

APPENDIX A – METHODOLOGY

A comparative research design provides an opportunity to examine the unique and “non-path dependent” in urban development, to think about the ways in which institutions and norms interact, and specifically which actors and which norms shape and condition those relationships and policies (Pierre, 2005). While there has been a renewed interest in urban and subnational comparisons in social science, an additional challenge in these comparisons is that defining the unit of analysis becomes as important as defining an analytical framework and variables.

Drawing heavily on the work of Gillian Hart (2002, 2004) and Jennifer Robinson (2002), Kevin Ward (2010) outlines parameters for a relational approach to comparative studies, one which takes this difficulty of definition into account. A relational approach focuses on the ways in which cities are produced and defined through relationships and use, highlighting the interconnections between places, and making explicit the political nature of these interactions (Ward 2010). Ward also outlines a critique of traditional comparative studies noting the inattentiveness to questions of scale, the tendency to take the city as a given object rather than relational and produced, and finally with regards to causation Ward advocates for a more contingent approach, so rather than simply arguing that A will cause B, a focus on the quality of an object and the work it does in context.

In this study the unit of analysis is the neighborhood, defined not simply as a given or an administrative unit, but as a place produced through the relationships, negotiation and spatial use of residents, organizations, and inside and outside institutions (Martin, 2003). This is distinct from more reductive definitions of neighborhoods as simple small residential areas, or produced through people being close (Kearns and Parlinson, 2001). Instead, neighborhoods have always been related to production and the economic sphere, at a minimum in terms of the role of

residential spaces in the social reproduction necessary for production. Additionally, in many working class neighborhoods production remained embedded within the neighborhood as people worked where they lived (DeFilippis, Fisher and Shragge, 2010; Chion, 2009), and where this mix of uses was an important aspect of maintaining the stability of the neighborhood.

Neighborhoods are also dynamic and multi-scalar (Massey, 2004), shaped and conditioned both through internal negotiations, and interactions with actors, organizations and institutions from the outside. At the most intimate scale there are the everyday and spontaneous interactions between residents, workers and visitors (Somerville, 2010), and the daily use that animates a space (Lefebvre, 1979 [2009]). However, these interactions and uses are not neutral, instead these are ongoing negotiations, the conflicts and cooperation that produce neighborhoods “socially, and in turn physically” (Martin, 2003: 361). In addition to the internal negotiations, the representation and vision of external actors also play a role in the development of neighborhoods, in terms of larger narratives, political importance, and economic investment and disinvestment. In these ways neighborhoods become “uniquely linked unit[s] of social/spatial organization between the forces and institutions of the larger society and the localized routines of individuals in their everyday lives.” (Hunter, 1979: 269). As such these negotiations often become more coordinated, with residents using the space of the neighborhood as the site to organize around shared interests, to articulate their vision for their neighborhoods, and to make demands on internal and external institutions (Somerville, 2010). This organization may be related variously to the socialization that occurs within neighborhoods, and to political and economic interests (Hunter, 1979).

Finally, neighborhoods are becoming – once again – particularly salient units in terms of service delivery and governance. While a great deal of development policy within the US in the

