Neoliberalism in Dublin – Gentrification and the Fight for Free Space

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Contents

Abstract

This thesis is concerned with gentrification in Dublin and how it can be directly linked to neoliberal urban planning. Firstly it focuses on the nature of Ireland's neoliberal policy; what was the context that birthed it and what is its contemporary form. It then demonstrates the inherent link between neoliberalism and gentrification. After this it delves into the history of the scholarly work on gentrification as well as how gentrification is experienced in Dublin. The thesis makes use of an intersectional approach to feminist geography to understand the different ways in which gentrification and displacement are experienced. Following this, various forms of community-based resistance are highlighted, with the aim to provide sustainable solutions for contemporary urban living.

Introduction

This thesis aims to uncover the links between neoliberal urban policy and gentrification in Dublin. Directly related to this is the goal to highlight the various interventions that are being made by different groups in the city. The interventions that are meditated upon here are community-based solutions to global systems of power. Therefore, to measure the success of these interventions, we need not witness the overturning of a given system, but rather, it is measured by the solidification of communities and the creation of alternative ways of living in Dublin.

The historical context of Dublin is important if we are to understand the political and social space it occupies. Dubliners have been living under oppressive systems for centuries. From the United Kingdom to the Catholic Church, there have been systemic powers that have favoured powerful minorities over the rest of the population. In contemporary Dublin, the oppressive and totalising force can be identified as neoliberalism. However, the totalising nature of these subjugating forces does not imply that their effects are evenly experienced. This thesis takes this as the starting point: what are the effects of neoliberalism, and how are these effects differentiated depending on one's identity. To interrogate this, first we chronicle the uptake in neoliberal policies at a governmental level, then see how they were implemented on a local level and finally, examine how they are experienced by the general public, taking into account their differentiated effect.

While neoliberal policy and its consequences can be found elsewhere on the island of Ireland, Dublin is the focus for two reasons. One is that, as a feminist researcher, the idea of

utilizing my lived experience as part of my research is very important. This is expanded upon in Chapter II, but Dublin is where I was born and raised and therefore is somewhere that I am intimately familiar with and feel that my insight in both unique and pertinent. The other reason is that, according to 2016 census results, the urban area population of Dublin is 1,173,179.[1] The same census lists Ireland's population to be 4,761,865[2], meaning that 24.64%, or just under a quarter of Ireland's population lives in Dublin's urban area. With a quarter of Ireland's population living in Dublin, the capital experiences issues such as displacement and homelessness in higher numbers.[3] Also, as it is the main hub of international business, a considerable amount of Irish neoliberal policies have their genesis in Dublin.

However, before this, it is important to understand Ireland, and in turn Dublin's, recent history. Much of its uneven development can be traced back to the violent and unstable nature of Ireland's liberation from Great Britain. The Republic of Ireland, as its own autonomous state, is just under a century old. During this century, Ireland has seen huge changes to both its economic and social fabric. This fluctuation has undoubtedly shaped the policies of today. After being under British colonial rule for four hundred years, Ireland began to rebel against British rule on the Easter Sunday of 1916. The rebellion, known as The Easter Rising, ultimately failed. Much of the revolutionary events took place in Dublin, with key buildings in the city centre being taken over by Irish guerrilla forces.[4] After a week of fighting and 485 deaths (54% civilian, 26% British occupational forces, 16% Irish rebel

[1] Central Statistics Office, *Census 2016 Summary Results - Part 1* (Dublin: Central Statistics Office, 2017), p. 15.
[2] Ibid., p. 18.
[3] Cormac Fitzgerald, "'Truly Shocking': There Are Now 9,846 Homeless People In Ireland", *The Journal*, 2018.
[4] Fearghal McGarry, *The Rising* (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2010).

forces and 4% police) Irish troops surrendered.[5] The Irish public did not view the event favourably initially, but the execution of 16 of the revolutionary leaders enraged both republicans and moderate nationalists, thus swaying the public's opinion.[6]

This failed rebellion ultimately led to the Irish War of Independence, which lasted from 1919 - 1921, and was fought between the Irish Republican Army and the British Army, along with various paramilitary forces. After two years of bloody combat and over 2,000 dead, a truce was called, resulting in Britain partitioning the island of Ireland. This partition saw Northern Ireland remaining a part of the United Kingdom and southern Ireland becoming its own independent state. This partition was incredibly divisive, so much so, that it resulted in the Irish Civil War. This war was fought between the Irish Free State, who supported the partitioning of Ireland (and the Anglo-Irish Treaty which proposed it), and the Irish Republic, who rejected the treaty and wanted to continue fighting to achieve total freedom for the whole island. This war lasted just under a year, from June 1922 – May 1923. The war was won by the Free State forces, which had benefited from substantial quantities of weapons provided by the British Government. The outcome of the war was that the island remained partitioned with the south eventually becoming The Republic of Ireland.[7]

In the aftermath of Ireland's struggle for independence the island experienced deep economic issues as well as the rise in the power of the Catholic Church.[8] This mix of social conservatism and economic depression meant that until the mid-1980s, Ireland was relatively isolated from the world in terms of global business and finance. This all began to

[5] Glasnevin Trust, *1916 Necrology: 485* (Glasnevin Trust, 2016) <https://www.glasnevintrust.ie/__uuid/55a29fab-3b24-41dd-a1d9-12d148a78f74/Glasnevin-Trust-1916-Necrology-485.pdf>
[6] National Library of Ireland, *The 1916 Rising: Personalities And Perspectives* (Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 2016), p. 1.
[7] Gemma Clark, *Everyday Violence In The Irish Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
[8] T. G Fraser, *Ireland In Conflict 1922-1998* (London: Routledge, 2000).

change in the 1980s, which marked the arrival of neoliberalism into Irish political discourse, which is the starting point for this thesis.

Chapter I – Background & Context

This chapter will explore and contextualise the key concepts of this thesis, illustrating the history of Dublin and relating it to the city's issues with housing. Throughout this history, the neoliberal trajectory of Dublin City's development will be made clear. Following this, this chapter will introduce the theory of gentrification, exploring the scholarly work surrounding it as well as its history, causes and effects. Understanding the specific issues with Dublin's housing and planning system is key to understanding how gentrification and other neoliberal policies play out in the city.

A rocky road – housing issues in Dublin

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, Dublin and its infrastructure had sustained significant physical damages during the revolutionary period from 1916-1923. Initially, plans were developed to remodel the damaged city, but due to lack of available finances, no immediate remodelling took place. Ireland, unlike the United Kingdom, did not experience any post-world-war prosperity, but instead suffered from mass emigration and policies of economic protectionism. These policies took the form of high tariffs that were imposed on a number of imported goods, especially those coming from Britain. This policy of economic protectionism was implemented in efforts to lessen Ireland's strong reliance on Britain as a trading partner, while also mirroring nationalistic ideology. These protectionist policies were developed pre-Irish independence and were not abandoned until the late 1950s.[9]

[9] Michael Breen and James Dorgan, "The Death Of Irish Trade Protectionism: A Political Economy Analysis", *Irish Studies In International Affairs*, 24.-1 (2013), 275-289 <https://doi.org/10.3318/isia.2013.24.15>.

It was during this time that Dublin began experiencing housing issues. The city's Georgian mansions remained unaffordable as single family homes for the majority of Dublin's population. This resulted in these large homes being split up and made into makeshift flats. As the buildings were originally intended for single families they could not handle the pressure of having up to 104[10] people living in close quarters, resulting in their transformation into slums.[11] Ciara Mitchel, writing for Architecture Ireland, notes how, as a response to the slum problem, the Corporation of Dublin (now Dublin City Council) began the development of social housing to address the poor quality of life for many of the city's residents. However, this move was fought on an ideological basis that saw urbanisation (the construction of inner-city flat-block social housing) as "a major danger to the continuation of conservative social policy in the state…"[12] This was mainly due to Ireland's entrenchment in Catholic conservatism, that viewed large-scale urban living as a threat to the regional power enjoyed by local parishes. As a result, Dublin's planning moved away from urban social housing and towards suburban developments outside the city. This move initiated much of middle and upper classes leaving the city, allowing the inner-city slums to fall into further states of disrepair.

