity, F. et al. 2006. *Migrants Experience of Racism and Discrimination in Ireland*. Dublin: ESRI.

McGinnity, F. Nelson, J. Lunn, P. and Quinn, E. 2009. *Discrimination in Recruitment: Evidence from a Field Experiment*. Dublin: ESRI.

McGorman, E. and Sugrue, C. 2007. *Intercultural Education: Primary Challenges in Dublin 15.* http://www.spd.dcu.ie/main/news/documents/InterculturalEducationReport.pdf

McLaren, L.M. 2004. 'Immigration and the new politics of inclusion and exclusion in the European Union: The effect of elites and the EU on individual level opinions regarding European and non-European immigrants'. *European Journal of Political Research* 39: 1: 81 – 108. http://www.springerlink.com/content/j8vmqtnmnvugayux

McLeod, J. and Thomson, R. (2009). Researching Social Change: Qualitative Approaches. London: Sage.

McLoughlin, E. and Boucher, G. 2007. 'Rising or falling to the challenge of diversity in Europe? Social Justice and differentiated citizenship.' in Clarke, K. Maltby, T. and Kennett, P. (eds.) *Social Policy Review 19.* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Meegan, R. and Mitchell, A. 2001. "It's Not Community Round Here, It's Neighbourhood": Neighbourhood Change and Cohesion in Urban Regeneration Polices.' *Urban Studies* 38: 12: 2167 – 2194.

Memery, C and Kerrins, L. 1997. *Estate Management and Anti-Social Behaviour*. Dublin: Threshold. http://www.threshold.ie/download/pdf/estate management and asb.pdf

Memery, C. 2001. 'The Housing System and The Celtic Tiger: The State Response to a Housing Crisis of Affordability and Access' *European Journal of Housing Policy 1: 1: 79 – 104.*

Memery, C. and Kerrins, L. 2001. Who Wants to Be a Landlord? A Profile of Landlords in Dublin City. Dublin: Threshold.

http://www.threshold.ie/download/pdf/who wants to be a landlord.pdf

Mendez, P. 2008. *Immigrant Residential Geographies and the "Spatial Assimilation" Debate in Canada, 1997-2006*. British Columbia: Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Diversity.

Menjivar, C. (2000) *Fragmented Ties: Salvadoran Immigrant Networks in America.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Meyer, D.Z. and Avery, L.M. (2009) "Excel as a Qualitative Data Analysis Tool" *Field Methods 21:* 1: 91 – 112.

Meyerson, M. Terrett, B. Wheaton, W.L.C. 1962. *Housing, People and Cities*. New York: McGraw-Hill. SANTRY 182.d.94

Migrant Rights Centre Ireland. 2005. Social Protection Denied: The Impact of the Habitual Residency Condition. Dublin: MRCI.

Migrant Rights Centre Ireland. 2006. Realising Integration. Dublin: MRCI.

Migrant Rights Centre Ireland. 2007. *Challenging Myths and Misinformation about Migrant Workers and Their Families*. Dublin: MRCI.

Miles M. B. and Huberman A. M. (1994) *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook.* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Miller, D. (ed.) 1995. Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies. London: Routledge.

Mingione, E. 1999. 'Introduction: Immigrants and the Informal Economy in European Cities.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 23: 2: 209–211.

Minns, C. 2005. 'Immigration Policy and the Skills of Irish Immigrants: Evidence and the Implications'. *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland. Vol. XXXIV*.

Mintz, B. Freitag, P. Hendricks, C. and Schwartz, M. (1976). "Problems of Proof in Elite Research" *Social Problems* 23: 3: 314 – 324.

Mitchell, M. and Russell, D. 1998. 'Immigration, Social Citizenship and Social Exclusion in the New Europe' in Sykes, R. and Alcock, P. (eds.) *Developments in European Social Policy: Convergence and Diversity*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Mohan, J. and Twigg, L. 2007. 'Sense of Place, Quality of Life and Local Socio-Economic Context: Evidence from the Survey of English Housing 2002/03' *Urban Studies 44:* 10: 2029 – 2045.

Moore, J. 2000. 'Placing Home in Context' *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 20: 3: 207 – 217.

Moors, A. 2003. 'Migrant Domestic Workers: Debating Transnationalism, Identity Politics and Family Relations' *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History 45*: 386-394.

Moran, J. 2003. Housing Refugees. Dublin: The Housing Unit.

Moriarty, E. Wickham, J. Krings, T. Salamonska, J. and Bobek, A. 2011. 'Taking on Almost Everyone? Migrant and Employer Recruitment Strategies in a Booming Labour Market' *The International Journal of Human Resource Management* 23: 9: 1871 – 1887.

Morissens, A. and Sainsbury, D. 2005. 'Migrants Social Rights, Ethnicity and Welfare Regimes' *Journal of Social Policy* 34: 4: 637-660.

Morris, L. 2007. 'New Labour's Community of Rights: Welfare, Immigration and Asylum.' *Journal of Social Policy 36: 1: 39-57.*

Morrisson, K. 2005. 'Structuration Theory, Habitus and Complexity Theory: Elective Affinities or Old Wine in New Bottles?' *British Journal of the Sociology of Education 26*: 3: 311 – 326.

Mullins, D. and Rhodes, M.L. 2007. 'Special Issue on Network Theory and Social Housing' *Housing, Theory and Society 24: 1: 1 – 13.*

Murdie, R. (2008) 'Pathways to Housing: The Experience of Sponsored Refugees and Refugee Claimants in Accessing Permanent Housing in Toronto' *Journal of International Migration and Integration 9: 1: 81 – 101.*

Murdie, R. 2002. 'The Housing Careers of Polish and Somali Newcomers in Toronto's Rental Market' *Housing Studies* 17: 3: 423-443.

Murdie, R. A. and Borgegard, L. 1998. 'Immigration, Spatial Segregation and Housing Segmentation of Immigrants in Metropolitan Stockholm, 1960-95'. *Urban Studies 35: 10: 1869 – 1888*.

Murie, A. 'Segregation, Exclusion and Housing in the Divided City'

Murie, A. 2007. 'Housing Policy, Housing Tenure and the Housing Market' in Clarke, K. Maltby, T. and Kennett, P. (eds.) *Social Policy Review 19.* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Murphy, L. 1994. 'The Downside of Home Ownership: Housing Change and Mortgage Arrears in the Republic of Ireland'. *Housing Studies 9: 2:*

Musterd, S. 2003. 'Segregation and Integration: A Contested Relationship.' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 29: 4: 623–641.

Musterd, S. and Deurloo, R. 2002. 'Unstable Immigrant Concentrations in Amsterdam: Spatial Segregation and Integration of Newcomers'. *Housing Studies 17: 3: 487-503.*

Musterd, S. and Muus, P. 1995. 'Immigration – mismatches in labour, housing and space'. *Applied Geography* 15: 3: 279-296.

Musterd, S. and Ostendorf, W. 1998. *Urban Segregation and the Welfare State: Inequality and Social Exclusion in Western Cities*. London: Routledge.

Musterd, S. and Ostendorf, W. 2009. 'Residential Segregation and Integration in the Netherlands' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35: 9: 1515 – 1532.

Musterd, S. Murie, A. and Kesteloot, C. 2006. *Neighbourhoods of Poverty: Urban Social Exclusion and Integration in Europe.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Myers, D. and Lee, S.W. 1998. 'Immigrant Trajectories into Homeownership: A Temporal Analysis of Residential Assimilation.' *International Migration Review* 32: 593-625.

Myles, J. and Hou, F. 2003. *Neighbourhood attainment and residential segregation among Toronto's visible minorities*. http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=486146

National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism. 2004. *Safeguarding the Rights of Migrant Workers and their Families*. Dublin: NCCRI.

National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism. 2006b. *Promoting Rights of Migrant Workers*. Dublin: NCCRI.

National Economic and Social Council. 2004. Housing in Ireland: Performance and Policy. Dublin: NESC.

National Economic and Social Council. 2006. *Managing Migration in Ireland: A Social and Economic Analysis*. Dublin: NESC.

National Economic and Social Council. 2006. Migration Policy. Dublin: NESC.

National Economic and Social Council. 2014. *Social Housing at a Crossroads: Possibilities for Investment, Provision and Cost Rental.* Dublin: NESC. Available at: http://files.nesc.ie/nesc_reports/en/138 Social Housing.pdf

Nelson, L. and Nelson, P.B. 2010. 'The Global Rural: Gentrification and Linked Migration to the Rural USA' *Progress in Human Geography 35: 4: 441 – 459*.

Netto, G. 2011. 'Identity Negotiation, Pathways to Housing and 'Place': The Experience of Refugees in Glasgow' *Housing, Theory and Society 28: 2: 123 – 143*.

Network of Integration Focal Points. 2004. *Policy Briefing on Housing for Refugees and Migrants in Europe*. http://www.ecre.org/files/Policy%20Briefing Housing.pdf

Newby, H. 1979. *Green and Pleasant Land? Social Change in Rural England*. London: Hutchinson.

Ní Chonaill, B. 2007. 'The Impact of Migrants on Resources: A Critical Assessment of the Views of People Working/Living in the Blanchardstown Area' *Translocations 2: 1: 70-89*.

Nijkamp, P. Sahin, M. and Baycan-Levent, T. 2009. *Migrant Entrepreneurship and New Urban Economic Opportunities*. The Netherlands: Tinbergen Institute. Discussion Paper 2009-025/3.

Norries, M. Healy, J. and Coates, D. 2008. 'Drivers of Rising Housing Allowance Claimant Numbers: Evidence from the Irish Private Rented Sector' *Housing Studies* 23: 1: 89 - 109.

Norris, M. 2005. "Social Housing" in Norris, M. and Redmond, D. (eds.) *Housing Contemporary Ireland: Policy, Society and Shelter*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.

Norris, M. 2006. "Developing, Designing and Managing Mixed Tenure Estates: Implementing Planning Gain Legislation in the Republic of Ireland" *European Planning Studies* 14: 2: 199-218.

Norris, M. 2011. 'The Private Rented Sector in Ireland' in Scanlon, K. and Kochan, B. (eds.) *Towards a Sustainable Private Rented Sector: The Lessons from Other Countries.* London: London School of Economics.

Norris, M. 2011. 'The private rented sector in Ireland' in Scanlon, K and Kochan, B (eds). *Towards a Sustainable Private Rented Sector: The Lessons from Other Countries*. London: London School of Economics.

Norris, M. 2014. 'Path Dependence and Critical Junctures in Irish Rental Policy: From Dualist to Unitary Rental Markets' *Housing Studies 29*: 5: 616 – 637.

Norris, M. 2014. "Path Dependence and Critical Junctures in Irish Rental Policy: From Dualist to Unitary Rental Markets?" *Housing Studies*

Norris, M. and Coates, D. 2007. "The Uneven Geography of Housing Allowance Claims in Ireland: Administrative, Financial and Social Implications" *International Journal of Housing Policy* 7: 4: 435 – 458.

Norris, M. and Coates, D. 2014. 'How Housing Killed the Celtic Tiger: Anatomy and Consequences of Ireland's Housing Boom and Bust' *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 29: 2:299-315.

Norris, M. and Murray, K. 2004. 'National, Regional and Local Patterns in the Residualisation of the Social Rented Tenure: The Case of Ireland and Dublin' *Housing Studies 19: 1: 85 – 105.*

Norris, M. and Redmond, D. 2005. 'Setting the Scene: Transformations in Irish Housing' in Norris, M. and Redmond, D. (eds.) *Housing Contemporary Ireland: Policy, Society and Shelter.* Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.