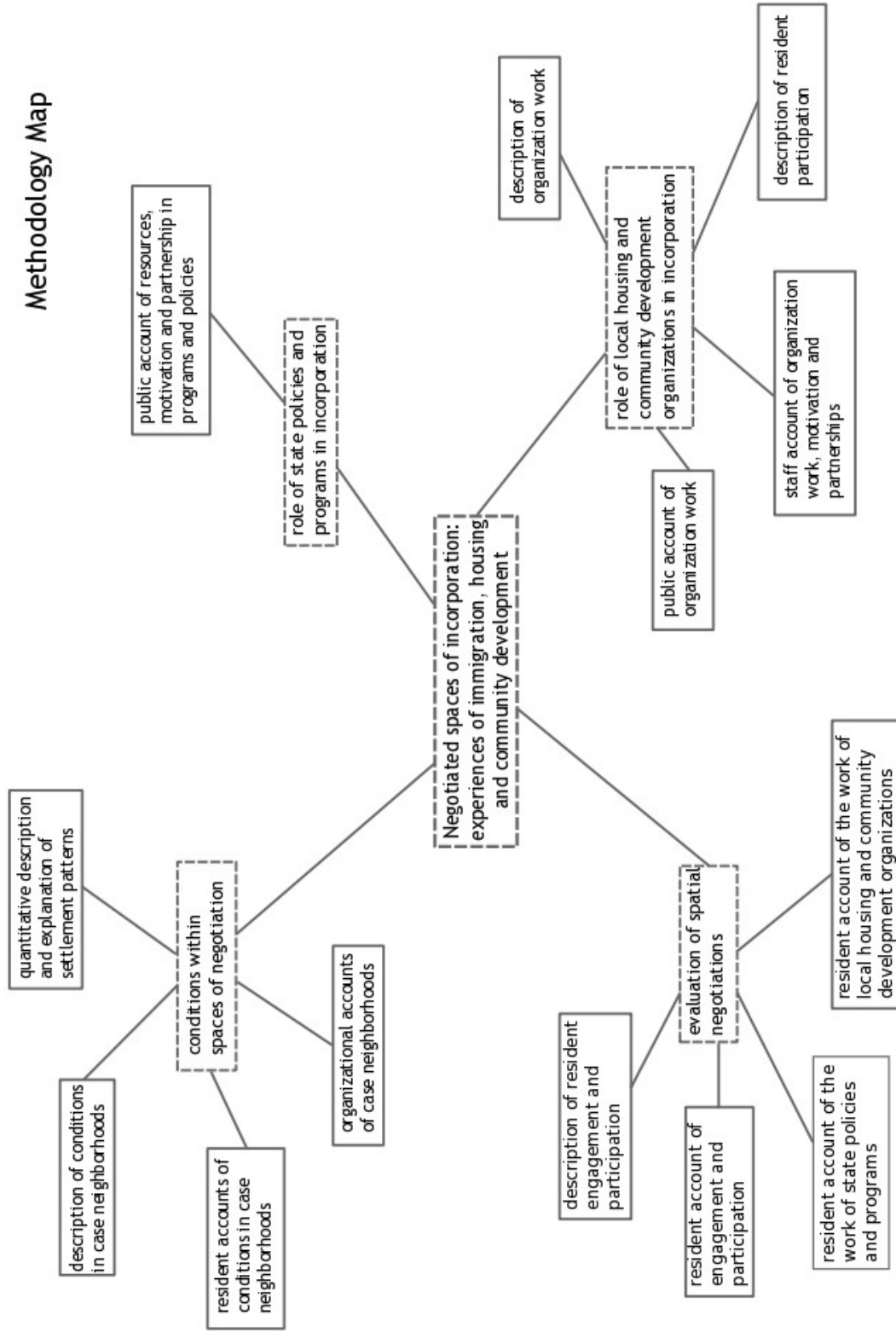
early 1980s focused less on inequality between communities or directly engaging in community development, and more-so on simply encouraging private investment (Logan, 1983), in later years there have been important if often contradictory reversals in the ways in which the local features in development policy. Neoliberal understandings and uses of community have simultaneously centralized power in the name of efficiency while also dispersing responsibility in the name of choice (DeFilippis, Fisher and Shragge, 2010). At the same time neighborhood boundaries are increasingly naturalized in official discourse even as we see shifting and even multiple boundaries employed in these same official discourses. As an example, in Winnipeg at the same time that the provincial government is prefacing the neighborhood as a site for intervention and service delivery, we see different, and not always corresponding definitions of neighborhoods in use in Winnipeg at the provincial and municipal level, with an additional set of definitions used for health planning. Or in Providence where neighborhood boundaries that were described as almost entirely arbitrary or based on often new infrastructure such as highways in the 1960s, are now described as reflecting long-standing communities.

Three urban neighborhoods in Canada, the US and Denmark – Spence and parts of the west end, Olneyville and Nørrebro – are the units of analysis for this study. Paying attention to the definitions and characteristics described above in mind, while each neighborhood was identified through administrative boundaries, I further develop my understanding of each by paying attention to the ways in which the actors involved define the neighborhood through rhetoric and use. These are each neighborhoods that provide strong opportunities for surprise and learning (Stakes, 2005). Each is a primarily low-income neighborhoods, with growing immigrant populations, with dense and diverse populations, located near to their central cities with strong housing development pressures, and where state and non-profit interventions are

highly legible in terms of service provisions and development.