While housing projects designed by people like Herbert Simms, an Irish architect who focused on building low-cost and liveable social housing, were realised to an extent, they were overshadowed by "an increasing focus on greenfield development…"[13] which further worked to suburbanise the surrounding Dublin area. 'Greenfield' developments were

[10] National Archives of Ireland, *Ireland in the early 20Th Century* (Dublin: The National Archives of Ireland, 2019).
[11] Ciara Mitchel, "Social Housing In Dublin During The First Half Of The 20Th Century", *Architecture Ireland*, 2015 <http://architectureireland.ie/the-city-social-housing-in-dublin-during-the-first-half-of-the-20th-century> [Accessed 22 May 2019].
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.

suburban settlements that prioritised space for front and back gardens and were aimed at middle-class residents. As a result, the majority of the social housing projects in Dublin that were constructed from the late 1930s onwards have been based on a suburban model, resulting in "the continuing legacy of urban sprawl within the greater Dublin area, with a mass landscape of low-density, under-serviced estates stretching out to the North, South and West of the city."[14]

Catching the neoliberal bug

In their essay entitled 'Irish Neoliberalism and Neoliberal Urban Policy', Sinéad Kelly and Andrew MacLaran state that during the 1970s and 1980s, Dublin had become Ireland's "problem region par excellence"[15] mainly due to its structural decay and high unemployment rates. In the mid-1980s, "the unemployment rate in Dublin's inner city reached 35 per cent, with some social-housing areas recording rates of over 80 per cent."[16] On top of this, Dublin was also experiencing severe dilapidation, with "600 cleared sites and derelict buildings in the inner city in 1986, totalling 65ha."[17]

Faced with these grim social and economic realities, Ireland began to pursue a new model in terms of urban planning and economics. For this, Ireland looked to the neoliberal policies being utilised in Great Britain and The United States under the governance of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. Neoliberalism is a theory of political economic practices that champion market and economic deregulation; privatisation of publicly-owned assets and infrastructure and austerity amongst other principles. It understands the role of the state to

[14] Ibid.
[15] Andrew MacLaran and Sinéad Kelly, "Irish Neoliberalism and Neoliberal Urban Policy", in *Neoliberal Urban Policy And The Transformation Of The City: Reshaping Dublin* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 21.
[16] Ibid., p. 21
[17] Ibid., p. 21

maximise entrepreneurial freedoms, which supposedly will lead to a maximisation of human well-being.[18] Neoliberalism's first major trial was in 1973 when the United States backed a coup in Chile that ousted the democratically elected Marxist president Salvador Allende. Allende was then replaced by the dictator Augusto Pinochet, whose government consisted of U.S. trained economists. They had all studied at the University of Chicago, which was, not so coincidentally, the birthplace of neoliberalism.[19] After Pinochet has seized control of Chile, he, with the help of U.S. backed sanctions, privatised many of the countries resources, prohibited the formation of trade unions and persecuted many of his critics, resulting in the execution of 2,279 people.[20] While Pinochet's policies initially led to a de-stagnation of Chile's economy (amidst a quickly-expanding wealth disparity), the country's economy stalled again in 1982 during Chile's monetary crisis, with unemployment rates rising to 23.7%.[21] However, by then, neoliberal policies had already taken shape and had been implemented around the world, becoming the defining economic principle from the 1980s onwards.

In Ireland, the neoliberal push was realised by the political party Fianna Fáil (FF). FF played a very important role in the shaping of neoliberal governmental policies from 1989-1992 and then again from 1997-2009. FF were aided in a coalition government by the Progressive Democrats (PDs) who supported "fiscal conservatism, economic liberalisation, the

[18] David Harvey, "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 610.1 (2007), p. 23 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716206296780>
[19] David Harvey, *A Brief History Of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 8.
[20] United States Institute of Peace, *Report Of The Chilean National Commission On Truth And Reconciliation* (United States Institute of Peace, 2019), p. 1122 <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/resources/collections/truth_commissions/Chile90-Report/Chile90-Report.pdf> [Accessed 26 July 2019].
[21] National Library of Chile, *La Transformación Económica Chilena Entre 1973-2003* (National Library of Chile, 2019).

privatisation of state assets and lower rates of taxation…"[22] The FF/PD government oversaw the privatisation of key public-sector companies, such as Irish Life Assurance Company (1991), Telecom Éireann (1999), the Trustee Savings Bank (TSB) (2001), ICC Bank (2001) and ACC Bank (2002).[23] This privatisation of public companies is a direct reflection of neoliberal ideology; services should not rely on the state's intervention, but rather should be controlled by private capital, which can then turn a profit from delivering these services that were once consumed free of charge, or at least heavily subsidised.

This private acquisition of publicly owned assets set the stage for partnerships between the public and private sectors for the development of key infrastructure, such as social-housing. These were known as public-private partnerships, or PPPs. This merging of public amenities with private capital creates a system where public infrastructure (such as housing, parks or transport) is created, not on a basis of demand, but off the back of its potential profitability. The effects of PPPs on Dublin and how they shaped the city will be discussed in detail in Chapter III.

As well as the merging of public infrastructure with private capital, Dublin's planning legislation became intertwined with neoliberal policies. From the mid-1980s onwards, a new "entrepreneurial ethos in Irish local authorities resulted in planners' being required to adopt an increasingly facilitative role, working closely with property-development interests."[24] This was achieved by: increasing the legal requirements for development densities in order to enhance prospective profitability; public-sector spending on infrastructure to reduce developers' costs and tax incentives. These actions then led to a situation in the mid-1990s,

[22] MacLaran and Sinéad Kelly., p. 22
[23] Ibid., p. 22
[24]Ibid., p. 28

where seventy-eight sites that had been owned by Dublin City Council, initially destined for the development of parks and social housing, had been sold to private sector developments.[25] Thus, urban planning in Dublin had become inseparable from profit and did not reflect the needs of its inhabitants.

The consequences of privatisation

This urban planning for profit has had long lasting results, some of which are just coming to a head now. Currently, Dublin, along with the rest of Ireland, is experiencing a housing and homelessness crisis. Focus Ireland, a non-profit organisation that started off as a research project focused on the lives of homeless women in Ireland and now covers homelessness more generally, has the current number of homeless people in Ireland at 10,305.[26] However, they note that this figure does not include what they call "hidden homelessness", which refers to people who are living in squats or other precarious living situations. On top of that, this is just the 'official' figure of registered homelessness; the figure does not count people who are sleeping rough on the streets. As of March 2019 there were just under 900 young people (aged 25 or under) homeless, 63% of whom lived in Dublin.

We can understand these levels of homelessness to be directly related to Dublin's neoliberal urban planning. When profit is the main incentive for creating accommodation, affordable and social housing projects do not get built. Instead what we see is the construction of expensive luxury apartments in newly desirable areas of the city.

As much as the building of these luxury, high-rise apartments symbolize that Dublin is becoming a city that only serves its wealthiest inhabitants, it is also important to look at

[25] Ibid., p. 29
[26] Focus Ireland, *Latest Figures On Homelessness In Ireland* (Focus Ireland, 2019) <https://www.focusireland.ie/resource-hub/latest-figures-homelessness-ireland/> [Accessed 22 May 2019].

where these apartments are being built. Due to low corporate tax-rates, Dublin has become a hub for international tech companies to set up their European headquarters. Companies such as Facebook, Google, Airbnb and LinkedIn all have their head offices in Dublin, with the majority of them being located in Grand Canal Dock. Grand Canal Dock is an area just outside of Dublin's city centre which has recently garnered the nickname Silicon Docks, due to the array of international tech firms settling there. Since 2000, Grand Canal Docks has undergone a huge transformation as part of the Docklands Strategic Development Zone. In their chapter titled 'Neoliberalising Planning Legislation', Enda Murphy, Linda Fox-Rogers and Berna Grist talk about how Strategic Devolpment Zones (or SDZs) were purportedly introduced in 2000 to

> "facilitate specified development of economic or social importance to the state. Through the Minister for the Environment, the government has the power to designate a site for the establishment of an SDZ where the establishing order indicates the type(s) of development that are considered appropriate for the zone."[27]

The authors note that the introduction of SDZs in 2000 "was essentially a deregulatory planning mechanism which conferred comparative advantages upon the development industry and improved the profitability potential of the development process."[28] This meant that in a twenty-year span, Dublin's docklands were transformed from an old industrial site to a refurbished and redeveloped site for international business and luxury housing. The planning process behind the creation of this area was 'fast-tracked', meaning that its

[27] Enda Murphy, Linda Fox-Rogers and Berna Grist, "Neoliberalising Planning Legislation", in *Neoliberal Urban Policy And The Transformation Of The City: Reshaping Dublin* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 55.
[28] Ibid., p. 55

planning permission was granted almost instantaneously; due to the SDZ status that was conferred upon the area.