Norris, M. and Redmond, D. 2005. *Housing Contemporary Ireland: Policy, Society and Shelter.* Dublin: IPA

Norris, M. and Shiels, P. 2007. 'Housing Affordability in the Republic of Ireland: Is Planning Part of the Problem or Part of the Solution' *Housing Studies 22: 1: 45 - 62*.

Norris, M. and Winston, N. 2011. 'Housing Wealth, Debt and Stress Before, During and After the Celtic Tiger' in Forrest, R. and Ngai-Ming, Y. (eds.) *Housing Markets and the Global Financial Crisis: The Uneven Impact on Households.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Norris, M. and Winston, N. 2012. 'Young People's Trajectories through Irish Housing Booms and Busts: Headship, Housing and Labour Market Access among the Under-30's since the Late 1960's' in Forrest, R. and Ngai-Ming, Y. (eds.) *Housing Young People: Transitions, Trajectories and Generational Fractures.* London: Routledge.

Norris, M. Coates, D. and Kane, F. 2007. 'Breaching the Limits of Owner Occupation? Supporting Low-Income Buyers in the Inflated Irish Housing Market' *European Journal of Housing Policy* 7: 3: 337 – 355.

Novac, S. 1996. *Immigrant Enclaves and Residential Segregation: Voices of Racialized Refugee and Immigrant Women*. http://www.hnc.utoronto.ca/publish/women.pdf

O'Boyle, N. and Fanning, B. (2009). "Immigration, Integration and the Risks of Social Exclusion: The Social Policy Case for Disaggregated Data in the Republic of Ireland" *Irish Geography 42: 2:* 145 – 164.

O'Connell, C. 2005. 'The Housing Market and Owner Occupation in Ireland' in Norris, M. and Redmond, D. (eds.) *Housing Contemporary Ireland: Policy, Society and Shelter.* Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.

O'Neill, P. 2008. 'The Role of Theory in Housing Research: Partial Reflections of the Work of Jim Kemeny' *Housing, Theory and Society* 25: 3: 164 – 176.

O'Sullivan, D. 2009. 'Changing Neighbourhoods, Neighbourhoods Changing: A Framework for Spatially Explicit Agent-Based Models of Social Systems' *Sociological Methods & Research 37: 4:* 498 – 530.

O'Sullivan, E. 2004. 'Welfare Regimes, Housing and Homelessness in the Republic of Ireland' *European Journal of Housing Policy 4: 3: 323 – 343.*

O'Sullivan, E. 2008. 'Sustainable Solutions to Homelessness: The Irish Case' *European Journal of Homelessness* 2: 205-233.

O'Sullivan, E. and De Decker, P. 2007. 'Regulating the Private Rented Housing Market in Europe' European Journal of Homelessness 1: 95 – 117.

OECD. 1998. Immigrants, Integration and Cities: Exploring the Links. Paris: OECD.

Oliver, C. and O'Reilly, K. 2010. 'A Bourdieusian Analysis of Class and Migration: Habitus and the Individualising Process' *Sociology* 44: 1: 49 – 66.

Omidvar, R. and Richmond, T. 2003. *Immigrant Settlement and Social Inclusion in Canada*. Toronto: Laidlaw Foundation. http://www.laidlawfdn.org/cms/page1436.cfm

Ondrich, J. Stricker, A. and Yinger, J. 1999. 'Do Landlords Discriminate? The Incidence and Causes of Racial Discrimination in Rental Housing Markets' *Journal of Housing Economics 8: 3:* 185 – 204.

Owens, T.J., Robinson, D.T. and Smith-Lovin, L. 2010. 'Three Faces of Identity' *Annual Review of Sociology* 36: 477 – 499.

Oxley, M. 2004. 'Meaning, Science, Context and Confusion in Comparative Housing Research' *Journal of Housing and Built Environment 16: 1: 89-106.*

Ozuekren, A. 2003. 'Ethnic Concentration at the Neighbourhood Block Level: Turks in a Greater Stockholm Suburb (1989 and 1999)' *Housing, Theory and Society* 20: 172 – 182.

Ozuekren, A. and Van Kempen, R. 2002 'Housing Careers of Minority Ethnic Groups: Experiences, Explanations and Prospects'. *Housing Studies 17: 3: 365 – 379.*

Ozuekren, A. and van Kempen, R. 2003. 'Special Issue Editors' Introduction: Dynamics and Diversity: Housing Careers and Segregation of Minority Ethnic Groups' *Housing, Theory and Society* 20: 4: 162 – 171.

Pager, D. and Shepherd, H. 2008. 'The Sociology of Discrimination: Racial Discrimination in Employment, Housing, Credit, and Consumer Markets' *Annual Review of Sociology* 34: 181 – 209.

Painter, G. and Yu, Z. 2010. 'Immigrants and Housing Markets in Mid-Size Metropolitan Areas' *International Migration Review 44: 2: 442 – 476.*

Palidda, S. 1998. 'The integration of immigrants in a changing urban environment: the example of Italy' in Neymare, K. (ed.) *Immigrants, Integration and Cities: Exploring the Links*. Paris: OECD.

Papastergiadis, N. 2000. The Turbulence of Migration. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.

Park, R.E. Burgess, E. and McKenzie, R. 1925. *The City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Park, Robert E. 1915. "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Behaviour in the City Environment" *American Journal of Sociology* 20:579-83.

Parker, O. and Brassett, J. 2005. 'Contingent Borders, Ambiguous Ethics: Migrants in (International) Political Theory.' *International Studies Quarterly* 49: 233-253.

Parrodo, E.A. McQuiston, C. and Flippen, C.A. 2005. 'Participatory Survey Research: Integrating Community Collaboration and Quantitative Methods for the Study of Gender and HIV Risks Among Hispanic Migrants' *Sociological Methods & Research 34: 2: 204 – 239*. Patton, M. Q. (2001). *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. (2nd ed.) California: SAGE.

Peach, C. 1998. 'South Asian and Caribbean Ethnic Minority Housing in Britain' *Urban Studies* 35: 10: 1657-1680.

Peach, C. 2009. 'Slippery Segregation: Discovering or Manufacturing Ghettos?' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35: 9: 1381 – 1395.

Peillon, M. 1998. 'Bourdieu's Field and the Sociology of Welfare.' *Journal of Social Policy* 27: 2: 213 – 229.

Penninx, R. 2006. 'After the Fortuyn and van Gogh murders: is the Dutch integration model in disarray?' in S. Delorenzi (ed.) *Going Places: Neighbourhood, Ethnicity and Social Mobility*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Penninx, R. Kraal, K. Martiniello, M. and Vertovec, S. (eds.) (2004). *Citizenship in European Cities: Immigrants, Local Politics and Integration Policies.* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Permentier, M. Van Ham, M. and Bolt, G. 2008. 'Same Neighbourhood....Different Views?' A Confrontation of Internal and External Neighbourhood Reputations' *Housing Studies* 23: 6: 833 – 855.

Pfeffer, M. J. and Parra. P. A. 2006. *Conceptualising Immigrant Integration outside Metropolises*. http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/1/o/o/9/2/p100928_index.html

Phillimore, J. 2013. 'Housing, Home and Neighbourhood Renewal in the Era of Super-diversity: Some Lessons for the West Midlands' *Housing Studies* 28: 5: 682 – 700.

Phillips, D. 1998. 'Black Minority Ethnic Concentration, Segregation and Dispersal in Britain.' *Urban Studies* 35: 10: 1681–1702.

Phillips, D. 2006. 'Moving Towards Integration: The Housing of Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Britain' *Housing Studies 21: 4: 539 – 553*.

Phillips, D. and Harrison, M. 2010. 'Constructing an Integrated Society: Historical Lessons for Tackling Black and Minority Ethnic Housing Segregation in Britain' *Housing, Theory and Society* 25: 2: 221 – 235.

Phillips, D. Simpson, L. and Ahmed, S. 2008. 'Shifting Geographies of Minority Ethnic Settlement: Remaking Communities in Oldham and Rochdale' in, Flint, J. and Robinson, D. (eds.) Community Cohesion in Crisis?: New Dimensions of Diversity and Difference. Bristol: Policy Press.

Phipps, A. G. 2001. 'Empirical Applications of Structuration Theory.' *Human Geography 83: 4: 189* – 204.

Phipps, A. G. 2001. 'Empirical Applications of Structuration Theory.' *Human Geography 83: 4:* 189 – 204.

Pillinger, J. 2006. *An Introduction to the Situation and Experience of Women Migrant Workers in Ireland*. Dublin: Equality Authority.

Pillinger, J. (2008). Making a Home in Ireland: Housing Experiences of Chinese, Indian, Lithuanian and Nigerian Migrants in Blanchardstown. Dublin: Focus Ireland and the Immigrant Council of Ireland.

Pillinger, J. 2008. *The Migration-Social Policy Nexus: Current and Future Research*. http://www.unrisd.org/unrisd/website/document.nsf/ab82a6805797760f80256b4f005daiab/32 3629882aeba44ac12574f0003672co/\$FILE/draft Pillinger.pdf

Pinkster, F.M. and Volker, B. 2009. 'Local Social Networks and Social Resources in Two Dutch Neighbourhoods.' *Housing Studies* 24: 2: 225 – 242.

Platt, L. 2005. Migration and Social Mobility: the life chances of Britain's minority ethnic communities. Bristol: Policy Press.

Portes, A. & Zhou, M. 1994. 'Should immigrants assimilate?' Public Interest 18: 116–125.

Portes, A. 1995. The Economic Sociology of Immigration. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Portes, A. 1997. 'Immigration Theory for a New Century: Some Problems and Opportunities' *International Migration Review* 31: 799 – 825.

Portes, A. and Dewind, J. 2004. 'A Cross Atlantic Dialogue: The Progress of Research and Theory in the Study of International Migration' *International Migration Review* 38: 3: 828 – 851.

Portes, A. and Vickstrom, E. 2011. 'Diversity, Social Capital and Cohesion' *Annual Review of Sociology* 37: 461 – 479.

Potter, J. and Hepburn, A. (2012) "Eight Challenges for Interview Researchers" in Holstein, J. A., Gubrium, J. F., Marvasti, A. B. and McKinney, K. D. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft.* London: Sage.

Punch, M. 2009. *The Irish Housing System: Vision, Values and Reality.* Dublin: The Jesuit Centre for Faith and Social Justice.

Punch, M. and Buchanan, L. (eds.) 2002. *Housing Rights – A New Agenda?* Dublin: Threshold.

Punch, M. Redmond, D. and Kelly, S. 2007. 'Uneven Development, City Governance and Urban Change: Unpacking the Global-Local Nexus in Dublin's Inner City' in Hambleton, R. and Gross J. S. (eds.) *Governing Cities in a Global Era: Urban Innovation, Competition and Democratic Reform.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Putnam, R. 2000. Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. London: Simon and Schuster.

Putnam, R. 2000. Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Quillian, L. 1995. 'Prejudice as a response to perceived group threat: population composition and anti-immigrant and racial prejudice in Europe.' *American Sociological Review 60: 816–860*.

Quillian, R. 2006. 'New Approaches to Understanding Racial Prejudice and Discrimination' *Annual Review of Sociology* 32: 299 – 328.

Quinn-Patton, M. (2002). Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods. London: SAGE.