Any study, no matter its design, will have limitations. In this project the general limitations are related to the challenge of combining ethnographic and comparative work, a willingness to work iteratively, while still attempting to work within a design that allows for comparison. As such I designed this study as a mixed method and multi-stage process that allowed for iterative learning, combining a rigorous research design with the possibility for flexibility throughout the process. A relational approach (Ward, 2010) that reflects the need to understand relationships in place along with multiple representations and perspectives on immigration, membership and community development in each case. I describe each stage in greater detail below but briefly the four main stages are: discourse analysis of public documents used to examine the way in which frames and meaning making work to shape and condition the context of each case. Data in this stage consists of a set of public documents produced by state actors along with closely related quasi-governmental organizations. Quantitative spatial analysis is used to begin to understand the conditions in each neighborhood including housing and settlement patterns, to place each case in a larger metropolitan context, and to examine the correlations between settlement patterns and various socio-economic characteristics of in each case. An ethnographic approach took me into the neighborhoods for approximately 20 months of fieldwork between 2010 and 2013. During this time research included interactions in key neighborhood housing organizations including participatory and non-participatory observation, further document analysis, and staff interviews. Finally, in addition to informal conversations and interactions I conducted in-depth interviews with immigrant residents in each neighborhood. All of this combined to provide a rich and varied perspective on each neighborhood, and the relationships and interactions that are producing particular spaces of incorporation in each case.

Methodology Map



STATE DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

In selecting and analyzing state documents the focus was on understanding the ways in which government actors communicate their actions, intentions and frames, on understanding the discourses presented as “concrete’ in that they produce a material reality in the practices that they invoke” (Hardy, Harley and Phillips, 2004: 20). This is a discourse analysis approach that helps to understand the ways in which contexts are produced, as well as helping to think about changes over time. Instead of legislation, the corpus (Bauer and Aarts, 2000) of documents included in this project consists of reports and evaluations, plans, brochures and flyers, visual documents, press releases, text from press appearances and parliamentary speech; documents produced explicitly for communication and a public audience. I focus primarily on documents produced between 2000 and 2010, and on key agencies, moments and events in housing in each case, and including documents from governments at all levels as appropriate, along with relevant crown-corporations and quasi-governmental organizations. While I focus on housing, and urban development-related documents I also include immigration-related documents with specific connections to housing and settlement.

In keeping with the general analytical framework of the project described in Appendix B, the documents were analyzed in terms of what they communicate about the resources and meaning making role of state programs (Skocpol, 1992; Pierson, 1993), along with the ongoing ways in which these discourses are shaping and conditioning opportunities for economic, cultural or political profit, new institutions, and new divisions of political labor (Pierre, 2005), and the role of the discourse in these documents in promoting or stifling equity and greater potential for democratic engagement, along with general spatial use, engagement and membership opportunities (Ingram and Schneider, 2006). In all of this I focused on the ways in which a

generalized public, alongside a specifically immigrant public was constructed, paying attentions to the ways in which immigrant residents are – or are not – referenced, described, dealt with or defined.

General Themes Used in Analysis

- 1) What resources and incentives are created and reduced?
administrative capacities, "spoils", financing
- 2) Sphere of resources and incentives
social, economic, political
- 3) What information and meaning was created?
frames, interests, what work should housing do
- 4) Which strategies and types of participation are promoted?
allies, strategies, organizing niches
- 5) Which stakeholders are appealed to, who is in the envisioned public?
Prescribed divisions of political labor?