The changing of land-use from industrial to residential and commercial does not necessarily have a negative effect upon a city. If the accommodation that is built is affordable or part of a social housing scheme and the retail opportunities consist of local business involved with the surrounding community, land-use changes can provide much needed relief to inner-city neighborhoods. However, when both the planning and development processes are so intertwined with private capital, the changing nature of areas and neighborhoods often leads to displacement, particularly for working-class residents of a city. This process is known as gentrification.

History of gentrification

Gentrification, at its most basic definition, is the transformation of traditionally working-class urban areas by the influx of newer, more affluent residents. The term was originally coined by the Marxist urban sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 when she describes how "many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes– upper and lower… Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed."[29] As a result, residential buildings are repurposed: large Victorian houses that housed multiple families become upgraded into single-family homes and smaller 'two rooms up and two down' become divided into flats. This shakeup of residential properties culminates in indigenous working class residents finding themselves displaced.

[29] Ruth Glass, "Introduction", in *London: Aspects Of Change* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1964).

While Glass coined the term fifty-five years ago and the definition has remained relatively intact and relevant, it must be noted that the act of displacing poorer residents in favour of wealthier inhabitants and luxury establishments has a much longer history. Indeed, Neil Smith, a notable gentrification scholar, examines the activities of Georges-Eugène Haussmann in his seminal work *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. Haussmann, who was a member of Napoleon III's court of France, oversaw projects that demolished poor, residential areas in central Paris to make way for wide, tree-lined boulevards.[30] This is a perfect example of how urban planning at its most ambitious can completely fail to account for huge portions of its population. When money becomes a large factor in the planning process, actions are often carried out for the benefit of a few rather than the majority. Indeed, Friedrich Engels uses Haussmann as a term to describe:

> "the practice which has now become general of making breaches in the working class quarters of our big towns, and particularly in those which are centrally situated, quite apart from whether this is done from considerations of public health and for beautifying the town, or owing to the demand for big centrally situated business premises, or owing to traffic requirements, such as the laying down of railways, streets, etc. No matter how different the reasons may be, the result is everywhere the same: the scandalous alleys and lanes disappear to the accompaniment of lavish self-praise from the bourgeoisie on account of this tremendous success, but they appear again immediately somewhere else and often in the immediate neighbourhood."[31]

[30] Neil Smith, *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification And The Revanchist City* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 33.
[31] Friedrich Engels, *The Housing Question* (London: Union Books, 2012).

Engels's quote perfectly describes what would later be identified as gentrification. The history of the concept (and the fact that it far predates its own term) is helpful in illuminating that gentrification is not a 'modern' concept, but rather is directly related to older and established systems of power.

Gentrification proper: a look at displacement in Barnsbury

However, while the history of gentrification can tell us a lot about its modern interpretation and implementation, this thesis primarily deals with what Neil Smith calls "gentrification proper"[32] – that is, the gentrification that was initially identified and recorded by Ruth Glass in post-war London. After the violence and economic uncertainty of the Second World War, upper-middle-class residents in neighbourhoods such as Barnsbury (a neighbourhood in North London) moved to the suburbs in vast numbers where a signifigant amount of new housing was being built. Loretta Lees, Tom Slater and Elvin Wyly note in their book *Gentrification* that this was down to "a combination of class fear"[33] and railway engineering, which led to a vast stretch of London turning into a no-man's land."[34] The properties left behind by the outgoing population were quickly converted into multi-occupational spaces. In 1961 "62 per cent of Barnsbury's households lived in shared accommodation"[35] and in a survey of one street it was found that 127 people "had access to no bath"[36] and "15 had no kitchen sink."[37] These statistics highlight the housing degradation and overcrowding experienced by residents of Barnsbury at the time. However this began to change after the introduction of the 1959 Housing Purchase and Housing Act, which made "£100 million

[32] Smith, *The New Urban Frontier*, p. 32
[33] Loretta Lees, Tom Slater and Elvin Wyly, *Gentrification* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 10.
[34] Ibid., p. 10.
[35] Ibid., p. 12.
[36] Ibid., p. 12.
[37] Ibid., p. 12.

available to building societies to increase owner-occupation and invest in old property."[38] This can be seen as the starting point for much of the gentrification experienced in London. In Barnsbury, the managerial class increased from 23 to 43 per cent during a fourteen year period (1961 – 1975).[39] The facilitation of gentrification by governmental policy is not to be understated, and is a point that will be revisited later in the chapter.

While these statistics show a change in the makeup of the social fabric of Barnsbury, they do not necessarily indicate a decreased quality of life for the indigenous residents of the area. Therefore an argument can be made that frames gentrification as an act that leads to a mixing of peoples from different social classes, ultimately resulting in newfound social cohesion. This argument appears plausible, because, due to lack of amenities and essential services, areas that experience gentrification become labelled as 'problem' and are seen to be in need of 'fixing'. However, once an area becomes gentrified the 'improvement' is almost exclusively on the terms of the newer, wealthier residents. This lack of social mixing was recorded in an ethnographic study of Barnsbury by Tim Butler. In Butler's report, *Living in the Bubble,* he presents interviews with seventy-five middle-class residents (or "gentrifiers" as Butler identifiers them) of Barnsbury, mainly concerning their relationship with other, non-middle-class residents. Although the study was conducted almost thirty years after the initial wave of gentrification experienced in Barnsbury, it illustrates that gentrification does not encourage social mixing and even goes as far to say that it produces new tensions and problems for indigenous residents. During the interviews, the middle-class residents of Barnsbury espoused values relating to diversity, saying things like: "It's a nice, relaxed place, with a genuine mix of people. It's an interesting, rather than a boring place –

[38] Ibid., p. 13.
[39] Ibid., p. 13.

very varied"[40] and "It's very friendly and very mixed – it's got diversity and a nice community feel about it."[41] However, this yearning for diversity is often far-removed from actual interactions or meaningful engagement with residents of lower incomes. As Butler notes in the conclusion of his study:

> "Gentrification in Barnsbury (and probably London) is therefore apparently playing a rather dangerous game. It values the presence of others - that much has been seen from the quotations from respondents – but chooses not to interact with them. They are, as it were, much valued as a kind of social wallpaper, but no more. This is an inseparable element of the metropolitan habitus – of feelings, attitudes and beliefs – which transforms the inner city into the natural habitat for a section of the new… middle classes."[42]

Consumption vs. production explanations

This idea that gentrifiers are seeking new, diverse, urban experiences is one of the key principles when explaining gentrification through the 'consumption model'. The consumption model of gentrification seeks to explain gentrification patterns by examining the movement and rationale of individual members of gentrifying classes. One of the catalysts for gentrification was identified by Daniel Bell in his 1973 book entitled *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*. Bell identified what he labelled a 'post-industrial society' and argued that in its emergence, this model has four key features:

(1) a shift from manufacturing to service-based economy;

[40] Tim Butler, "Living In The Bubble: Gentrification And Its 'Others' In North London", *Urban Studies*, 40.12 (2003), 2477.
[41] Ibid., p. 2477.
[42] Ibid., p. 2484.