Quinn, E. 2005. Migration and Asylum in Ireland: Summary of Legislation, Case Law and Policy Measures and Directory of Organisations, Researchers and Research 2005' www.esri.ie

Quinn, E. 2007. Policy Analysis Report on Asylum and Migration: Ireland 2006. www.esri.ie

Quinn, E. Gusciute, E. Barrett, A. and Joyce, C. 2014. *Migrant Access to Social Security and Healthcare: Policies and Practice in Ireland.* Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute.

Quinn, R. 2003. The Roots of Assimilationism and Related Anti-Migrant Sentiments in Rural Irish Communities. (Thesis, TCD Library).

Rahimian, A. Woich, J.R. and Koegel, P. 1991. 'A Model of Homeless Migration: Homeless Men in Skid Row, Los Angeles' *Environment and Planning 24: 9: 1317-1336.*

Rainer, H. and Siedler, T. 2008. Social Networks in Determining Migration and Labour Market Outcomes: Evidence from the German Reunification. Essex: Institute for Social and Economic Research.

Ransom, M. 2000. 'Sampling Distributions of Segregation Indexes' Sociological Methods & Research 28: 4: 454 - 475.

Rapoport, A. 2001. 'Theory, Culture and Housing' Housing, Theory and Society 17: 4: 145 – 165.

Ratcliffe, P. 'Theorising Ethnic and Racial Exclusion in Housing'

Ratcliffe, P. 1998. 'Race, Housing and Social Exclusion' Housing Studies 13: 6: 807-818.

Ratcliffe, P. 1999. 'Ethnicity, Socio-Cultural Change and Housing Needs' *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 19: 135 – 143.

Ratcliffe, P. 2004. *Race, Ethnicity and Difference: Imagining the Inclusive Society.* Berkshire: Open University Press.

Ratcliffe, P. 2009. 'Re-evaluating the Links between 'Race' and Residence' *Housing Studies 24: 4:* 433-450.

Reay, D. 2004. 'It's all Becoming a Habitus: Beyond the Habitual Use of Habitus in Educational Research' *British Journal of Sociology of Education 25: 4: 431 – 444.*

Reception and Integration Agency. 2012. Annual Report 2012. Dublin: Reception and Integration Agency.

Reed, H. and Latorre, M. 2009. *The Economic Impacts of Migration on the UK Labour Market*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Reeve, K. 2008. 'New Immigration and Neighbourhood Change' in Robinson, D. and Flint, J. (eds.) *Community Cohesion in Crisis? New Dimensions of Diversity and Difference*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Reeve, K. and Robinson, D. 2007. 'Beyond the Multi-ethnic Metropolis: Minority Ethnic Housing Experiences in Small Town England' *Housing Studies* 22: 4: 547 – 571.

Reher, D. and Requena, M. 2009. 'The National Immigrant Survey of Spain: A new data source for migration studies in Europe' *Demographic Research* 20: 12: 253-278.

Reinders, L. and van der Land, M. 2008. 'Mental Geographies of Home and Place: Introduction to the Special Issue' *Housing, Theory and Society* 25: 1: 1 – 13.

Reitz, J. 2002. 'Host Societies and the Reception of Immigrants: Research Themes, Emerging Theories and Methodological Issues' *International Migration Review 36: 4: 1005 – 1019*.

Rex, J. 1971. "The Concept of Housing Class and the Sociology of Race Relations" Race XII: 3.

Rex, J. and Moore, R. 1967. *Race, Community and Conflict: A Study of Sparkbrook.* London: Oxford University Press.

Rex, J. and Tomlinson, S. (1979). *Colonial Immigrants in a British City: A Class Analysis*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Rhodes, Mary Lee. 2007. 'Strategic Choice in the Irish Housing System: Taming Complexity.' *Housing, Theory and Society 24: 1: 14 - 31.*

Rhodes, Mary Lee. 2009. 'Mixing the Market: The Role of the Private Rented Sector in Urban Regeneration in Ireland' *European Journal of Housing Policy* 9: 2: 177 – 200.

Richmond, A. 2000. 'Immigration Policy and Research in Canada: Pure or Applied?' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 26: 1: 109-125.

Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. (2003) *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers.* London: Sage.

Ritzer, G. 2007. Modern Sociological Theory. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Robinson, D. and Reeve, K. 2006. *Neighbourhood Experiences of New Immigration: Reflections on the Evidence Base.* York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Robinson, D. Reeve, K. and Casey, R. 2007. *The Housing Pathways of New Immigrants*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Robinson, D., Coward, S., Fordham, T., Green, S. and Reeve, K. 2004. *How Housing Management Can Contribute to Community Cohesion*. Coventry: CIH.

Robinson, D., Reeve, K. and Casey, R. 2007. *The Housing Pathways of New Immigrants*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Robinson, D., Reeve, K., Bennington, J. and Coward, S. 2005. *Minority Ethnic Housing Experiences in North Lincolnshire*. Sheffield: CRESR, Sheffield Hallam University/North Lincolnshire Council.

Robinson, V. Andersson, R. and Musterd, S. 2003. *Spreading the 'Burden'?: A review of policies to disperse asylum-seekers and refugees'*. Bristol: Policy. PL-397-292.

Robson, C. (2002). Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers (2^{nd} ed.) Oxford: Blackwell.

Rogaly, B. and Taylor, B. (2009). *Moving Histories of Class and Community: Identity, Place and Belonging in Contemporary England.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rosenblatt, T. Cheshire, L. and Lawrence, G. 2009. 'Social Interaction and Sense of Community in a Master Planned Community.' *Housing, Theory and Society 26: 2: 122 – 142.*

Rowlands, R. and Gurney, C.M. 2000. 'Young Peoples' Perceptions of Housing Tenure: A Case Study in the Socialization of Tenure Prejudice' Housing, Theory and Society 17: 3: 121 – 130.

Rowles, G.D. and Chaudhury, H. (eds.) 2005. *Home and Identity in Late Life: International Perspectives*. New York: Springer Publishing Company.

Rubin, H.J. and Rubin, I. S. (2005) *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data 2nd Edn.* California: Sage.

Rubio-Marín, R. 2000. *Immigration as a democratic challenge: citizenship and inclusion in Germany and the United States.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rugg, J. and Rhodes, D. 2003. 'Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The Failure to Agree on Regulation for the Private Rented Sector in England.' *Housing Studies* 18: 6: 937-946.

Rugg, J. Rhodes, D and Jones, A. 2002. 'Studying a Niche Market: UK Students and the Private Rented Sector.' *Housing Studies* 17: 2: 289-303.

Rugg, J. Rhodes, D. and Jones, A. 2000. *The Nature and Impact of Student Demand on Housing Markets*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Ruhs, M. 2003. Emerging Trends and Patterns in the Immigration and Employment of non-EU Nationals in Ireland: What the Data Reveal. Dublin: The Policy Institute.

Ruhs, M. 2005. Managing the Immigration and Employment of non-EU Nationals in Ireland. Dublin: The Policy Institute.

Ruhs, M. 2006. 'The Potential of Temporary Migration Programmes in Future International Migration Policy' *International Labour Review 145: 1: 7-36*.

Russell, H. Quinn, E. King O'Riain, R. and McGinnity, F. 2008. *The Experience of Discrimination in Ireland: Analysis of the QNHS Equality Module*. Dublin: ESRI.

Ryan, L. 2008. "I Had a Sister in England": Family Led Migration, Social Networks and Irish Nurses' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34: 3: 453 – 470.

Ryan, L. Sales, R. Tilki, M. and Siara, B. 2009. 'Family Strategies and Transnational Migration: Recent Polish Migrants in London' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35: 1: 61 – 77.

Ryen, A. (2003) "Cross-Cultural Interviewing" in Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F. (eds.) *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns.* London: Sage.

Sabater, A. and Simpson, L. 2009. 'Enhancing the Population Census: A Time Series for Sub-National Areas with Age, Sex and Ethnic Groups Dimensions in England and Wales 1991 – 2001' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35: 9: 1461 – 1477.

Sainsbury, D. 2006. 'Immigrants Social Rights in Comparative Perspective: Welfare Regimes, Forms in Immigration and Immigration Policy Regimes' *Journal of European Social Policy 16: 3:* 229 – 244.

Saunders, P. 1978. 'Domestic Property and Social Class' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 2: 233 – 251.

Saunders, P. 1984. 'Beyond Housing Classes' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 8: 202 – 227.

Saunders, P. 1989. 'The Meaning of Home in Contemporary English Culture' *Housing Studies 4:* 3: 177 – 192.

Saunders, P. 1990. A Nation of Home Owners. London: Routledge.

Saunders, P. and Williams, P. 1988. 'The Constitution of Home: Towards a Research Agenda' *Housing Studies* 3: 2: 81 – 93.

Sayer, A. 2000. Realism and Social Science. London: Sage.

Schierup, C. Hansen, P. and Castles, S. 2006. *Migration, Citizenship and the European Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schreuder, Y. 1989. 'Labor segmentation, ethnic division of labor, and residential segregation in American cities in the early twentieth century.' *The Professional Geographer 41: 2: 131-143.*

Scott, M. and Murray, M. 2009. 'Housing Rural Communities: Connecting Rural Dwellings to Rural Development in Ireland' *Housing Studies* 24: 6: 755 – 774.

Seale, C. (1998). Researching Society and Culture. London: SAGE.

Seale, C. (1999). The Quality of Qualitative Research. London: SAGE.

Shaffir W.B. and Stebbins. R.A. (1991) "Maintaining Relations" in Shaffir, W. B. And Stebbins, R. A. (eds.) *Experiencing Fieldwork: An Inside View of Qualitative Research.* London: Sage.

Shine, K. T. and Norris, M. 2006. *Regenerating Local Authority Housing Estates: Review of Policy and Practice.* Dublin: Centre for Housing Research.

Shortt, N. and Rugkasa, J. 2007. "The walls were so damp and cold" Fuel Poverty and Ill-Health in Northern Ireland: Results from a Housing Intervention' *Health and Place 13: 1:* 99 - 100.

Silke, D. Norris, M. Kane, F. and Portley, B. 2008. *Building Integrated Communities: Towards an Intercultural Approach to Housing Policy and Practice in Ireland*. Dublin: NCCRI.

Silverman, D. (1993). Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analyzing Talk, Text and Interaction. London: SAGE.

Sim, D. 2000. 'Housing Inequalities and Minority Ethnic Groups' in Anderson, I. and Sim, D. (eds.) *Social Exclusion and Housing: Contexts and Challenges*. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing.

Simon, P. 2002. 'When De-segregation Produces Stigmatisation: Ethnic Minorities and Urban Policies in France' in Martiniello, M. & Piquard, B. (eds.) *Diversity in the City*. Bilbao: University of Deusto.

Simpson, L. and Peach, C. 2009. 'Measurement and Analysis of Segregation, Integration and Diversity: Editorial Introduction' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35: 9: 1377 – 1380.

Singer, A. 2004. *The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways.* Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution. Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy - The Living Cities Census Series. Available at:

http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/reports/2004/2/demographics%20singer/20040301_gateways.pdf

Singer, A. 2013. 'Contemporary Immigrant Gateways in Historical Perspective' *Daedalus Journal* of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences 142: 3: 76 – 91.