QUANTITATIVE SPATIAL ANALYSIS

Many statistical and quantitative methods still rely on a series of assumptions around normalcy and independence for variables and residuals that generally do not hold true for the types of empirical quantitative data used in social sciences. While there are always increasingly complex techniques being developed to transform data into acceptable forms to fit the methods and models in use, another approach is to develop methods and models that explicitly reflect the data and real world conditions on hand. Many of the methods that fall under the umbrella of quantitative geography have been developed with this second approach in mind. As such quantitative geography focuses on the geographic distribution and variation of numeric data using methods that are particularly attentive to questions of spatial autocorrelation described as “the presence of some quality in an [area] that makes its presence in neighboring [areas] more or less likely” (Cliff and Ord, 1973: 1).

The insertion of quantitative methods might strike some as incongruous in a study heavily

influenced by critical and constructivist thought, and a focus on the role of discourse in shaping and conditioning material opportunities and uses. Certainly some earlier critiques of quantitative tools such as those used in GISc would suggest that these perspectives were incompatible, these early critiques also generally garnered a defensive and dismissive response from quantitative geographers. For example, while cataloging explanations for the “downturn” of quantitative methods within human geography Fortheringham, Brunsdon and Charlton (2000) included the idea that:

A line of research that appears to be better accepted in human geography than in some related disciplines is one that is critical of existing paradigms. As quantitative geography was a well-established paradigm, it became, inevitably, a focal point for criticism. Unfortunately, much of this criticism originated from individuals who had little or no understanding of quantitative geography. (2)

But of course many critiques of quantitative spatial methods have also emerged from researchers and practitioners – often feminist geographers (Hanson, 2002) – who handily straddle the line between the critical and the quantitative. These are critiques from the inside that examine closely which truths might be claimed by using these tools (Schuurman and Pratt, 2002; McLafferty, 2006), develop specific techniques to improve the ability of these methodologies to examine spatial relations as they are lived (Maantay, Maroko, Hermann, 2007; Kwan, 2009), examine ethnographically the practice and use of spatial tools including GIS (Elwood, 2006; Sletto, 2009), and particularly in terms of the new hybrid tools of the geoweb we are now seeing research that combines questions of use, context and methods (Wilson, 2009; Leszczynski, 2012).

Informed by these examples the quantitative methods in this project work in concert with the other methods to provide a richer understanding of the context, and relationships in each case. Quantitative methods are used to begin to understand the conditions in each neighborhood including housing and settlement patterns, to place each case in a larger metropolitan context, and

to examine the correlations between settlement patterns and various socio-economic characteristics of in each case.

The data for this section is all secondary, drawn primarily from national statistics agencies. There are limitations with the use of this data including the ongoing question over uneven response levels and the concern that certain populations will be under represented in censuses and surveys. Of particular relevance to this study is the question of potential undercounts of immigrant residents in general, including irregular or undocumented immigrant residents in particular. Additionally, using publicly available secondary data is also limiting because of the ways in which data is aggregated into prepackaged units. A reliance on these pre-defined units leads to ecological fallacy problems where the attributes of an area are assigned to individuals, and to the problem that the analysis cannot claim to be scale-independent. Finally, there is the problem that this data uses home addresses as their starting point without attention to the other places in which people spend time, and the ways in which they travel between places (Kwan and Weber, 2003; Kwan, 2009). However, for this study there are several advantages to using this data. The first is that as a study of housing and settlement the home and household-based data is appropriate for this study. Additionally, as quantitative methods are used in this study to set the context, and in concert with other data it is useful to use this official census and survey data in this type of comparison where collecting bespoke data would be prohibitive, and where other methods are more appropriate in terms of understanding greater detail and nuance in each case.

For the US case I use primarily American Community Survey (ACS) data. In the 2000 census the US Bureau of Census discontinued the long-form questionnaire for its decennial census, which contained most relevant questions on income, housing and tenure, and migration.

Instead, the Census Bureau has introduced a new tool the ACS, an ongoing, household-level survey where results are then averaged over annual, three-year and five-year intervals depending on the size of the metro area. While there are various potential advantages to the survey (Herman, 2008), there are also many challenges in using this data, particularly in terms of comparisons during this transitional period. Additionally, while most of the questions have remained the same between the long-form questionnaire of the census and the ACS two potentially important differences are first respondents are now asked if they have moved in the past year rather than the past five years for questions about migration, and in terms of income the timing of the census is in April, when many respondents would have been completing their tax information, might have promoted more accurate reporting as opposed to the rolling survey (Herman, 2008). Data from the 2005-2009 period from the ACS and aggregated at the Census Tract level – the smallest area where all of the required variables are available – were used in the analysis unless otherwise indicated.