(2) science-based industries becoming a centre point, with the university replacing the factory as a dominant institute;

(3) the rise of managerial, professional and technical occupations and

(4) artistic, "avant-garde" led consumer culture. [43]

This model is very impressive considering it was written over twenty years before the 'tech boom' started to define urban life in lots of Western cities. It was the idea of the post-industrial city that human geographer David Ley employed when studying gentrification. This led to a cultural examination of the gentrifying process in Canadian cities where Ley argued that the post-industrial city "altered the rationale behind the allocation of land use in urban contexts..."[44] This gentrification signified a new phase in urban devolpment where consumption factors from an expanding middle-class, such as taste and aesthetic preference, saw an "imagineering of an alternative urbanism to suburbanization…"[45] In Canada during the 1970s, what was known as the 'reform era' manifested itself in a middle-class rejection of "the oppressive conformity of suburbia, modernist planning, and mass market principles…"[46] This led to a point in scholarly work on gentrification where gentrification "could not be separated from reform-era middle-class resistance [and] political and structural domination."[47] Thus, the process of gentrification became lauded as a liberatory movement practised by the newly urbanised middle-class.

With these patterns of gentrification now being marked as liberatory, a lot of attention was given to the gentrifying class; who they were and how they came to be. Works such as Liz

[43] Loretta Lees, Tom Slater and Elvin Wyly, *Gentrification* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 91.
[44] Ibid., p. 92.
[45] David Ley, *The New Middle Class And The Remaking Of The Central City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 15.
[46] Lees., p. 95.
[47] Ibid., p. 96.

Bondi's *Gender Divisions and Gentrification: A Critique* give an insight into the makeup of the gentrifying class – Bondi explores how gender relations can be affected through the process of gentrification.[48] Bondi uses examples of how women, who traditionally would have occupied a domestic position in suburbia, were now living on their own and were financially independent in greater numbers. Texts like Bondi's were important because they underscore that gentrifiers were not just white men, but also encompassed people of differing genders and ethnicities. This allowed for a deeper understanding of the makeup of this new urban population. While Bondi's article and others like it do a very important job at making sure gentrifiers aren't seen as a homogenous group in terms of gender, ethnicity and sexuality, they often privilege the gentrifying classes by making them the focal point of study and ignoring the people whose lives are invariably changed by the influx of new, middle-class residents.

While consumption explanations offer a keen insight into who it is that facilitates the change in urban areas, they often best explain 'gentrification-in-motion', as opposed to highlighting the global systems and trends that not only sustain gentrification but also produce it.

In their book on gentrification, Lees, Slater and Wyly write about how capitalism creates imbalanced urban development by referring to it as "a dynamic 'see-saw' of investment and disinvestment over time and across space, in an on-going process of uneven geographical development."[49] It is this uneven devolpment that Neil Smith explores in his article *Toward a Theory of Gentrification: A Back to the City Movement by Capital Not People*. In this article,

[48] Liz Bondi, "Gender Divisions And Gentrification: A Critique", *Transactions Of The Institute Of British Geographers*, 16.2 (1991), 190-198 <https://doi.org/10.2307/622613>.
[49] Lees., p. 51.

Smith composes a theory which he names 'the rent gap theory'. This is when there becomes a divergence of what he calls 'Capitalized Ground Rent' and 'Potential Ground Rent'.[50] 'Capitalized Ground Rent' measures the profitability of certain residential or commercial land uses based on their perceived rents. Over time, land cannot be used to its full potential and the land use face depreciation: buildings age and require upkeep that newer buildings (designed and made with newer technology) do not. As these newer technologies become more widely adopted, the various land uses that have devolved in previous generations gradually become less profitable. "Potential ground rent… almost always increases steadily over time: so long as an urban region enjoys some combination of population growth, employment expansions, and technological innovation, any particular location will become more highly valued over time if an owner is willing to put the land to its optimal, highest, and best use."[51] This leads to a situation where land owners become unwilling to maintain residential properties as their land grows unprofitable. At first this disinvestment is gradual, and one is unlikely to notice a continually cracked window or broken roof. However, over time, the deferred maintenance becomes apparent and "the people with money to do so will leave a neighbourhood, and financial institutions 'redline' the neighbourhood as too risky to make loans."[52] This explains the "paradox of poor people living on valuable land in the heart of large, vibrant cities."[53] According to Smith, once the gap between 'Capitalized' and 'Potential Ground Rent' becomes large enough, we start seeing the beginnings of gentrification.

[50] Neil Smith, "Toward A Theory Of Gentrification A Back To The City Movement By Capital, Not People", *Journal Of The American Planning Association*, 45.4 (1979), 538-548 <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944367908977002>.
[51] Lees., p. 53.
[52] Ibid., p. 54.
[53] Ibid., p. 54.

While Smith's theory is compelling, it is also the subject of fierce debate in the wider field of gentrification studies. One of the main reasons for this is because it is almost impossible to utilise the theory in an empirical study. The concepts of 'Capitalized' and 'Potential Ground Rent' are extremely difficult to measure. While finding data on how much houses sell for or how much they cost to rent, these figures differ from 'Capitalized' and 'Potential Ground Rent'. In order to actually apply this theory one would need to find the cost of plots of land which is often not on public record if the land is owned by a private body. However, in an essay titled *Tenurial Transformation and the Flat Break-up Market in London: the British Condo Experience*, Chris Hamnett and Bill Randolph propose a complimentary theory to Smith's rent gap called 'the value gap'. The theory explains the motivation behind 'flat break-ups', where blocks of privately-rented apartments were sold for individual owner-occupation between the 1960s and the 1980s. "Owner-occupancy began to receive larger tax and interest-rate subsidies, while tenant rent controls and occupancy regulations made it harder for landlords to earn expected rates of return on investments. Landlords responded with disinvestment through under-maintenance – until it became possible, thanks to the expansion of mortgage credit through building societies, to sell flats either to existing tenants or to other prospective owner-occupiers."[54]

When examining the production explanations for gentrification it becomes clear how gentrification is not an unfortunate accident but an inevitable phenomenon in neoliberal cities. Global housing-market trends often dictate what type of accommodation will be built in cities – currently in Dublin, although there is a severe shortage of affordable housing, luxury apartments are being built in inner-city areas as a means to attract middle and upper-

[54] Ibid., p. 69.

class residents. The eventual displacement of their working-class inhabitants is guaranteed if cities are to become more attractive to private capital.

Gentrification in Dublin

Sinéad Kelly explores gentrification in the Dublin context and how it is an unavoidable effect of neoliberal urban planning:

> "…a major outcome of an increasingly neoliberal central state and an entrepreneurial local state, which has become a more-than-willing 'agent' of capital… has been the widespread gentrification of inner Dublin…"[55]

While land use does not always have to be a key feature in the gentrification process, it has been the former industrial areas in Dublin that have been the hardest hit by gentrification. Areas such as the Docklands and the Liberties (south-west inner city) "have been rapidly re-imagineered into new residential spaces for an incoming, professional, middle-income population."[56] This gentrification is represented when viewing census figures for social-class composition. Kennedy presents a table comparing the figures of how age structure has changed in inner-city Dublin from 1991-2011, showing a 48% jump in the amount of 25-44 year olds.[57] This age group is understood to be the primary makeup of the gentrifying class.

Much like the causes of gentrification, its effects are often varying. The effects of gentrification in Dublin City will be further explored in Chapter III of this thesis. However, one typical outcome is the displacement of indigenous residents of a neighbourhood. This displacement is usually caused by a rising cost of living, typically in the form of house prices.

[55] Sinéad Kelly, "Taking Liberties: Gentrification as Neoliberal Urban Policy in Dublin", in *Neoliberal Urban Policy And The Transformation Of The City: Reshaping Dublin* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p.179
[56] Ibid., p. 179
[57] Ibid., p. 180

This is definitely the case in Dublin, where in 1995, a one-bedroomed apartment in the Liberties cost €38,100 to buy. In 2004 apartments in the same development were being resold at €187,000.[58] While arguments can be made that indigenous residents stand to gain from rising residential value, most do not possess the ability to access property capital. In addition to issues of affordability;

> "the housing crisis in inner Dublin was also marked by lower levels of access to social housing. In the pursuit of a more neoliberal market-based urban agenda, recent policies adopted by the local state hampered access to housing for the indigenous population…"[59]

As in the early part of the 20th Century, during the peak (and subsequent crash) of Ireland's economy, Dublin's leaders favoured the construction of social housing in favour of less sustainable models of housing. As a result, displacement due to gentrification continues as Dublin becomes more attractive to private capital.