Singh, G. 2009. Rainbow nation, skewed spectrum: immigrant residential segregation in a post-apartheid South-African city.

http://paa2009.princeton.edu/download.aspx?submissionId=90667

Skifter Andersen, H. 2008. 'Is the Private Rented Sector and Efficient Producer of Housing Service? Private Landlords in Denmark and their Economic Strategies' *European Journal of Housing Policy 8: 3: 263 – 286.*

Smith, A. (2014). "Interpreting Home in the Transnational Discourse: The Case of Post-EU Enlargement Poles in Dublin" *Home Cultures* 11: 1: 103 – 122.

Smith, A. D. 2009. *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach*. London: Routledge.

Smith, J. 2008. 'Towards Consensus? Centre-Right Parties and Immigration Policy in the UK and Ireland'. *Journal of European Public Policy* 15: 3: 415 – 431.

Soholt, S. 2001. 'Ethnic Minority Groups and Strategies in the Housing Market in Oslo'. *European Journal of Housing Policy 1: 3: 337 - 355*.

Somerville, P. (2013). "Understanding Homelessness" *Housing, Theory and Society 30: 4: 384 – 415.*

Somerville, P. and Bengtsson, B. 2002. 'Constructionism, Realism and Housing Theory' *Housing, Theory and Society 19: 121 – 136.*

Somerville, P. and Steele, A. (eds.) 2002. *Race, Housing and Social Exclusion*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Somerville, P. Van Beckhoven, E. and Van Kempen, R. 2009. 'The Decline and Rise of Neighbourhoods: The Importance of Neighbourhood Governance'. *European Journal of Housing Policy 9: 1: 25 – 44.*

Somerville, W. and Sumption, M. 2009. *Immigration and the Labour Market*. UK: Equality and Human Rights Commission.

Spencer, S. Ruhs, M. Anderson, R. and Rogaly, B. 2007. *Migrants' Lives Beyond the Workplace: The Experiences of Central and East Europeans in the UK.* York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Spicer, N. 2008. 'Places of Exclusion and Inclusion: Asylum-Seeker and Refugee Experiences of Neighbourhoods in the UK' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34: 3: 491 – 510.

Stephens, M. 1999. 'The Fiscal Role of the European Union: The Case of Housing and the European Structural Funds' *Urban Studies 36: 4: 715-735*.

Stephens, M. 2003. 'Globalisation and Housing Finance Systems in Advanced and Transition Economies.' *Urban Studies 40*: 5: 1011-1026.

Stephens, M. and Fitzpatrick, S. 2007. Welfare Regimes, Housing Systems and Homelessness: How are they linked? Brussels: FEANTSA.

Stovel, K. and Bolan, M. 2004. 'Residential Trajectories: Using Optimal Alignment to Reveal the Structure of Residential Mobility' *Sociological Methods & Research* 32: 4: 559 – 598.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. 1998. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques* (2nd Ed.) California: Sage.

Sveinsson, K.P. (ed.) 2009. Who Cares about the White Working Class? UK: Runnymede Trust.

Sykes, L. 2008. 'Cashing in on the American Dream: Racial Differences in Housing Values 1970 – 2000'. Housing, Theory and Society 25: 4: 254 – 274.

Taylor, B. and Rogaly, B. 2004. *Migrant Working in West Norfolk*. UK: Norfolk County Council. http://www.sussex.ac.uk/migration/documents/norfolkreport.pdf

Taylor, D. (1998). 'Social Identity and Social Policy: Engagements with Postmodern Theory'. *Journal of Social Policy* 27: 3: 329-350.

Taylor, D. 1998. 'Social Identity and Social Policy: Engagements with Postmodern Theory' *Journal of Social Policy* 27: 3: 329 – 350.

Taylor, M. 2007. 'Tied Migration and Subsequent Employment: Evidence from Couples in Britain' Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics 69: 6: 795-818.

Taylor, S. 2013. 'Searching for Ontological Security: Changing Meanings of Home Amongst a Punjabi Diaspora' *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 47: 3: 395 – 422.

Taylor, S. 2014. 'The Diasporic Pursuit of Home and Identity: Dynamic Punjabi Transnationalism' *The Sociological Review 62: 2: 276 – 294.*

Taylor, S. 2015. "Home is Never Fully Achieved – Even When We Are In It': Migration, Belonging and Social Exclusion within Punjabi Transnational Mobility." *Mobilities 10: 2: 193 – 210.*

Taylor, S. J. and Bogden, R. (1998). *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Taylor, S.J. (1991) "Leaving the Field: Research, Relationships and Responsibilities" in Shaffir, W. B. And Stebbins, R. A. (eds.) *Experiencing Fieldwork: An Inside View of Qualitative Research.* London: Sage.

Thompson, R. (2007). 'The Qualitative Longitudinal Case History: Practical, Methodological and Ethical Reflections' *Social Policy and Society 6: 4: 571 – 582.*

Threshold. 2003. *Review: 25 Years Bridging the Gap between Housing and Homelessness.* Dublin: Threshold.

Threshold. 2012. Threshold Annual Report 2012. Dublin: Threshold.

Threshold. 2013. Annual Report 2012. Dublin: Threshold.

Till, M. 2005. 'Assessing the Housing Dimension of Social Inclusion in Six European Countries' *Innovation 18: 2: 153-182.*

Tilling, S.A. 1995. The Composition of Migrant Households in New Build Housing: A Niche Market. Nottingham: Nottingham Trent University.

Timonen, V. and Doyle, M. 2009. 'In Search of Security: Migrant Care Workers' Understandings, Experiences and Expectations Regarding 'Social Protection in Ireland' Journal of Social Policy 38: 1: 157 – 175.

Tomlins, R. et al. 2002. 'The Resource of Ethnicity in the Housing Careers and Preferences of the Vietnamese Communities in London' *Housing Studies* 17: 3: 505-519.

Tong A., Sainsbury P., Craig J. (2007) "Consolidated Criteria for Reporting Qualitative Research (COREQ): A 32-Item Checklist for Interviews and Focus Groups" *International Journal of Qualitative Health Care* 19: 349–57.

Tönnies, F. 1887. Community and Association. Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1957.

Touraine, A. 1977. *The Self Production of Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Travers, M. 2001. *Qualitative Research Through Case Studies*. London: SAGE.

TSA Consultancy and Focus Ireland. 2012. *Homeless in My New Home: Migrants' Experiences of Homelessness in Dublin*. Dublin: Focus Ireland.

TSA Consultancy. 2012. *Out of Reach: The Impact of Changes in Rent Supplement*. Dublin: Focus Ireland.

Tucker, A. 1994. 'In Search of Home' Journal of Applied Philosophy 11: 2: 181 – 187.

Tuckett, A. 2004. "Qualitative Research Sampling – The Very Real Complexities" *Nurse Researcher* 12: 1: 47 – 61.

Van Haer, N. 2010. 'Theories of Migration and Social Change' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 36: 10: 1531 – 1536.*

Van Kempen, R. & Ozuekren, A. S. 1998. 'Ethnic Segregation in Cities: New Forms and Explanations in a Dynamic World' *Urban Studies 35: 10: 1631–1656.*

Van Kempen, R. & Van Weesep, J. 1998. 'Ethnic Residential Patterns in Dutch Cities: Backgrounds, Shifts and Consequences' *Urban Studies* 35: 10: 1813–1834.

Van Kempen, R. and Ozuekren, A. 'The Housing Experiences of Minority Ethnic Groups in Western European Welfare States'.

Vang, Z. M. 2010. 'Housing Supply and Residential Segregation in Ireland' *Urban Studies 47: 14:* 2893 – 3102.

Vang, Z. M. 2012. 'The Limits of Spatial Assimilation for Immigrants' Full Integration: Emerging Evidence from African Immigrants in Boston and Dublin' *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 641: 1: 220 – 246.*

Vang, Z.M. 2010. 'Housing Supply and Residential Segregation in Ireland' *Urban Studies 47: 2983* – 3012.

Vang, Z.M. 2012. "The Limits of Spatial Assimilation for Immigrants' Full Integration: Emerging Evidence from African Immigrants in Boston and Dublin" *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 641: 1: 220 – 246.

Varady, D. 2008. 'Muslim Residential Clustering and Political Radicalism' *Housing Studies 23: 1:* 45 – 66.

Varjonen, S. Arnold, L. Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. 2013. 'We're Finns Here, and Russians There': A Longitudinal Study on Ethnic Identity Construction in the Context of Ethnic Migration' *Discourse & Society 24: 1: 110 – 134.*

Veenstra, G. 2007. 'Social Space, Social Class and Bourdieu: Health Inequalities in British Columbia, Canada' *Health and Place* 13: 1: 14 – 31.

Verbist, G. Mussche, N. and Corluy, V. 2007. *Immigration: Inclusion and Exclusion from Social Rights. How do immigrants fare compared to natives in Belgium?* http://www2.wuwien.ac.at/espanet2007/03 Verbist Gerlinde.pdf

Vertovec, S. 2006. *The Emergence of Super-Diversity in Britain*. Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society Working Paper No. 25.

Vertovec, S. 2007. 'Super-Diversity and its Implications' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30: 6: 1024 – 1054

Voas, D. 2009. 'The Maintenance and Transformation of Ethnicity: Evidence on Mixed Partnerships in Britain' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35: 9: 1497 – 1513.

Wacquant, L. 2011. 'Habitus as Topic and Tool: Reflections on Becoming a Prize Fighter' *Qualitative Research in Psychology 8: 81 – 92.*

Wafer, U. 2005. Counted in 2005. Dublin: Homeless Agency.

Walker R. (1985) "An Introduction to Applied Qualitative Research" in Walker R. (ed.) *Applied Qualitative Research*. Aldershot: Gower.

Wanat, C. (2008) "Getting Past the Gatekeepers: Differences between Access and Cooperation in Public School Research" *Field Methods* 20: 2: 191 – 208.

Waquant, L. 1989. 'Towards a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu' *Sociological Theory 7: 1: 26 – 63*.

Waters, M. (1999) *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Waters, M. 2009. 'Social Science and Ethnic Options' Ethnicities 9: 130 – 135.

Waters, M. and Jiminez, T.R. 2005. 'Assessing Immigrant Assimilation: New Empirical and Theoretical Challenges' *Annual Review of Sociology* 31: 105 – 125.

Waters, T. 1995. 'Towards a Theory of Ethnic Identity and Migration: The Formation of Ethnic Enclaves by Migrant Germans in Russia and North America' *International Migration Review 29:* 2: 515-544.

Watkins, C.A. 2001. 'The Definition and Identification of Housing Sub-Markets' *Environment* and *Planning A* 33: 2235 – 2253.

Watson, D. and Williams, J. 2003. *Irish National Survey of Housing Quality* 2001 – 2002. Dublin: ESRI.

Watt, P. and McGaughney, F. (eds.) 2006. *Improving Government Service Delivery to Minority Ethnic Groups*. <u>www.nccri.ie</u>

Wedemier, J. 2009. *Creative Cities and the Concept of Diversity*. Hamburg: Hamburg Institute of International Economics.

Weiner, M. 1996. 'Determinants of immigrant integration: an international comparative analysis' in Carmon, N. (ed.) *Immigration and Integration in Post-Industrial Societies: Theoretical Analysis and Policy*. London: Macmillan.

White, A. 2010. Polish Families and Migration since EU Accession. Bristol: Policy Press.

White, M.J. Kim, A.H. and Glick, J.E. 2005. 'Mapping Social Distance: Ethnic Residential Segregation in a Multiethnic Metro'. *Sociological Methods & Research* 34: 173-203.

White, P. 1993. 'The Social Geography of Immigrants in European Cities: The Geography of Arrival' in King, R. (ed.) *The New Geography of European Migrations*. London: Belhaven.