In the Canadian case census data is not as publicly available as in the US, with Statistics Canada (Stats Can) freely releasing only data aggregated to the provincial and municipal levels. However, several municipalities have taken it upon themselves to release data aggregated at finer resolutions. In Winnipeg a sample of the census data has been purchased through the Community Social Data Strategy of the Canadian Council on Social Development and re-aggregated using municipally designated neighborhood boundaries. This is the data used in the study unless otherwise indicated. In 2009 the Government of Canada also passed legislation instructing Stats Can to discontinue the use of the long-form questionnaire in the five year census of the population, but without adequate provisions or plans for a replacement. As such data from the 2011 census provides insufficient variables for this study and instead the 2006 census is used

in this research unless otherwise indicated.

Finally, data from the Danish case comes from the municipal enumerations collected by Statistics Denmark (Dansk Stat). Each resident of Denmark is required to register any move, including international immigration or emigration with their municipal government (*Kommune*). From this data Dansk Stat is able to produce an annual snapshot of various characteristics of the population. While this is in many ways a rich data set, there are limitations in terms of its use in this study. First there is less economic information provided, so for example the cost of rent or property prices are not included. In this case I have used housing type as a proxy for cost in the analysis. The larger issue is that because the data is so precise there are significant concerns over privacy, and so data is only released publicly – or to non-Danish-institution-affiliated researchers – at the municipal level. Even for Danish housing researchers there is not much work which disaggregated these numbers, so instead I have followed examples in Danish housing studies looking at the Copenhagen Capital Region (Hovedstaden), and dividing the municipalities into rings and zones to analyze variation across the region (cf Skifter Anderson, Andersen and Ærø, 2000). I have also used data from 2008 unless I indicate otherwise.

As a first stage GIS was used to visualize housing and settlement patterns using Quantum GIS (QGIS) to begin to examine possible spatial patterns. The data was then moved into R to calculate Moran's I for various housing types as well as the number of recent international migrant residents. Moran's I is a measure of general spatial autocorrelation using probability calculations to identify the clustering or dispersal of a given variable.

Finally, I use a spatially-lagged negative binomial regression for the US and Canadian case, and a spatially-lagged poisson regression in the Danish case. Negative binomial and poisson

regressions are specifically designed to handle data with poisson distributions, as is common in count data. To take exposure in to consideration independent variables are transformed in to percentages when appropriate. Regression analysis was used to determine covariance between counts of recent migration and settlement and other social-economic and built environment variables including rates of white and non-white residents, rates of migrant residents overall, average household or family incomes, rates of owned and rented properties, and the value of properties and rental costs. Spatial lag takes into account the spatial autocorrelation of data using a spatial weight matrix to smooth data. Data was first organized in the QGIS environments, the weights were created in GeoDa using first degree rook-neighbor – a contiguity method where neighbors are selected as those areas with a significant boarder with the target area. Finally, the regression was completed in R using the glm function and the negative binomial or poisson family. Detailed results and R code can be found in APPENDIX D.

NEIGHBORHOOD ETHNOGRAPHY

My time in the neighborhoods was informed by a combination of perspectives on ethnographic methods and qualitative fieldwork with an aim to understanding both actors, organizations and institutions within the neighborhoods and their relationships outside of the neighborhood at various scales. The main methodologies informing my fieldwork were organizational ethnographic methods narrative inquiry, institutional ethnographic methods, and a participatory – if not quite action research – perspective. First organizational ethnographic methods are concerned with taking the mundane seriously, and understanding the ways in which organizations function, what are the power relationships within and between organizations, the various ways in which work and change occur, and the ways in which an organization presents and represents itself. Narrative inquiry focuses on the interpretation of particular actors, a focus

on “biographical particulars as narrated by the one who lives them” (Chase, 2005: 651), by using interviews that allow narratives to develop in conversation and allow the participant to order events to create meaningful plots and stories (Riessman, 2012). Institutional ethnographic methods seek to connect the dots between the mundane and personal narratives and the various structures and relationships that shape and condition each case the particular “relations of ruling.” The use of narrative interviews is particularly compatible with this methodological approach, where the use of interviews is described as providing “an opportunity for the researcher to learn about a particular piece of the extended relational chain, to check the developing picture of the coordinative process, and to become aware of additional questions that need attention” (DeVault and McCoy, 2012: 385).