It's clear that Dublin's uneven development throughout the late 20th Century and early 21st Century is the result of a neoliberal planning strategy intertwined with private capital. Moreover, the government, at both a local and national level, has facilitated and encouraged the approach of urban planning for profit. The various configurations of gentrification demonstrate that the process is neither accidental nor merely consequential. Rather, gentrification is a *policy* in neoliberal urban planning. While it might be presented as 'regeneration' or 'urban renewal', the displacement of working-class people is profitable.

[58] Ibid., p. 182
[59] Ibid., p. 182

This chapter has presented the history of Dublin and how it pertains to the uptake of neoliberal policies. Following this, it has highlighted the history of gentrification and has demonstrated how these neoliberal policies are directly related to the displacement of vulnerable citizens. This is to communicate a clear idea about the causes of gentrification so that we can have a greater understanding of its effects in the following chapters.

Chapter II – Theory & Frameworks

The aim of this chapter is to explore and unpack the central theoretical devices that will be used throughout this thesis as well as the analytic frameworks that will be employed to facilitate an understanding of them. The central concept of this thesis is gentrification, and the manner in which it is informed by neoliberal urban planning. I will be taking gentrification and analysing it from an intersectional, gender studies perspective, understanding it through the lens of feminist geography.

Feminist research practice – situated knowledge and lived experience

As a feminist researcher I believe that any knowledge I personally produce will be a situated one, linking to my positionality and lived experience. Often in scientific fields, the influence of one's lived experience is ignored when presenting the knowledge that is being produced, leading to a false sense of objectivity, in which the researcher's background becomes completely divorced from their research. Donna Haraway, an American feminist academic, explores the idea of objectivity in her influential essay *Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective*. Haraway championed the idea that, in order to produce more reliable research and knowledge, we must take the influence of our lived experiences into account when deciding what and how to research: "feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object. It allows us to become answerable for what we learn how to

see."[60] The acceptance that one's view is limited in terms of scope (we can only know as far as we have experienced) gives this partial perspective credence; if we forgo the ability to present universal truth or meaning, but instead aim to produce a partial, situated knowledge, we can "translate knowledges among very different-and power-differentiated-communities."[61] Thus, my aim as a student and researcher of feminist academics is to utilise my particular position in order to produce specific knowledge. My experience as a white, male, feminist researcher informs how I perceive the world and also how I interact with it. While I cannot speak from a marginalised position I can make use of pre-existing frameworks and concepts to help highlight inequality, specifically in urban contexts. While what is highlighted is not always my lived experience, it does not render my research obsolete. Rather, it gives me a partial insight into power structures and processes, which in turn will help me to produce knowledge that makes use of my lived experience and helps to understand the challenges posed by uneven urban development.

Feminist geography

This thesis will explore this 'uneven urban development' through the lens of feminist geography. Feminist geography is a strain of human geography that seeks to apply feminist methods of critique when studying the human environment.[62] The field emerged in North America and the UK in the early 1970s, sparked by movements from both within and outside the academy. In the introduction to their book of collected essays entitled *A Companion to Feminist Geography*, Lise Nelson and Joni Seager write about how within

[60] Donna Haraway, 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective', *Feminist Studies*, 14, no. 3 (1988): 583
[61] Ibid. p. 580.
[62] Lise Nelson and Joni Seager, "Introduction", in *A Companion To Feminist Geography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p. 2.

academia, “feminist critiques emerged as part of the ferment of “new” radical geographies – especially Marxism – that was raising challenges in the 1970s to the hegemonies of positivistic and corporatist geography.”[63] Feminist geography works to understand the human environment while disrupting the androcentric paradigm that is inherently a feature of traditional human geography. This is the reason why feminist geography is such an appropriate tool for understanding gentrification – it does not take the white male subject to be the neutral position, but rather explores how different and marginalised identities experience urban processes in entirely different ways.

In terms of research, the aim of this thesis is to go beyond the traditional accounts of neoliberal urban development and examine its inherently gendered nature. This would mean analysing not only how neoliberal urban policy affects inhabitants of a city in a general sense, but seeing how these effects are gendered. In essence, this chapter asks; how do people of a city experience processes differently based on their gender, ethnicity and class? Nelson and Seager note that “…feminist geographers sought to document and bring into geographical inquiry the analytical significance of gendered spatial divisions between public and private, particularly as they shape work (paid and unpaid), and urban processes…”[64] It is these spatial divisions and urban processes that are of interest here. I cannot essentialize the experience of urban living as people experience it in very differentiated ways, thus requiring differing methods of inquiry. For instance, in Chapter III, when examining how the effects of the privatization of urban services are felt, I will emphasize viewpoints that account for the differentiated ways in which women experience it.

[63] Ibid., p. 2.
[64] Ibid., p. 3.

Intersectional interventions in feminist research

As with the broader development of feminist thought and practice, feminist geography proceeded to extend its analytic work beyond "the horizon of white, middle-class and Western spaces."[65] What this meant was that in order to examine 'women's experience' through a geographic research practice, the concept of woman needed to be de-essentialized, unpacking what was understood to constitute the category of 'woman'. What constituted 'woman' and, just as importantly, what did not, must be interrogated. The intersectional nature of multiple oppressions and identities were emphasised, which

> "invigorated feminist geography by providing a wide array of new theoretical and methodological tools for feminist geographical work. Developments in critical race theory, psychoanalysis, poststructuralism, postcolonialism, and queer theory led feminist geographers to develop more nuanced approaches to identity, power, and difference."[66]

Being mindful of these developments meant that my research had to come from an intersectional position. Thus, when analysing a given environment, especially with regards to social inequality, I would try to understand how studying any singular marginalised identity, say gender, in isolation, would be insufficient. Instead the focus must be directed towards how one's lived experiences are shaped by a variety of social divisions that work together and influence each other. Examples of identities that more frequently experience oppression include race, class, ability, sexuality and ethnicity amongst others.[67] It was Kimberly Crenshaw who, in 1989, coined the term 'intersectionality', writing about the

[65] Ibid., p. 4.
[66] Ibid., p. 4.
[67] Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge, *Intersectionality* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), p. 12.

unique discrimination black women in the United States experience. Crenshaw problematized what she calls a "single-axis frame work"[68] which dominates "feminist theory and antiracist politics."[69] Crenshaw highlights how movements that are supposed to be liberatory end up excluding marginalised people as they fail to account for unique ways in which people experience discrimination from multiple angles. For my research this meant examining how phenomena such as gentrification are experienced in differentiated and nuanced ways. While feminist geography serves as an important analytic tool for understanding the unique ways that neoliberal urban development is experienced, making sure it comes from an intersectional position is of utmost importance. Failing to account for the connected nature of various modes of power will only serve to leave people behind in the production of knowledge and the analysis of inequality.

Understanding the city

Of all of the effects of gentrification, perhaps the most glaring is the displacement experienced by working-class people. While it may not be initially obvious, this is a concern of feminist geography as it is crucial to understand how class and gender inequality inform and constitute each other. Using this intersectional approach when researching urban space is particularly valuable as it allows one to understand how cities are not made up of individual peoples and processes, but rather, they are the result of the interaction between its inhabitants and the different processes that occur there. Understanding these systems and their interaction with each other is just as important as understanding the people who live in them, as it allows us to develop a fuller picture of contemporary urban life. Indeed, in

[68] Kimberly Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection Of Race And Sex: A Black Feminist Critique Of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory And Antiracist Politics", *University Of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1989.1 (1989), 139.
[69] Ibid., p. 139.

their essay *Feminist Geographies of the City: Multiple Voices, Multiple Meanings*, Valerie Preston and Ebru Ustundag write about how the key to understanding cities lies with the study of the transnational processes and power structures that occur there, and then understanding these phenomena in relation to inhabitants lives and how they mutually constitute each other:

> "Feminist geographers have a dynamic view of contemporary cities which recognizes that urban places are not simply containers within which women organize their daily lives. Cities are the locations from which global movements of capital and information emanate, the locations of everyday lives that are buffeted, restructured, and terrorized by national and international forces, and the places where women act to mold social, economic, political, and cultural processes of change at all spatial scales. Although women's agency is a theme of longstanding importance in feminist geography, contemporary research emphasizes the ways that women alter representations of places, events, and people, particularly women's own identities, by changing their material circumstances in different places."[70]

When we take this into account we see how women (and people in general) do not exist in a vacuum where processes wash over them, but rather how these processes are informed by the citizens of a city and how these citizens are in turn marked and affected by them. It is my goal to interrogate the human element and impact with regards to the process of gentrification, and key to understanding this is an intersectional approach to feminist geography. With this approach we can see not only how working-class people become displaced, but how in turn cities get moulded into spaces that exist to cater exclusively to

[70] Valerie Preston and Ebru Ustundag, "Feminist Geographies of the "City": Multiple Voices, Multiple Meanings", in *A Companion To Feminist Geography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p. 212.

white, middle-class inhabitants. Gender and class become intertwined processes that work together to marginalise people further. It will become apparent in the following chapter how using an intersectional framework to understand neoliberal processes will highlight their insidious nature.