Williams, H. Keys, P. and Clarke, M. 1985. 'Vacancy Chain Models for Housing and Employment Systems' *Environment and Planning 18: 1: 89-105*.

Williamson, A. 2000. 'Housing Associations in the Republic of Ireland: Can They Respond to the Governments Challenge for Major Expansion?' *Housing Studies* 15: 4: 639-650.

Wilson, B.A. Berry, E.H. Toney, M.B. Kim, Y.T. and Cromartie, J.B. 2009. 'A Panel Based Analysis of the Effects of Race/Ethnicity and Other Individual Level Characteristics at Leaving on Returning' *Population Research and Policy Review 28: 405 – 428.*

Winchester, H.P.M. 1999. 'Interviews and Questionnaires as Mixed Methods in Population Geography: The Case of Lone Fathers in Newcastle, Australia'. *The Professional Geographer 51:* 1: 60-67.

Winston, N. 2007. 'From Boom to Bust? An Assessment of the Impact of Sustainable Development Policies on Housing in the Republic of Ireland' *Local Environment* 12: 1: 57-71.

Wirth, L. 1928. The Ghetto. University of Chicago Press.

Wulff, M. 1997. 'Private Renter Households: Who are the Long-Term Renters?' *Urban Policy and Research* 15: 3: 1997.

Wulff, M. 2005. 'Immigrants and Housing Demand: International Experiences from Canada, Ireland, Hong Kong, Australia and the USA' *Urban Policy and Research* 23: 3: 257 – 264.

Wusten, H. and Musterd, S. 'Welfare State Effects on Inequality and Segregation: Concluding Remarks'

Zaronaite, D. and Tirzite. A. 2006. *The Dynamics of Migrant Labour in South Lincolnshire*. UK: East Midlands Development Agency.

 $\frac{http://www.migrantworker.co.uk/docs/The\%20Dynamics\%20of\%20Migrant\%20Labour\%20in \%20South\%20Lincolnshire\%20(2).pdf}{}$

Zhang, W. 2008. An Examination of the Spatial Distribution of Immigrant Residential Segregation. http://paa2008.princeton.edu/download.aspx?submissionId=81288.

APPENDIX A: PHOTOGRAPHS

Housing in the Town Centre





Central Townhouse Development

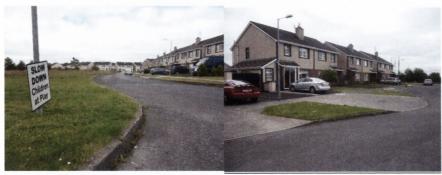




The North-East Cluster and Parkland



The West Cluster





Affluent Properties along the Exit Roads



Unfinished Properties and Estates



Local Authority Housing Estates



APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION LEAFLET



A Study on Housing



Would you like to take part in an interview about your life and housing experiences since arriving in Ireland?

I am a PhD researcher from Trinity College, Dublin and I am interested in hearing about your housing experiences and about your life since arriving in Ireland.

The interview will cover topics such as:

- Your present housing situation
- Your housing experiences since arriving in Ireland
- How you feel about your current living space
- Your working and social life
- Your networks and contacts in the community
- Your networks and contacts in your country of origin.

You don't have to answer questions about all of the topics listed above.

What you talk about is YOUR decision.

The interview will take approximately 60 – 90 minutes. It will take place at a time and in a location that suits you best.

At the end of the interview, you will also fill in a brief questionnaire.

The interview is <u>COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL</u>.

During the interview, if you change your mind about taking part, you can withdraw at any time.

If you would like to find out more about this study, call Mairéad on <u>087 366 9685</u> or her project supervisors: Anthony McCashin <u>(01 896 1312)</u> and Paula Mayock <u>(01 896 2636)</u>

APPENDIX C: CAP INFORMATION LEAFLET

Local Housing Change and Housing Experiences: A Study of Newly Arrived Immigrants

Information Sheet for Policy Officials and Service Providers

Aims and Objectives of the Research:

The core aim of this project is to examine the housing experiences of immigrants who have arrived in Ireland within the last ten years. The impetus for the study arises from the identification of a significant gap in knowledge about the housing and settlement experiences of migrants who have arrived in Ireland, in particular those who have settled outside of cities. This information is important because of the centrality of housing in questions of integration and quality of life and the need to identify any challenges that may arise within the Irish housing system for new residents. The research is being conducted by Mairéad Finn, a postgraduate student in the School of Social Work and Social Policy at Trinity College Dublin, as part of her PhD. The project is being supervised by Anthony McCashin and Dr. Paula Mayock and is being funded through a scholarship from the Private Residential Tenancies Board.

Research Methodology:

The research will comprise of two strands. The first will involve the conduct of interviews with policy officials and service providers about housing developments in the local area. This interview will take about one hour. The second strand will involve the conduct of interviews with about 30 immigrants who have arrived in Ireland within the last 10 years. During this research participants will be invited to talk about their lives and housing experiences since arriving in Ireland. Some of the topics addressed during the interview will include: current housing situation, past housing experiences since arriving in Ireland, their views on their housing circumstances, daily working and social life, their contacts and networks in Ireland and in their countries of origin and their future plans. The duration of the interview will range from 60–90 minutes approximately. To ensure anonymity, all potentially identifying information (e.g. their own names or names of family members, friends, places, etc.) will be removed from all written dissemination of the findings. If participants change their mind about taking part in the study, they can withdraw any time that they wish.

In addition to information from the interviews, a geographical mapping exercise will be undertaken to create a picture of housing developments in the town over the past decade

The Role of Policy Officials / Service Providers in the Research:

I am eager to talk to housing officials and service providers who work either directly or indirectly in the housing and or immigrant sectors to provide professionals working in these areas with information about the study. This undertaking will be the starting point of the study. Your expertise is important to the project since you have knowledge and experience of issues that may impact on the development of the research. I would greatly value any advice you may be able to give, particularly in relation to how I might go about contacting people to participate in the study. It is hoped that through my investigation and analysis, recommendations can be made to the relevant bodies which will ultimately benefit organisations such as yours.

For further details, please contact the project researcher, Mairéad, or her supervisors:

Name: Mairéad Finn Anthony McCashin
Email: finnm2@tcd.ie amcsshin@tcd.ie pmayock@tcd.ie
Telephone: 087 366 9685 01 896 1312 01 896 2636

This research is funded by the Private Residential Tenancies Board

APPENDIX D: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

A Study on Living in the Private Rented Sector

What is this study about?

This is a study about the housing experiences of immigrants who have moved to the west of Ireland in recent years. The study is being carried out by Mairéad Finn, a student from Trinity College Dublin. She wants to talk to you about your housing experiences and about your life generally since arriving in Ireland. You are invited to take part in this project and discuss your experiences of living in Ireland, with a special focus on your housing experiences and how you feel about your housing circumstances. The research is being conducted as part of PhD research by Mairéad Finn. It is supervised by Anthony McCashin and Dr. Paula Mayock at the School of Social Work and Social Policy at Trinity College, Dublin and is being funded by the Private Residential Tenancies Board.

What would my participation involve?

As part of the project, you are invited to take part in an **interview** which would last between 60 and 90 minutes. This interview will take place in a location of your choice and will cover topics such as your current housing situation, your past housing experiences since arriving in Ireland, how you feel about your housing circumstances, your daily working and social life, your contacts in Ireland and in your home country, and what you would like for yourself in the future. You do not have to do anything in preparation for this interview. You will also be asked to fill out a short **questionnaire** asking for details on your age, gender, ethnicity, marital status, education, employment status, and living situation.

At all times, your involvement in the study is your own decision. If you want to withdraw from the study at any stage, you have the right to do so. During the interview, if there are any questions that make you uncomfortable or that you would rather not answer, you do not have to answer them.

Confidentiality and Privacy

With your permission, the interview will be tape recorded. This is needed so as to keep as close a record of your story as possible and so that there is no need to take notes during the interview. This recording is private and will only be accessed by the researcher, Mairéad. The recording will be typed up by Mairéad, after which the recording will be destroyed. The transcript is completely confidential and will be stored in a private, secure location, only to be accessed by Mairéad. Your identity and any place names and locations will be changed and removed, so that the transcript remains completely anonymous.

Everything that you tell the researcher is **completely confidential**. The researcher cannot tell anybody else what is talked about in the interview. Whatever is discussed will not be communicated to other people except where there is an immediate risk of harm to yourself or to another person. **If such a circumstance arose, it would be discussed with you first.**

What Happens to the Information You Provide?

The information from the study will be written up into a research report and/or paper as part of the researcher's PhD. The findings may be presented at conferences and published, in which case all details will remain completely anonymous. The general findings of the research will be presented to a wide audience, including policy makers, service providers and the general public.

What are the Risks and Benefits of Taking Part?

All research projects involve some risks and benefits to the participants. One risk is that you may feel uncomfortable talking about some of your experiences since moving to Ireland. If there is a question that you do not want to answer for any reason, you will not have to. If you feel distressed at any time during the interview, you do not have to finish it. If you withdraw from the study or do not take part in it, this will not be told to anyone and will remain completely confidential. If it helpful to you, you can contact any of the help lines listed on this sheet.

The benefits of the project are that it may help us to identify specific needs that people are facing in their housing.

Contacting the Researcher

If you want to talk more about the information contained in this leaflet or if you have any questions about the study you can contact Mairéad or her supervisors on the following numbers:

Mairéad Finn Anthony McCashin Phone: 01 896 1312

Phone: 087 366 9685

email: finnm2@tcd.ie email: amcsshin@tcd.ie

Dr. Paula Mayock Phone: 01 896 2636

email: pmayock@tcd.ie

This research is funded by the Private Residential Tenancies Board

Some organisations and contacts which you may find useful

Name	Phone	Website
Private Residential Tenancies Board	01 635 0600	www.prtb.ie
Threshold Galway Advice Centre	091-563 080	www.threshold.ie
Castlebar Citizen's Information Centre	094 902 5544	
Mayo Intercultural Action	094 904 4511	www.miamayo.ie
Mayo Community Forum	071 9111814	www.mayocdb.ie/Home/MayoCommunityForum
Galway Refugee Support Group	091 779083	www.grsg.ie
Mayo Women's Support Services	094 9025409	www.mayowomenssupportservices.com
Aware	01 661 7211	www.aware.ie
Free Legal Advice Centre	01 874 5690	www.flac.ie

INFORMED CONSENT FORM (PARTICIPANTS OVER 18 YEARS)

ID#:

I have read this consent form and have thought clearly about my participation in this research. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the research at any stage should I choose to. I agree to take part in this research.
I understand that, as part of the research, audiotapes of my participation will be made. I understand that these will be destroyed upon completion of the project and that my name will not be identified in any records of the research. I voluntarily agree that the audiotapes will be studied by the researcher as part of the research and for scientific publication.
Name of Participant (IN BLOCK LETTERS):
Signature:
Date: / /

APPENDIX E: CAP CONSENT FORM

Community Assessment Information and Verbal Consent Form

Research title: Immigration, Housing and Social Change: The Settlement Experiences of Immigrants in Irishtown.