The work was also explicitly participatory, if not quite action-oriented. What I mean by this is that I did not position myself simply as an observer, and instead aimed to learn through active participation. This perspective did help to gain access to organizations and residents, but was also an important part of my effort to be respectful of resident and staff time and work, and to support productive ongoing research relationships were the conditions on the ground could inform my work. In terms of my participation I was quite open and generally let the organizations define a role that might be useful or at least not disruptive to them. Over the course of fieldwork, as I describe below, I did everything from just hanging out in program spaces to going through classes and trainings, meeting with other volunteers, working in children's programing, helping with new project development, grant and report writing, and planning and attending festivals.

Finally, as a note on ethics, access and positionality in field research, Robert Stakes describes the idea that “qualitative researchers are guests in the private spaces of the world. Their

manners should be good and their code of ethics strict” (Stakes, 2005: 459). While this is a lighter way to describe the situation the question of private spaces, the differential access one might be afforded as a researcher, and the importance of balancing ones own research and research products with care for the subject, and thinking about consent as an ongoing process are key aspects of field research (England, 1994). Kim England (1994) tackles these issues, specifically addressing the ways in which the researcher's own biography influences fieldwork both in terms of initial access and the type of information that will be offered to them, and in terms of the power relationships between the researched and the researchers. Power imbalances that England notes can not always be resolved. It is also important, however, to acknowledge the agency of participants and the idea that the researcher will seldom be in complete control. As Christina Sinding and Jane Aronson (2003) suggest, it is important to acknowledge that “interview participants do not entirely know what they are doing – and neither do interviewers” (111).

This question of position, access and ethics is particularly important in a study such as this one where there is a strong emphasis on insider/outsider perspectives. This meant that how I was received at any particular stage of research became important in terms of my access, the information to which I was privy, and the ways in which narratives were shaped. I come to this work as an activist kid, a woman of color, an Anglophone with French-language skills, increasing levels of Danish, and some Spanish. The Canadian-born child of migrants from the Global South, but also someone who, as one resident put it “sounds Canadian.” I am also a migrant in the US, but as a 'NAFTA-baby' am free to stay, live and work in that country by virtue of the freedom to move capital and labor afforded to the corporation that employed one of my parents. In Denmark I am a visitor, perceived in seemingly novel ways at each new encounter, usually depending on the site of an encounter, the language of the exchange, and the interlocutor. My

own somewhat liminal positionality made this work possible, but also necessitates a high level of reflexivity as a researcher in terms of my role as both within and outside of the communities I am researching. As Kim England (1994) puts it:

We do not conduct fieldwork on the unmediated world of the researched, but from the world *between* ourselves and the researched. At the same time this “betweenness” is shaped by the researcher's biography, which filters the “data” and our perceptions and interpretations of the fieldwork experience. (86, emphasis in original)

Local Housing and Community Development Organizations

Research for this section began with a preliminary round of interviews in the summer of 2010 in which I attempted to meet with the widest range of organizations working in community development in the case neighborhoods, or with a strong presence or influence in the case neighborhoods. These interviews served as a starting point for building an understanding of the neighborhoods. Interviews solicited narratives from organizational staff about changes in the neighborhood and their work, as well as organizational successes and ongoing challenges.

I then selected focus organizations for further attention and study including multiple staff interviews, document analysis and participant and non-participant observation, conducted between 2010 and 2013. These are the Olneyville Housing Corporation (OHC), and the Olneyville Neighborhood Association (ONA) in Providence; the Spence Neighbourhood Association (SNA), IRCOM (the Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba) and New Journey Housing (NJH) in Winnipeg. In Copenhagen the focus organizations are Rabarberland, and the Mjølneparken and Mimerskvarter *helhedsplaner* (comprehensive/holistic projects).