This chapter has outlined the approaches that will be used to make sense of how gentrification is experienced in Dublin. Feminist geography is an essential tool when researching the gendered nature of neoliberal urban development. However, what is equally important is that an analysis of this kind must be intersectional in its nature, in order to produce more holistic and inclusive knowledge. Combining these analytic frameworks will yield a nuanced understanding of gentrification and its effects in a Dublin context.

Chapter III – Analysis

This chapter aims to explore the effects of neoliberal urban planning and how they impact the people of Dublin. As stated previously, an intersectional analysis will be employed to showcase how these effects are experienced differently depending on one's social grouping or identity. The chapter starts by showcasing the unique effect that privatisation has for both working-class people and women, highlighting the inherent androcentric nature of neoliberal policy and urban development. After focusing on the privatisation of public service, we move to the privatisation of public space. Under neoliberalism, public space exists to create a profit and as a result, is only accessible for certain inhabitants of the city. Following this, various forms of grassroots and community resistance will be chronicled. As this conflict is between marginalised social groups and an entrenched, global phenomenon, resistance is often aimed at transforming small pockets of the city, making it more liveable, as opposed to tackling the system as a whole. These small echelons of resistance work together in providing an accessible alternative to life in the neoliberal city.

The gendered effects of privatisation

As mentioned in Chapter I, a key feature in Ireland's uptake of neoliberal policy was the privatisation of public services such as insurance agencies and telecommunication networks. The main goal of this privatisation was to financially profit from services that had previously been provided for free or heavily subsidised. Much like other public services, Dublin Bus, which is one of Dublin's main public transport providers, was not immune to neoliberal policy. The company is technically a public one as it is owned by Córas Iompair Éireann (CIE),

which is a statutory corporation owned by the Irish government. However, Dublin Bus is run like any private corporation, with financial profit being the main goal. Because of this, unprofitable but essential bus routes are often cut, leaving vulnerable users isolated. An example of this is when, in 2010, in the immediate aftermath of Ireland's financial crash, the 46a route was rerouted in order to bypass Monkstown Farm.[71] Monkstown Farm is a traditionally working-class area on Dublin's South Side and the route's diversion, motivated by financial concerns, led to elderly residents being cut off from a 'public' service. Local political representatives made the point that elderly, disabled and very young people are "becoming the victims of cuts caused by a bankrupt government, whose priority is to bail out bankers at the expense of our most vulnerable citizens and the vital public services on which they depend."[72] This is an example of how neoliberal policies that push for a maximisation of profit have negative effects on marginalised groups. In the case above, elderly and disabled people are cut off from a bus route that is integral to their community. The walking distance the new route is long and is along narrow and uneven walkways. These negative effects of neoliberal policy may be easy to understand and visualize. What are less clear are the gendered effects of neoliberal policies.

Public transport in Dublin is not a primary means of commuting for most of the population. The 2016 census it shows that in Dublin, 44.6% of commuters travelled by car, with only 13.6% of people opting to travel by bus.[73] Due to Dublin Bus existing to create revenue as opposed to meeting citizens' needs, there has been no investment made to ensure the safety of users. Subsequently, bus stop locations are often poorly considered and are

[71] Boyd Barrett, Richard, "Protests Over 46A And Other Bus Cuts Continue Today As Dublin Bus Address Council", *Pbp.Ie*, 2010 <https://www.pbp.ie/protests-over-46a-and-other-bus-cuts-continue-today-as-dublin-bus-address-council/> [Accessed 9 August 2019]
[72] Ibid.
[73] Central Statistics Office, *Means Of Travel to Work* (Central Statistics Office, 2016).

frequently in isolated, poorly-lit areas. Public transport has often been highlighted as a problem area in terms of sexual assault and harassment. A study done on the experience of users of New York's subway system found that 75% of female respondents had experienced some form of harassment or theft while using public transport.[74] This highlights that one's experience on public transport is predicated on one's identity, with the negative effects of public transport being felt more severely by vulnerable users. Likewise, policies of privatisation are not experienced equally, often with already marginalised people being most affected.

This leads to women being forced to find alternative ways to interact with their city, such as availing of ride-sharing services like Uber, or using their own cars. This is problematic for two reasons: one being that personal safety becomes the onus of the individual and the other is, in the case of services like Uber, safety then becomes a commodity which in turn becomes profitable for private companies. When safety becomes an avenue for profit then safety also become a privilege.

In an essay entitled *The Geography of Women's Fear*, feminist geographer Gill Valentine explores how women's interaction with public space is inhibited by the gendered nature of cities. Valentine states that "a woman's ability to choose a coping strategy and therefore her consequent use and experience of public space is largely determined by her age, income and lifestyle."[75] This point highlights the intersectional nature of urban oppression and how vulnerable residents become further alienated from each other, as the ones who can afford

[74] Sarah M. Kaufman, Christopher F. Polack and Gloria A. Campbell, *The Pink Tax On Transportation: Women's Challenges In Mobility* (The NYU Rudin Center for Transportation, 2018).
[75] Gill Valentine, "The Geography of Women's Fear", *Area*, 21.4 (1989), p. 386.

their own cars or ride-sharing services will avail of them, leaving people with less economic power further marginalised.

Public space and lack thereof

In cities that incorporate neoliberal ideology into their design, such as Dublin, public space is scarce and often contested. The influx of multinational companies, as discussed in Chapter I, has triggered the mass construction of expensive apartments and hotels. These apartments are being built in recently reclaimed industrial sites (see Chapter I) and traditionally working class areas, with very little in terms of housing being offered to people who cannot afford the luxury of a new apartment. While this has obvious effects such as displacement and homelessness (as discussed in previous chapters) it also means that public space is quickly being eroded. In line with neoliberal ideology, 'public' space needs to be monetised to validate it existence. In neoliberal cities, community orientated planning is shunned. Instead of the preservation of parks and other spaces that citizens are free to congregate in, we get areas that one's use of is dependent on a variety of factors, such as: having sufficient cultural capital, possessing the financial means to do so and being able to navigate a space that was designed from a perspective of straight, white, middle-class man.

Cultural capital is a theory that was proposed by Pierre Bourdieu and it describes a type of cultural competence or knowledge that informs how one moves through and interacts with different cultural spheres.[76] It is marked by consumption patterns, social attributes and skills. While cultural capital measures how somebody can access intangible cultural spheres, it can often inform people's physical access to spaces. Bourdieu was writing during the late

[76] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms Of Capital", in *Handbook Of Theory And Research For The Sociology Of Education* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1986).