Principal Investigator: Mairéad Finn, Ph.D. Candidate, School of Social Work and Social Policy, Trinity College, Dublin 2

Supervisors: Anthony McCashin and Dr. Paula Mayock, School of Social Work and Social Policy, Trinity College, Dublin

Project Aims: I am seeking your participation in a research project concerned with the social changes taking place in the local area's housing system following Ireland's recent wave of immigration. It aims to learn about and describe the housing experiences of immigrants who have moved here and about how the area's housing system is responding to this change in population. The research will address immigrant's access to housing, issues around the provision of housing; and the lived experience of immigrant residents in the town. The study is designed to investigate the following questions:

- 6. **Housing Growth in the Town:** What was Irishtown's experience of housing growth during the construction boom? What were the new housing estates built and what impact did this have on older estates in the town? What were the characteristics of the major actors (developers, construction companies, estate agents etc) involved in constructing houses during this time? What can be said about the growth of different tenures during this period?
- 7. **The Private Rented Sector:** In particular, how did this sector develop during this time? What can we say about the properties in this sector? Who lives in the sector and how are their housing requirements being met? What are the experiences of people who provide private rented accommodation and how do they perceive the use of their properties? What are the experiences and perceptions of immigrants living in the sector?
- 8. **Immigration to Irishtown:** What labour market and immigration policy trends influenced immigration to Irishtown? What is the economic experience of immigrants in the town and how does this affect their housing choices? Are there any special policy issues in relation to providing housing for this new population? What is the town's experience of meeting the housing needs of a more diverse population?

Benefits of the Project: There is little existing research on the housing experiences of immigrants outside of cities and no research which tries to set their experiences so deeply within the context of the town's overall housing characteristics. This project will provide an initial, exploratory description of these issues, prioritising the perspectives of immigrants who have moved to the town and of professionals who work in in the fields of housing and migration.

General Outline of the Project: The project will involve approximately ten interviews with professionals working in the area of housing and/or immigration and thirty interviews with immigrants who have moved to Ireland in the last ten years and are now living in Irishtown. This information will then be analysed in order to provide preliminary answers to some of the questions raised by the research project. The project is being carried out under the supervision of Anthony McCashin and Dr. Paula Mayock in the School of Social Work and Social Policy.

Participant Involvement: You are requested to participate in a semi-structured one-to-one interview. Where permission is granted by you, this interview will be tape recorded on a digital voice recorder and later transcribed. Once transcribed, the recording will be destroyed and the transcript remains completely confidential. The research will take place in a mutually agreed location and is expected to last between 30 and 60 minutes. Participation in this project is entirely voluntary and you may decline to take part or withdraw at any time without providing an explanation, or refuse to answer any question or part of a question. The information from the interview will be analysed thematically along with all other interviews and the results presented generally.

Confidentiality and Anonymity: Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will not be disclosed to anyone. Interview notes and recordings will be stored on a personal computer and will not contain any identifying information; they will be numbered anonymously and the list containing the corresponding identifying information will be kept separately in a secure location in Trinity College Dublin. All potentially identifying information will be removed and names will be changed to preserve anonymity in the written project.

Ethics Committee Clearance: This project has been approved by the Research Ethical Approval Committee (REAC) of the School of Social Work and Social Policy in Trinity College Dublin.

Queries, concerns and contact details: If you have any queries at any stage of the project, or would like further details about the study, please contact either myself or my supervisors, Dr. Paula Mayock or Anthony McCashin.

Investigator: Mairéad Finn Supervisor: Dr. Paula Mayock Supervisor: Anthony McCashin

 Phone: 086 869 0252
 Phone: 01 896 2636
 Phone: 01 896 1312

 E-mail: finnm2@tcd.ie
 E-mail: pmayock@tcd.ie
 E-mail: amccshin@tcd.ie

Consent: You have received a copy of this consent form for your own records and understand that your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that you may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time. This form is to assure you that the interview remains completely confidential, that any identifying place names and locations will be removed and that your responses will be anonymised.

APPENDIX F: PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Immigration and Housing:

The Housing Experiences of Immigrants in a Town in Rural Ireland

In-Depth Interview Incorporating a Pathways/Careers Approach

Interview Schedule

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL NOT FOR CIRCULATION

Mairéad Finn 08130418 June 2011

Introduction:

As you know, I'm doing research on people's lives since moving to Ireland, with a main focus on their housing experiences. I'd like to ask you your own story – about the different things you have experienced in your housing and in other aspects of your life. If its ok with you, we'll start with some general questions about living here now.

- Review confidentiality and expected timing of the interview.
- Point out that we will fill in a survey at the end of the interview.

Introduction / Present Circumstances

- 1. To start, could you tell me a bit about yourself and your life here in Irishtown today? You can talk about anything that you like anything that is important to you and that you feel comfortable talking about. Take your time.
 - I'll listen, I won't interrupt.
 - I'll just take some notes in case I have any questions for after you've finished.
 - Take your time, and begin wherever you like.

The Move to Ireland

Thank you for telling me about your life here today. If its ok with you, I'd like to move back now to the around the time when you moved to Ireland.

- 2. Could you tell me what was happening for you around the time that you moved to Ireland?
- 3. What were you doing in (your country of origin), before you left?
 - Were you working before you left (country of origin)?
 - IF YES:
 - what were you working as?
 - IF NO:
 - what were you doing?
 - Can you tell me about what educational qualifications you had at the time that you came over?
- 4. What were the circumstances that led to your move?
- 5. Was there anything about the move to Ireland that you found difficult?
- 6. What information did you have about working and living in Ireland before you moved here?
 - Information about working?
 - Information about housing?
 - Information about the location you arrived in?
 - Had you arranged a place to stay before you arrived here?

- 7. How would you describe your first few days here?
- 8. What were your first impressions of Ireland and the area you moved to?
 - Was there anything that you liked?
 - Was there anything that you didn't like?
 - Was there anything that surprised you?
- 9. Did you know anybody in Ireland before you moved here? IF YES:
 - What contact did you have with them when you moved here?
 - What would you say about your contact with them?

IF NO:

- What would you say about this experience?
- How did you feel about arriving in Ireland by yourself?
- 10. How was your English at this time?

IF THERE WAS A LANGUAGE DIFFICULTY:

- How did you get by without the language?
- What support did you have at this time?
- How did you learn the language?
- 11. How would you describe this time in your life?
 - Overall, how did you feel about your move to Ireland?
 - How many places have you lived in since you have been in Ireland?

First Place of Residence:

Could we turn now to focus now on where you were staying around the time that you moved to Ireland?

- What was the first place you stayed in when you arrived in Ireland?
 - Can you describe this place, in terms of size and quality?
 - How did it suit what you needed at that time?
 - What did you like about it?
 - What did you not like about it?
 - Was there anything about the house that surprised you? Something that was very different from the housing in (your country of origin)?
- How had you found information about this accommodation?
 - how much time did it take you to find it?
 - how many different places did you look at?
 - why did you choose the one you did?

- Did you live with anybody else at this time? IF YES:
 - Can you tell me about the people you were living with at this time?
 - How did you feel about living with these people?

If moved straight into Private Rented Sector

- What was it like when you were searching for this place?
 - How many places did you look at?
 - Why did you settle on this one?
 - What was it like meeting with landlords?
 - What were they like?
- Who was your landlord or landlady at this time?
 - Did he or she live with you?
 - Where did he or she live?
 - How often did you have contact with him/her?
 - What arrangements did you have for paying rent? (Cash/Bank?).
 - Did you get any receipts?
 - Apart from paying the rent, how often did you see the landlord?
 - How would you describe your relationship with him or her?
 - Did you have any experience where your landlord was particularly helpful?
 - And did you have any experience where he/she was particularly unhelpful?
 - Did any conflicts arise between you?
 - IF YES:
 - What happened?
 - How did you feel about the outcome?
 - Did you have any problems with your tenancy? (Rent review, notice of termination, problems with landlord, inter-tenant dispute, deposit retention).
 - Did you leave a deposit on this place?
 - How did you feel about the arrangments that you had with the landlord?
- How much rent where you paying at this time?
 - Were you able to manage this?
 - Who did you pay the rent to?
 - What were the arrangments for paying rent?
 - Did you pay cash or pay it through the bank?
 - Did you sign a lease on this place?
 - Rent book?
 - Rent allowance?
- How long did you stay in this place for?

- What was it like, this first place that you were living in?
 - How satisfied were you with it?
 - Did it feel like a home?

Second Place of Residence:

Could we turn now to the different places you have lived in since this first place you lived in when you moved to Ireland.

First of all, can you tell me how many places, in total, have you lived in since you moved to Ireland?

Can I trace through with you these different places you have lived in – let's start now with the second place you lived in.

- If we focus on the second place that you lived in, what were the circumstances that led you to moving from (the first place) we just spoke about into (the second place)?
 - What was the move like?
 - Did you face any difficulties when you were moving to this second place?
 - IF YES:
 - How did you cope with these difficulties?
- How did you find information about this second place?
 - how much time did it take you to find it?
 - how many different places did you look at?
 - why did you choose the one you did?
- Can you describe for me the second place that you stayed in when you moved to Ireland, in terms of size, quality, how it suited what you needed at that time?
 - What did you like about it?
 - What did you not like about it?
- Did you live with anybody else at this time?
 IF YES:
 - Can you tell me about the people you were living with at this time?
 - How did you feel about living with these people?
- Who was your landlord or landlady at this time?
 - Did he or she live with you?
 - Where did he or she live?

- How often did you have contact with him/her?
- What arrangements did you have for paying rent? (Cash/Bank?).
 - Did you get any receipts?
- Apart from paying the rent, how often did you see the landlord?
- How would you describe your relationship with him or her?
- Did you have any experience where your landlord was particularly helpful?
- And did you have any experience where he/she was particularly unhelpful?
- Did any conflicts arise between you?
- IF YES:
 - What happened?
 - How did you feel about the outcome?
- Did you have any problems with your tenancy? (Rent review, notice of termination, problems with landlord, inter-tenant dispute, deposit retention).
- Did you leave a deposit on this place?
- Did you need to get a reference letter?
- Did you ever claim rental tax credits?
- How did you feel about the arrangments that you had with the landlord?
- How much rent where you paying at this time?
 - Were you able to manage this?
 - Who did you pay the rent to?
 - What were the arrangments for paying rent?
 - Did you pay cash or pay it through the bank?
 - Did you sign a lease on this place?
 - Rent book?
 - Rent allowance?
- How long did you stay there for?
- How would you describe how you felt about this second place that you were living in?
 - How satisfied were you with it?
 - Did it feel like a home?

*** CONTINUE ON THROUGH EACH MOVE UP TO CURRENT RESIDENCE ***

Questions on Current Residence (As above and extended)

- Why did you moved from (the last place) we just spoke about into the place you are living in now?
 - What was the move like?
 - Did you face any difficulties when you were moving to your current place?
 - IF YES:

- How did you cope with these difficulties?
- How did you find information about where you live now?
 - how much time did it take you to find it?
 - how many different places did you look at?
 - why did you choose the one you did?
- Can you describe for me the the place that you live in now in terms of size and quality?
 - How does it suit what you need?
 - What do you like about it?
 - What do you not like about it?
 - Are there things that you would like to change?
- Do you live with anybody else now?
 IF YES:
 - Can you tell me about the people that you are living with?
 - How do you feel about living with these people?
- Who is your landlord or landlady now?
 - Does he or she live with you?
 - Where does he or she live?
 - How often do you have contact with him/her?
 - What arrangements do you have for paying rent? (Cash/Bank?).
 - Do you get any receipts?
 - Apart from paying the rent, how often do you see the landlord?
 - How would you describe your relationship with him or her?
 - Have you had any experience where your landlord was particularly helpful?
 - And have you had any experience where he/she has been particularly unhelpful?
 - Have any conflicts arisen between you?
 - IF YES:
 - What happened?
 - How did you feel about the outcome?
 - Have you had any problems with your tenancy? (Rent review, notice of termination, problems with landlord, inter-tenant dispute, deposit retention).
 - Did you leave a deposit on this place?
 - Did you need a reference letter for this place?
 - Did you ever claim any rental tax credits?
 - How do you feel about the arrangments that you have with the landlord?
- How much rent are you paying now?
 - Are you able to manage this?
 - Who do you pay the rent to?
 - What are the arrangments for paying rent?
 - Do you pay cash or pay it through the bank?