These focus organizations were selected as:

- local organizations, constituted separately from governments/non-governmental organizations

- (regardless of government regulation, support or partnership);
- organizations with some aspect of housing and neighborhood as a core of their mandate (as opposed to other elements of community development e.g. education, employment, environmental justice etc);
- and organizations working at some of the intersections of housing, especially with engagement in social/community-making aspects of housing and working directly with residents. (as opposed to only development, management etc).

The selected organizations also provide a combination of functional analogues, and examples that are unique to their own cases. This design attempts to balance the cases and the comparison, examining the ways in which traditional community development actors are responding to changes across contexts, as well as understanding the unique community development innovations arising in place.

OHC, SNA and Rabarberland – a Community Development Corporation (CDC), Neighbourhood Renewal Corporation (NRC), and *boligsociale* (resident association) – are the functional analogues, community development organizations in a now classic model for community development organizations (Defilippis, Fisher, Shragge, 2010) of formal organizations staffed primarily by professionals from outside of a community, with some residents usually in support roles. These are also organizations with missions to serve, represent, or coordinate residents in the neighborhood, with programs that combine some aspects of economic, social and housing development. OHC focuses on housing production along with a growing community program, while SNA's housing program focuses on renovations, and resident and landlord services. Finally, Rabarberland focuses on social services and economic development within Blågården a large non-profit housing area in Nørrebro; the non-profit management company that has contracted Rabarberland handles the physical maintenance of the buildings. These are also organizations generally funded through a combination of public and private sources, with

some official recognition as the main neighborhood organization and contact.

The additional focus organizations – ONA, IRCOM and New Journey Housing, and the Mjølneparken and Mimerskvarter *helhedsplaner* are for the most part unique to their cases in terms of their structure, mandates and recognition in policy and governance arrangements. ONA started as a neighborhood association in the late 1990s, gathering Olneyville residents in a church basement to coordinate community events, and discuss everyday community issues. In the early 2000s the work turned to a more critical and radical engagement with issues of gentrification in the neighborhood, since approximately 2008 ONA has increasingly focused on direct political actions around immigration and the rights of immigrant residents.

IRCOM is a social housing site in the West End of Winnipeg that serves as transitional housing for new immigrant residents. While IRCOM was first proposed in 1991 by a group of residents from the South East Asian community, since 2004 a more professionalized staff has taken control of the project, revamped the finances of the organization, and added new services for residents.

New Journey Housing, opened its office in 2009 in downtown Winnipeg, just east of the Spence neighborhood, and serves immigrant residents as a housing information and education center. NJH is financed primarily through private funds and was founded by professionals in the immigration settlement sector in Winnipeg.

Finally, the two *helhedsplaner*, both located in Nørrebro, are part of a new sector within Danish social housing. These are community development projects funded in large part through resident contributions and administered as part of non-profit housing management organizations. Mjølneparken is an area with about 2,500 residents, which has also become a well-known – or perhaps notorious – in the national narrative around immigration, with media

depicting it as an area plagued by violence and other social problems. The Mimerskvarter *helhedsplan* in contrast is a smaller program serving 1,370 residents, and under far less scrutiny than the Mjølneparken program.

During fieldwork the goal was to combine narratives, perspectives on everyday practice and the connections between the organization and other institutions at various scales. My interactions with each organization began with an introductory interview with a staff person usually a member of the management team, an Executive director or Program Director. Over the course of my time in each neighborhood I went back to each focus organization for multiple visits. In all of the Canadian cases I attended meetings, and classes presented by the program, as well as volunteering regularly in various programs. In the US I primarily attended regular member meetings or volunteered for particular events or projects, and in Denmark my participation was primarily as an observer at meetings, courses and more informally in program spaces and at events. Through these more everyday encounters I was able to get a better sense of the rhythms of the organization, the roles of various staff, use of space, and interactions with residents. This time also allowed for more informal conversation with staff and clients, which in many cases led to further formal staff interviews and eventually to resident interviews. I additionally included various organizational documents in my analysis with a focus on public documents including newsletters, web copy and reports, and well as plans and grants.