20th Century, a period marked as one of great change in the social composition of societies in the West. This change was supposedly the result of increased social mobility, engineered through the availability of an equal education system. However, Bourdieu argued that this utopian idea of class mobility did not intersect with reality and that one's class still very much defined which spheres they were able to move through.[77]

Taking the idea that class is an important factor in determining the areas of life one can access, we can see how many cultural institutions, while ostensibly being 'open to the public', are not accessible for certain sections of the population. This is a quickly identifiable phenomenon in Dublin when we examine Smithfield Square. Smithfield Square is a plaza in the now-gentrified area of Smithfield. The square used to be a cultural focal point for the residents of Smithfield and was home to a historic horse market which was a centrepiece for the community and had been running since the 1800s.[78] However, due to complaints from local business people about antisocial behaviour, the once weekly market is now held twice a year.[79] The changing nature of Smithfield's cultural enterprises reflects its change in population make-up. What was once a primarily working-class area was 'rejuvenated' in 1997 and now is dotted with expensive apartment complexes and middle-class cultural institutions.[80]

The square where horse and cattle markets used to take place is now surrounded by expensive apartments, restaurants, coffee shops, second-hand or 'vintage' clothing stores and an art-house cinema. What can be observed is that after residential gentrification, a

[77] Ibid.
[78] Olivia Kelly, "'The horse fair is the one bit of culture and tradition left in this part of Dublin'", *The Irish Times*, January 4th 2008, p. 4.
[79] Ibid., p 4.
[80] Katia Attuyer, "When Conflict Strikes: Contesting Neoliberal Urbanism Outside Participatory Structures In Inner-City Dublin", *International Journal Of Urban And Regional Research*, 39.4 (2015), 807-823.

cultural gentrification happens. Smaller, locally owned businesses that had traditionally served the community shut down, and were replaced by newly profitable establishments targeted at the new, higher earning residents. This effectively isolates the traditional community from their own neighbourhood, with facilities and services not existing to meet their needs. In Smithfield, the square that once serviced the indigenous communities needs has transformed into a zone of exclusion that has little to offer its residents that have lived there for generations. What is happening here is neoliberalism transforming a city to match its ideology. This is why gentrification is not just an unfortunate consequence of neoliberal development, but rather, gentrification is a policy that works to transform cities to maximise their profitability. Areas like Smithfield have a rich cultural history, but under neoliberal urban development, not only are culture and community lacking in value, they actually are at odds with neoliberal ideology, as the space they occupy could otherwise be used to produce profit. Therefore, in the neoliberal city, public space becomes a battle ground, where culture and community are erased in favour of financial gain.

This erasure of public space by private capital is also apparent in central Dublin, which has seen the redevelopment of public plazas into private land without any warning. On Dame Street in the heart of Dublin, a brutalist building stands tall, set apart from the surrounding Georgian architecture. The building was built in 1980 and until 2017 was the home of Ireland's Central Bank. The building featured a large granite plaza which became an iconic public space and an important site for subcultural activity in Dublin. One of the most prominent subcultural groups that convened there were skateboarders. The plaza contained smooth ledges for grinding, open flat ground for practicing tricks and a stair set that skaters could jump down. However, in late 2017, the Central Bank moved their offices and the

building was bought by the U.S. investment firm Hines along with a real estate firm called Peterson Group from Hong Kong. It is currently being reconstructed with the view to become "one of the most vibrant and dynamic areas in the city centre, with the creation of 33,000sq ft of retail, restaurants and cafes at street and basement level"[81] according to a spokesperson for Hines. As soon as the construction started the plaza became fenced off and Dublin skaters lost an important space. Yet again we are witnessing spaces that have cultural significance and are home to a community being repurposed to maximise profit. The displacement felt by skaters is very different to victims of gentrification, who are displaced from their community. However, what the Central Bank overhaul shows is that in neoliberal urban planning, both community and culture cannot be taken for granted and must be fought for.

Failed resistance in O'Devaney Gardens

But what does this fight look like? The redevelopment of Central Bank by foreign equity shows the transnational nature of gentrification - a localised issue happening in a global context. Due to the global nature of neoliberal policy, its effects, such as gentrification, can be hard to fight as it pits vulnerable communities against global financial trends. Taking the idea that it was often left to already marginalised communities to fight these changes, Michelle Norris and Rory Hearne conducted a study on the effectiveness of grassroots resistance to Private Public Partnerships (PPP) in social housing complexes in Dublin. The study was titled *Privatizing public housing redevelopment: Grassroots resistance, co-operation and devastation in three Dublin neighbourhoods* and it highlighted some of the issues that face working-class residents when trying to oppose gentrification. The

[81] Colin Gleeson, "Central Bank Site Development Plan Gets Go-Ahead", *The Irish Times*, 2018.

researchers discuss a failed attempt by the community at O'Devaney Gardens, who tried to intervene and influence a redevelopment scheme for their neighbourhood. The attempt did not succeed and the community was "literally devastated."[82] In 2003, the government revealed plans for a PPP redevelopment of O'Devaney Gardens. The residents "quickly mobilised and organised to try… [to] influence the plans."[83] These plans included the addition of 287 "private" developments as well as commercial facilities. However, the plans were never implemented due to the collapse of Ireland's economic and property market. The head developer of the initiative was subsequently declared bankrupt. To enable the partial demolition of the complex the council moved out some residents and by 2008, half of the dwellings were empty. This set off a spiral of decline: "stable households left, vacant dwellings were used for anti-social activity and, as living conditions deteriorated, the remaining residents applied to the Council for alternative accommodation and more dwellings were vacated."[84] In 2013 Dublin City Council announced that the redevelopment plans were being abandoned and the remaining 44 residents would be relocated elsewhere. The study cites the lack of funding from Dublin City Council for community-orientated infrastructure as a key factor for the fate of O'Devaney Gardens: "due to the weakness of community structures in O'Devaney Gardens the community was unable to oppose or influence the redevelopment strategy and was devastated as a result."[85]

[82] Michelle Norris and Rory Hearne, "Privatizing Public Housing Redevelopment: Grassroots Resistance, Co-Operation And Devastation In Three Dublin Neighbourhoods", *Cities*, 57.40 (2016), 42.
[83] Ibid., p. 43.
[84] Ibid., p. 44.
[85] Ibid., p. 45.

"You can put us down, knock us down, but you can't keep us down"

Graffiti in O'Deavaney Gardens.[86]

While resistance to gentrification and other phenomena relating to neoliberalism is often difficult, there are still pockets of resistance taking place all over Dublin. Even though gentrification is part of a large, globalised process, it does not mean that community grassroots resistance is ineffective. It is the deployment of small, ultra-localised interventions that usually make a difference in the material existence of vulnerable communities. These micro-interventions were identified by Boštjan Bugarič, a Slovenian academic concerned with experimental transformation of urban space. Bugarič identified what he calls the 'power city' which is a city where its layout is "dictated by investors or developers, and urban dwellers are not considered important as the capital reshapes the

[86] Órla Ryan, "PHOTOS: O'devaney Gardens Before Its Last Flats Are Demolished", *The Journal*, 2016.

city in pursuit of profit." [87] He says that in this 'power city', which is fuelled by investor capital, the only objective is to "maximize profit through the implementation of corporate design that invariably affects the community".[88] If we look at Dublin, we can indeed understand it as a 'power city', where most urban change happens at the behest of profit and private capital. Bugarič stresses that business-friendly laws work against the interest of smaller, more vulnerable communities and "results in privatization of urban commons and disregard for public interest in favour of private gains".[89]

Bugarič identifies that, amongst all the chaos of private capital accumulation, there is meaningful resistance to be found within communities who participate in "small actions in micro urban environment[s]…"[90] where the purpose is to create diversity of content in public urban spaces. He calls this process 'urban acupuncture', where small pockets of resistance are pinpointed in order to alleviate the oppressive nature of the larger and more general urban area. Bugarič then goes on to discuss a case study in Zalog, a small town on the outskirts of Kranj, Slovenia. In Zalog an NGO, KUD C3, partnered with a local community, in this case young children, to assess their needs and visions for their neighbourhood. The result was the renovation of a dilapidated public space, which was turned into a playground that was designed and realised by the local community, with special input from local children.[91] The reasoning for this was that the main users of the playground were going to be young children, so their vision was important to make the project a success.

[87] Boštjan Bugarič, "Urban Acupuncture Treatment Implementing Communication Tools With Youth In Ljubljana Suburbs", *Urbani Izziv*, 29.SPECIAL ISSUE: PUBLIC SPACES FOR LOCAL LIFE (2018), 96.
[88] Ibid., p. 96.
[89] Ibid., p. 96.
[90] Ibid., p. 100.
[91] Ibid., p. 100.

This ‘urban acupuncture’ is useful because of how it mobilises different community members to work together to design their own space in line with their specific needs, in cities that, as outlined above, work to alienate people who cannot assimilate to the neoliberal model of contemporary urban life. In Dublin there are similar, small-scale projects that have worked to combat the oppressive nature of neoliberalism and privatisation. One that highlights the powerful nature of community driven projects is Weaver Park.