- Have you signed a lease on this place?
- Whose names are on your current lease?
- Rent book?
- Rent allowance?
- How would you describe how you feel about this place you are living

in?

- How satisified would you say you are with where you live now?
- Does it feel like a home?
- How long have you been in this place for?
 - How long do you plan to stay?
- How would you describe the quality of this house?
 - The quality of the interior
 - The quality of the building itself.
 - How satisfied are you with the quality of this place?
 - Are there any repairs which you feel need to be done but which have not been done?
 - IF YES:
 - What are they?
 - Why haven't they been done?
- Have you done any repairs to the place since you moved into it?
 - Have you wanted to do something to the house which your tenancy agreement has prevented you from doing?
 - How quickly does the landlord act when it comes to doing repairs or dealing with problems or complaints?

On moving or staying?

- Are you looking for somewhere else to live now?
- Why not?
- What is it about this place that makes you want to stay?
- What is it like looking for somewhere else to live?
- What is the main reason that you want to move?
- What kinds of things are important to you in the places you are looking?

Housing and Banking Services:

If it's ok with you, I'd now like to ask you now about your experiences with organisations that are related to housing.

- First of all, can you tell me are you in touch with any housing organisations or support services at the moment? (For example, Threshold, the PRTB, the local authority or council).
 IF YES:
 - How do you find it when you contact these organisations?
 - Can you think of any experience that you have found particularly helpful or useful or had a positive experience of using?
 - What was good about this experience?
 - What was helpful about this experience?

IF NO:

- Why not?
- Has anything ever happened where you felt you might have benefitted from contacting any organisation for advice or assistance?
- Would you say that you need any help or support in relation to your housing at the moment?
- Have you ever heard of the PRTB?
 - Is your tenancy registered with the Private Residential Tenancies Board?
 - Have you ever contacted the PRTB about anything that was happening for you with your housing?

Access to Other Tenures:

- Have you ever applied for a mortgage?
 IF YES:
 - Can you tell me about your experience of this?
 - What was the outcome?

IF NO:

- Why not?
- Would you like to?
- Have you ever applied to the local authority for housing?
 IF YES:
 - Can you tell me about your experience of this?
 - What was the outcome?

IF NO:

- Why have you never tried?
- Would you like to?

• What would you say about what it would be like to live in these tenures compared to living in the private rented sector?

Discrimination

Thinking back over everything we have talked about in relation to your housing, I'd like to ask you now about any difficulties you have faced in the different housing choices you have made.

- Have you ever felt that you have been discriminated against on the basis of your nationality or ethnicity?
 - In housing?
 - In building contacts in the town?
 - In working?

Housing or Financial Worries or Stress

- Can I ask is there anything about your housing in general that worries you?
 - Do you worry about housing in the long term?
 - Do you worry about things in any other areas of your life?
- Would you say that your living situation is stressful for you?
- Is there anything about your housing that causes you stress?

The Area You Live In

- So far we've focused on your house itself. Could you tell me now about the area where you live in Irishtown?
 - What is your estate/apartment block like?
 - What do you like about it?
 - What do you not like about it?
 - In general, would you describe it as friendly or unfriendly?
- Do you have contact with your neighbours?
 - do you ever do favours for them or do they do them for you?
 - do you ever socialise with your neighbours?

- From this area, how easy is it for you to get to work and get around daily (for example for food shopping etc)?
 - What kind of transport do you use?
 - How does this suit you?
 - What would be your ideal way of getting around?

Reflections:

We've finished up now with talking about the different places you have lived. I'd like to sum this up by asking you about your overall feelings about the places you have lived in Ireland.

- Overall, how would you assess the places you have lived since you arrived in Ireland?
- What do you think about your current place by comparison to the other places you have lived in since you moved to Ireland?
 - Overall, would you say that your housing situation is better or worse than some time ago?
 - Out of all the places we talked about, which place did you prefer? Why?
- Since you have moved to Ireland, would you say there was a situation where you didn't have good housing?

Meaning of Home:

Thinking of everything we have just discussed, can I ask you now what it is that home means for you?

- What would you say home is for you? (Explore views and feelings about home and what it means).
 - Can you tell me what (if anything) first attracted you to the place you live in now?
 - Do you feel particularly attached to this place? for example, would you be unhappy to leave it?
 - People often distinguish between 'house' and 'home'. What does home mean to you?
 - What is it that makes people feel at home in a particular place?
 - Do you think people who buy their home feel any differently about it from those who rent?

- What do you think about your housing situation and your life now?
- What would you describe as your ideal home?
 - Do you think you'll ever get to live somewhere like that?
- How happy are you with your current arrangements?
- What plans do you have for future housing?
- What does this place mean to you?
 - this house and this location?
- Do you think of where you are living now as a home?
 - say something more about that?

Income:

Can I ask you now about your financial situation and how you earn money at the moment? I'd like to remind you here that you don't have to answer any questions that you are not comfortable answering. Please just discuss what you are comfortable with.

- Are you happy with the money that you earn from your job?
 - Do you feel like you have enough money from your job to do what you want to do?
 - Do you have any other sources of casual income?
 - Do you do any casual work such as nixers/babysitting?
 - Are you receiving any state benefits or payments?
 - IF YES:
 - Which ones?
 - How much mo nev do you get weekly?
 - How do you find this level of support?
 - IF NO:
 - Why have you never accessed any state benefits or payments?
- What proportion of your income do you spend on rent?
 - Where does most of your money go every month?
 - What is your next biggest expense?
 - Do you have much money left over after paying these expenses?
 - Is it easy or difficult to survive on this income?
 - Do you worry about money?
- Is your income the same every week or month?
 - Is it predictable and stable?
 - How do you manage on your income?
 - How do you spend your money?

- Do you send money to your country of origin?
 - Who do you send it to?
 - What is it used for?

Friends and Networks in Irishtown

Could we talk now about your friendships and social contacts in Irishtown?

- Do you have friends here?
 - Who are they?
 - Do you have Irish and migrant friends?
 - What would you say about your friendships?
 - Are there people you feel you can talk to if you need to?
 - Within own ethnic group, within migrant networks, within the town generally
- What kinds of things do you like to do with your friends here in Irishtown?
- Have you stayed in contact with people that you knew when you first moved to Ireland?
 - Are there friends from the past that you have lost touch with?
 - IF YES:
 - How did this happen?
 - How do you feel about it?
- Are you in a relationship at the moment?
 IF YES:
 - For how long?
 - Are you happy with the relationship?

IF NO:

- How long is it since you have been in a relationship?

Friends and Networks in Your Country of Origin:

- Are you in contact with people in your (country of origin)? IF YES:
 - Who are you in contact with?
 - How frequently do you contact each other?
 - How do you stay in touch?
 - How do you feel about this level of contact?
 - Do you find this level of contact supportive to you?

IF NO:

- Why not?
- How do you feel about this?
- How often do you go back to your country of origin?
 - How do you feel about how often you go back?
- Is it hard to make friends?
- Are neighbours important to you?

Daily Life and Leisure

- I would like to talk to you now about daily life.
 - Can you talk me through yesterday, tell me what you did from when you got up in the morning?
 - Would you say that what you have described is a typical day?
 - If no, what would be your typical day?
 - Are things different at the weekend?
 - Would you say this is fairly typical of how you spend your spare time?
- What do you do for leisure and enjoyment?
 - Do you have any particular hobbies or leisure interests?
 - How often do you go out? Would you prefer to go out more often than you do?
 - IF YES:
 - What is it that stops you from going out as often as you'd like?

We just have two more topics left in the interview and should be finished in another ten minutes or so. The second last topic returns to housing -

THE FUTURE:

We've come to the last section of the interview now, and I'd like to ask you here about the future.

- What are your thoughts about the future?
 - Do you have plans to stay in Ireland or Irishtown?
 - Do you worry about your future housing security?
 - What would you like to see happen for you in the future?
 - What are your hopes for the future?
- Do you have any definite plans to move from this place, either in the short term or the long term?

IF YES:

- When do you think you might move and why?
- Have you ever thought about buying a house?
- Have you ever thought about buying a house?
 - Would you like to do that here in Irishtown?
 - In Ireland?
 - In your country of origin?
- What future plans do you have in relation to housing?
- What hopes do you have in relation to housing?
- Do you worry about housing?
 - What would help?

ADVISE THE STUDY:

Over the next few months I'll be talking to other people about their lives and their experiences:

- Do you think there are other questions I should ask?
- Are there other areas I should look into in terms of understanding the experiences of tenants?

After the Interview, take notes about:

- where the interview took place.
- the setting (busy, quiet).
- how the interview went (was the interviewee talkative or nervous).
- other feelings about it (did it open up new avenues of interest).
- ideas for revising the schedule.

Beware of researcher effects:

- leading questions.
- open disapproval of particular kinds of responses.
- over rapport.
- the researcher relating his or her point of view.
- the researcher talking too much.

APPENDIX G: PARTICIPANT SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Living in the Private Rented Sector SURVEY

Date:		-
ID NO:	 	
location of Interview:		

Participation is voluntary.

To ensure anonymity, any information which could be used to identify study participants, e.g. place names, names of family members, friends etc. will be removed from all written dissemination of findings.

Section I: Personal Details

, A	ř.	Other			94	92	21
Relationship Status: Unmarried Unmarried, living with partner Married Separated Divorced Widowed Other	(If non-EU) Residency or citizenship status attained: Stamp 1 Stamp 1A Stamp 2A Stamp 3 Stamp 4 Irish Residency	I decline to say	Asian - Irish - Asian British - Indian/Pakistani - Chinese - Other: - Other: - Mixed - White/Traveller - White/Asian - Black/Asian - Other:	White - Irish - Traveller - UK - Europe - Romani gypsy - Other (Details): - Details Deta	Dual Nationality: Ethnic Origin:	Gender: Male D Female D Nationality:	Age:

Section II: Education and Employment

37.	Educational Qualifications:					
	No formal qualifications Primary Level Secondary Level, Junior Secondary Level, Senior Third-level Diploma Third-level Degree Fourth Level		000000			
	Details:			 	 	
38.	Are you currently working o	or studyin	g?			
45]	IF YES	Details	<u>:</u> :			
	Student			 	 	
	Voluntary work Part-time paid work Full-time paid work Other work	0000		 		
	(4c) What is your curren	t job?		 		
4d)	<u>IF NO</u>					
	Retired Care/Domestic Work Unemployed? Employment training schen Permanently sick/disabled Casual Pay			 		
4 e]	Are you looking for a job a	t presen:	tš.			
	Yes O					
	Details:					

Q9.	Source(s) of Income:			
		Details:		
010	Employment Social welfare Casual Employment Pension Inheritance Savings Financial help from friends/f Other;			
GIIU.	what is your usual monthly or	weekly income:		
	Monthly Income		Weekly Income	
	Under €1050 €1051 - €2000 €2001 - €3150 €3151 or more I decline to say	0 0 0	Under €263 €264 - €500 €501 - €787 €788 or more I decline to say	0

Section III: Children and Household Members

Q11.	Do you have any	children?	Yes D	(Skip to	Q14.]			
Q12.	How many?		-					
Q13. L	ist here the age of	each child	and if the	y live with yo	NU			
		Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4	Child 5	Child 6	Chik
Age?								
Resid	e with you? (Y/N)							
Q14.	Who else lives with Spouse Partner Father Mother Grandfath Grandmot Sister Brother Other fami Friends Unrelated Landlord	ier her ily member		How m How m How m How m	any? any? any? any?_ any?_	Details; Details; Details;		

Q15. In total, how many people live in your place with you (family and non-family)?