Resident Interviews

Throughout this research there is an emphasis on understanding variety, the ways in which different actors understand and experience the space of the neighborhoods and the relationships, organizations and institutions that shape and condition them as particular spaces of

incorporation. As such the selection of residents to interview followed a corpus construction rather than sampling or random sampling model to address the “theoretical paradox [that one] set[s] out to study the varieties in the themes, opinions, attitudes However, as these varieties are as yet unknown, and therefore also their distribution, the research cannot sample according to representativeness rationales” (Bauer and Aarts, 2000: 31). Instead a corpus construction model is both iterative and stepwise. One begins with one or two social strata in mind that might be relevant to the research, then analyzing as you move along adding strata as needed. At each addition one must “decide on whether these strata are likely to exhaust the variety of representations or whether additional strata or social functions need to be explored” (Bauer and Aarts, 2000:36).

The cases themselves represent the first strata, and within that I decided from the beginning that I would focus my efforts on interviewing residents who had migrated since 2000. Within each case I further divided residents for example with attention to questions of gender and family or household type, and time since migration in each case. In the US I was also attentive to divisions between Latino and non-Latino migrants, in the Danish case to migrants from Western and non-Western countries, and in the Canadian case was particularly attentive to differences between immigration classes (refugee, economic, family reunification etc).

narrative interviews

Resident interviews were conducted during 2012 and into the first months of 2013. A majority of interviews were one-on-one, while others were conducted with small groups usually couples, and never more than three residents. Interviews ranged from thirty minutes to just over three hours with most lasting between an hour and an hour-and-a-half. A majority of interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed for analysis. In each case the interviews aimed to solicit

narrative responses, taking narratives somewhere in between discreet stories and full life courses as “large sections of talk and interview exchanges – extended accounts of the lives that develop in conversation over the course of interviews and other fieldwork interactions” (Reissman, 2012: 370). The goal being to understand events “from the perspective of informants as directly as possible” (Chase, 2005: 60).

The interviews centered around four main themes

- 1) The availability, accessibility, and acceptability of housing¹
a focus on the housing stock, its production, consumption, management and maintenance
- 2) What work should housing do
what are the important attributes and relationships in houses and home-spaces
- 3) Resident agency in housing
what are people doing, at what scale and in what sphere are their actions, and how do they evaluate their own actions.
- 4) Structural/institutional supports and barriers
knowledge, perception and evaluation of state and intermediary actors actions

However, each interview focused to a lesser or greater degree on any given theme based on the residents, and the development of the conversation.

major variation

The major variation in this protocol was in the US case where I shifted focus from individual interviews to the inclusion of data collected through attendance at member and planning meetings for resident-led organizations and actions. The reasons for this shift started with difficulties presented by language. My own lack of strong Spanish skills made informal resident contacts difficult, and staff at organizations in the US were the most reluctant to refer residents due to perceived lack of English-language skills. Attending the meetings of resident-led organization in the area meant that I had greater access to residents with a variety of language skills and access to conversation and narratives that would not be possible in a mono-lingual

¹ all of these themes are focused on resident understanding/evaluations and so are separate from a count of housing or assessments undertaken by governments or outside agencies.

English interview. While member meetings seldom directly addressed questions from the first interview theme – the availability, accessibility, and acceptability of housing – they often focused on questions of neighborhood, city and migration issues in terms of the other themes of relationships in neighborhoods, the agency of residents, and the supports and barriers for their work. In parallel with this work I continued to conduct resident interviews with a focus on non-Latino residents who were not well represented in these organizational meetings.

a note on reporting

When multiple speakers are quoted together INT: indicates the interviewer, A: the respondent and B: a second respondent. Words or phrases in square brackets are intended as notes either to provide further explanation or translation, to indicate a break in the text as opposed to a short break in speech, or a place where a detail has been removed to preserve anonymity.

Finally, in terms of reporting on the biographical information of a respondent, I have attempted to not simply report stock information on, for example gender, race or ethnicity as I perceived it. Instead, biological information is reported as it helps to “make clear the basis for selecting” (Taylor, 2012: 399) a quotation or narrative, and where a social strata is especially relevant to the information being presented.