Section IV: Housing Details

Q16.	What is your tenure?			
	Owner Occup			
	Private Rente	d		
	Private Rente	d, in receipt of rent allowance		
	Rented throug	gh the Rental Accommodation	n Scheme	
	Rented from 6	a Local Authority		
	Purchased fro	em a Local Authority		
	Rented from (a Housing Association		
If you	are renting privately:			
	Is your tenancy registered with the F	PRTB?		
	Yes 🗆			
	No 🗆			
	Don't know			
Q18.	Do you have a lease on your tenant	oy?		
	If yes:			
	is your property leased			
		Directly from your landlord?		
	What time period is your lease for?			
	If no:			
	Does your landlord use a rent books	Yes 🗆 No		
			_	
Q19.	Do you pay rent weekly or monthly?			
		Monthly	D	
020	How much rent do you pay?			
320.	now moenten do you pay :			
Q21.	How do you pay your rent?	A standing order from my bo	ink account	
		Deposit in landlord's bank as	count	
		Cash		
Q22.	Not including the kitchen and bathr	room(s), how many rooms are	there in your I	nouse?

				-		-		_
Q23.	Which	of the 1	io@swina:	teatures.	GO VOU	have in	your resider	ncek
	*****		the second second		40 100	11 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	3 0 0 : : 3 : :	

	Yes	МО	Don't know
Central Heating			
Double Glazed Windows	1		
Hot Running Water			
Sufficient Lighting			
Sink with hot and cold water			
Separate ventilated shower area			
Separate ventilated toilet area	1	+	
Heating appliances in every room		1	
Fridge		_	
freezer			
Four ring hob for cooking		1	
Grill			
Oven		+	
Microwave Oven			
Facilities for Washing Clothes		+	
Facilities for Drying Clothes	-		
Fire Blanket and Fire Alarm			
Vermin and Pest-Proof Refuse Storage Facilities		+	
A Building Energy Rating			

Q24. Are the following aspects of your house in good repair or do they experience any damp or rotting?

	Good Repair	Damp	Rotting	Don't know
Roof				
Ceiling				
Walls				
Stairs				
Windows				

END OF SURVEY THANK YOU

APPENDIX G2: PARTICIPANT HOUSING HISTORY CHART

Survey on Housing History

No. of Residences	T 1	2	3	4	5
(Most recent first)		_	_		
Tenure/Nature of					
Occupancy					
0000000,107				-	
Authority (no. 1 hours)					
Time Period					
				1	
Dwelling Type (House,					
Flat, Bedsit)				=	
ridi, bedanj					
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				
Location					
				1	
People you were living					
with					
******	7				
				-	
Landiord					
Characteristics/					
Relationship With	F. A. S. S.	A 100 1;	- 1		
				-,	
Rent Paid					
	4				
tani embin meseled					
Deposit Paid?					
Deposit Fala:	1 **				
			4		1.5 / 2015
Any problems with					
returning deposit?					
Reason for Move					
		* 1	-		

Employment/Voluntary Activity:

Activity	Description of Employment/ Voluntary Work	Time Period	Paid or Unpaid
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			

APPENDIX H: CAP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Immigration and Housing:

The Housing Experiences of Immigrants in a Town in Rural Ireland

Community Assessment

Interview Schedule

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL NOT FOR CIRCULATION

Mairéad Finn 08130418 June 2011

^{**}Review information and consent form**

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview today. It should take about an hour. Would it be ok with you if I record the interview. I have here an information sheet which outlines the study and how the information will be used. It assures confidentiality and I'd like to reiterate that what we discuss here today is completely private. With your permission, I'll be recording the interview so that I do not have to take notes and so that I have an accurate record of what we talk about. If you would like me to stop the recording at any point please let me know.

My research is on the housing and population changes that have taken place in Irishtown over the last 15 years. In particular, I am focusing on the development of the private rented sector, and on the lives of people who have moved to this area from abroad in recent years. Today I'd like to ask you about your own work, what you come across and what you experience. If its ok I'd also like to ask you about your own experience of the changes in the town over this time period.

If you're ready, we'll begin the interview now.

Introduction

Could we start with how Irishtown has changed over the past ten years or so, really since the beginning of the boom. How has Irishtown changed in this time?

How would you describe its economic growth? The extent and type of growth. What kinds of jobs were created that gave work to so many people?

What would you say about how much the town physically expanded during this time? The different housing estates and amenities that developed?

In what ways did the population of the town change? What kinds of people moved in? What kinds of people left? Would there be a communter element to this town?

Housing growth in the town during this time.

Could I ask you more about housing in the town during this time period (the boom years of 1994 - 2007)? Describe for me the various housing developments that were built in the town.

What new estates were built?

How would you describe these estates, in terms of quality of the houses, how the houses are perceived, the residents who live there?

Was there any other one off housing?

Was the quality of other older housing improved during this time?

Is there any lower quality housing stock in the town now? How is it low quality? Where is it?

What would you say about the range of housing types in Irishtown?

I was wondering about the types of companies, developers and people that were involved in the construction of houses in the town.

How would you describe the developers involved?

Were there any major players?

Who were the major developers?

Were there any small scale developers?

What was it like in the Council, zoning land for development?

The Private Rented Sector at this time

Could we now turn to focus on the experience within the private rented sector during this time period?

What would you say about its spatial development in the town?

Where would you say the private rented places are in the town?

What about the types of buildings that are in the sector? (Houses/Apartment blocks).

What would you say about older properties and newer properties?

How would you describe the types of landlords in the town, in terms of age and occupation?

Who are the people who own properties for rent?

Do you know from your own work what their concerns are? What would you say about the sorts of things they are concerned with?

How would you describe the range of people who rent out properties in the town?

Can you describe for me the characteristics of people who live in the sector, in terms of age, household type, occupation?

What were the different reasons do you think that people were living in rented accommodation?

Do you know what proportion of the sector is used to meet the needs of those who use housing support?

How would you characterise the range of tenants in the private rented sector?

The Private Rented Sector in the Town Today

Can we talk now about the sector today, since the housing market collapse? Can you describe to me what has happened within the sector since the housing market collapse?

Can you tell me about the type of properties that make up the private rented sector, in terms of dwelling type, age, size of units, quality of units, etc?

What are the figures for RS and RAS in Irishtown and in the wider County, as a proportion of the total housing stock?

Experiences of Living in the Sector

What is your impression of people's experiences of living in the sector?

Some people live in it as a temporary stop gap, others are more long term. What would you say this is like in Irishtown?

Are there any difficulties that tenants experience living in the sector?

And what about landlords? Are there any difficulties that they experience?

Standards in the Sector:

What would you say about the physical condition of the properties in the private rented sector?

I've been reading about the recent legislation in minimum standards for the private rented sector (Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2009).

What is your understanding of the town's experience of the implementation of this Act?

Could you tell me how the Act has been enforced?

What is your understanding of any difficulties in relationships that have arisen in the sector? Have any difficulties arisen that have been referred to the PRTB?

Have you any experience of dealing with the PRTB? What was this like?

The Rental Accommodation Scheme and Rent Supplement

The Rental Accommodation Scheme is now being rolled out to meet the needs of low income people. What is your understanding of the way this is playing out in Irishtown?

In your experience, what do landlords think of this system? Why would they be attracted to it?

How would you describe organising a tenancy with a landlord?

How do you make contact with landlords and what is the process of setting up an arrangement?

What sorts of issues do you face in your work?

I have heard that the Council's role is just to set up the financial arrangement between the Council and the house owner.....and that the management of the relationship is between the landlord and tenant. What do you know of this? Are there any issues that arise between landlords and tenants? Has the Council ever had to intervene?

How do the financial arrangements work out between landlord, tenant and the council?

In your opinion, what is the level of people in the sector who use Rent Supplement to supplement their rent?

- In cities, this is seen as a sub sector of the market – at about 40% of all tenancies. In your opinion, what is Irishtown's experience of this?

Immigration and Housing

As you know, I'll be focusing on the experiences of immigrants living in the private rented sector. I'd like to change topic now and move on to the town's experience of immigration. Could you describe for me the towns' experience of immigration during the boom years – 1994 to 2007.

What is your own perception of migration to Irishtown?

Where do you think people came from and what attracted people to this area?

- What employment attracted them?

Were there any periods of strong in-migration during this time? For example, in 2004, after the expansion of the EU, there was a large influx of people from Eastern Europe. Were there any other time periods when a larger number of people arrived?

how would you describe the characteristics of the immigrant population in terms of age, occupation, country of origin, English ability?

Have things changed a lot since the recession? Would you say there has been a change in the number of people here? Have you come across this in your own work?

The private rented sector was the sector that was open to migrants. What is your

understanding of the housing characteristics of immigrants who are living in Irishtown?

What would you say about how people accessed housing when they first arrived?

Are there any particular locations in Irishtown where immigrants are living?

Where would you say migrants are living in the town?

How would you describe the properties that immigrants are living in?

Would you say there are any specific issues that migrant tenants face that are above and beyond what the general tenant population face?

Have any immigrant specific housing organisations or networks developed? For example, websites or newsletters that share information about property? Or groups which help people with any issues they are facing?

If we focus on lower income migrants, would you say there are any particular issues that lower income immigrants face in relation to their housing?

Could you tell me about your own work on RAS and with the RS?

We spoke earlier about setting up tenancies. Are there any issues special to immigrants?

Access to Other Tenures:

What do you know about immigrants' access to other tenures, for example home ownership, council housing or housing provided by voluntary associations?

Does the Council house any of the migrant population?

IF YES: What are the circumstances around this?

What are the Council's experiences of housing migrants / ethnic minorities?

IF NO: Why not?

Are there any immigrants who are now landlords?

Life on Estates

What would you say about resident's associations on the different estates in the town?

Are RA's particularly strong in any of the estates or particularly weak in any of the estates?

What would you say about the involvement of estate residents in residential associations?

Are there any estates which experience greater levels of anti-social behaviour?

Does this impact on immigrants living in these estates?

Would you say that any anti-social behaviour or nuisance behaviour is linked to racism?

What do you know about how immigrants feel they can engage with the local political system? Do residents here engage with local politics? For example, on the canvas, would councillors or other politicians contact migrant residents who are not on the electoral register? How does this relate to immigrant's feeling that they can contact a local representative about an issue of concern to them?

A study in Dublin recently revealed high levels of racist incidents on suburban estates, mostly perpetrated by young people in those estates. In your experience, would Irishtown have any problems with this?

Minutes, motions, in the Council related to immigration. Council's engagement with the issue?

Conclusion

Thank you very much for your time today.

- Before we finish up, are there any other issues that we haven't covered that you think would be important to consider in this project?
- Do you have any other comments that may advise this study?