Weaver Park

Weaver Park is located on Cork Street in The Liberties, a rapidly changing neighbourhood in Dublin’s inner-city. The Liberties is a historic area in Dublin that up until recently had been associated with social degradation and tenements. In the mid-20th Century many of these tenements were demolished and replaced with social housing complexes, or flats.[92] One of these flats, Chamber Court, was demolished in 2008. Originally the valuable plot of land was identified and zoned for commercial redevelopment.[93] However, due to the lack of parks or public spaces in The Liberties, local residents and community members began petitioning Dublin City Council for the land to be transformed into a space that served the local population.[94] As a result, in 2015, a document called *The Liberties Greening Strategy* was published and new possibilities for the space began to emerge. *The Liberties Greening Strategy* sought “to improve the recreational and amenity resources for the community, while focusing specifically on projects that have a realistic chance of being implemented in the medium term.”[95] The report notes how The Liberties is severely under-provided with

[92] "Weaver Park: Landezine International Landscape Award LILA", *Landezine-Award.Com*, 2019 <https://landezine-award.com/weaver-park/> [Accessed 9 August 2019].
[93] Ibid.
[94] Dublin City Council, *The Liberties Greening Strategy* (Dublin: Dublin City Council, 2015).
[95] Ibid., p. 3.

high quality urban green space and lacking any public community spaces.[96] It is not coincidental that a historically working class neighbourhood like The Liberties only sees infrastructural changes in the form of gentrification. Locals fighting for parks or other multiuse public space is a prime example of communities working together to combat neoliberal development.

Along with the publishing of *The Liberties Greening Strategy*, the community campaign led to the old site of Chamber Court being commissioned as a public park. It was named Weaver Park, to reflect the history of the area as a centre of weaving and linen manufacture. The park was to be open at all sides, connecting streets that for the previous 50 years had been separated by Chamber Court flats. It was also to include a playground and a large lawn for "informal play."[97] After the report was published, local skaters began working closely with the community and together they developed a section of the park that included ramps for skateboarding.[98] This is another example of how urban acupuncture yields results that makes cities cater for larger sections of the population. Both skaters and residents of The Liberties have experienced disinvestment and disenfranchisement in Dublin, and their close work in the Weaver Park project shows that when faced with totalising and globalised forms of power, small, community based projects can be very effective in creating pockets of resistance.

The work between the council, the local community and the skaters came to fruition when, in 2017, Weaver Park was open to the public.[99] The park features a welcoming, open plan design with multi-use architecture, such as granite benches that double as ledges for skaters

[96] Ibid., p. 3.
[97] Ibid., p. 8.
[98] Eric Davidson, "James Earley Discusses His Work In Cork Street's Skatepark", *District Magazine*, 2018.
[99] Gráinne Ní Aodha, "'It's Been Jammers': Dublin Just Got Its First New Public Park In 8 Years", *The Journal*, 2017.

to perform grinds on. We can understand the design and realisation of Weaver Park to be a form of urban acupuncture and a bold statement against neoliberal urban development. Weaver Park sits on 5,000m² of land in a newly desirable and quickly changing neighbourhood of the city. In the eyes of private capital, the plot of land is immeasurably valuable, and if not for the community action it would almost definitely be occupied by an expensive, privately owner apartment complex, which would have worked to further gentrify the immediate area. The importance of the community aspect behind Weaver Park is not to be understated. In Dublin, the transformation of traditionally working class areas usually happens without regard for the communities that have been living there, often times for generations. As we saw above, communities like O'Devaney gardens were destroyed, in part due to the lack of influence they had on the transformation of their neighbourhood. Community-based projects for the betterment of locals is not only bold statement against a city that has made gentrification and privatisation its legacy, it can also be very effective in creating alternative ways of living.

The curios case of the disappearing nightclub

In Dublin, it is not only residential areas that face the transformative dangers of gentrification and privatisation; cultural institutions are constantly assessed, altered and sometimes destroyed by private capital, seeking to ensure peak profitability from inner-city spaces. If a space offers value for a community but does not turn a profit, it is in a precarious position where its future is uncertain at best. If we refer back to the 'rent gap theory' proposed by Neil Smith we can understand the dangers that institutions who don't make big

profits face when they are situated on 'valuable' land.[100] Smith proposes that land, especially in inner-cities, will always appreciate in value.[101] Therefore, once the lands value is estimated to be worth more than its current use, it is ripe for gentrification, or 'redevelopment'. However, these redevelopments do not go unchallenged and often the ensuing fight for space ends up uniting different communities as we'll see below when examining the response from the various groups affected by different developments in The Liberties.

There have been countless examples of cultural institutions being shut down in recent years in Dublin: Dublin's Flea Market, Andrews Lane Theatre and the Powerscourt Steps are just some examples of spaces that have ceased to exist.[102] One of the most recent examples of this was the Tivoli Theatre, which was a multi-use space that operated as a theatre, cinema and nightclub over its 85 year history.[103] Most recently it served as a nightclub for underground music as well hosting art exhibitions and stage plays. In 2015 the venue worked together with Mother, a queer electronic music collective to celebrate the 'Yes' vote in Ireland's gay marriage referendum.[104] The Tivoli closed its doors in January 2019 and was demolished, as a land developer had acquired the rights to construct an 'aparthotel' on its grounds.[105] Ironically, the site of the venue is in The Liberties, a 10 minute walk from Weaver Park. In addition to gentrifying the surrounding area, accommodation structures like aparthotels create a transient community who will not interact with their locale in any meaningful way due to the short nature of their tenancy.

[100] Neil Smith, "Toward A Theory Of Gentrification A Back To The City Movement By Capital, Not People", *Journal Of The American Planning Association*, 45.4 (1979), 538-548
[101] Ibid., p. 540.
[102] Roisin Agnew, "Dublin City's Community And Nightlife Are Under Threat", *The Irish Times*, 2018.
[103] Des Kerins, "The Tivoli Cinema / Theatre, Francis Street, Dublin", *Arthurlloyd.Co.Uk*, 2019 <http://www.arthurlloyd.co.uk/Dublin/TivoliCinemaFrancisStreetDublin.htm> [Accessed 9 August 2019].
[104] Louise Burton, "Gig Of The Week: A Sad Farewell To District 8", *The Irish Times*, 2019.
[105] Ibid.

Moving from the south inner-city to the north of the city we have another cultural institution that is currently earmarked for a different type redevelopment: Dalymount Park, a football stadium in the area of Phibsborough.[106] The stadium is home to Bohemian Football Club, commonly known as The 'Bohs'. The team is 100% owned by the members of the club and the club plays a big part in its surrounding community. The team has partnered with the anti-racist football charity Show Racism the Red Card, promoting antiracist values to local schools and communities.[107] In 2015 the club sold the stadium to Dublin City Council, with the plan to upgrade the stadium which has suffered severe dilapidation since its construction in 1901 and renovation in 1999. The new plans included "a library, flexible community space and meeting rooms, as well as concourse space at ground level which can be utilised for community activities and events on non-matchdays."[108] On the surface of things, these plans are in stark contrast to the anti-community redevelopments discussed elsewhere in this chapter. Unfortunately though, the plans were put on hold, as nearby international grocery chain Tesco objected to the planning permission on the grounds that it would not be able to receive its deliveries at the front of its store.[109] These objections have delayed the process indefinitely with the much-needed redevelopments now looking uncertain. This blocking of a pro-community development is another instance of how foreign capital consistently trumps residents of Dublin.

However, given Dublin City Council's track record, even if the plans were to get the go ahead, there is little to ensure that the best interest of the community would be at the

[106] Ryan Bailey, "Dublin City Council Announce Plans For 6,000-Seater Stadium At Dalymount Park", *The Journal*, 2018.
[107] "Bohemians FC School Visits | Show Racism The Red Card", *Theredcard.Ie*, 2019 <http://theredcard.ie/2007/10/11/bohemians-fc-school-visits/> [Accessed 9 August 2019].
[108] Bailey, "Dublin City Council Announce Plans For 6,000-Seater Stadium At Dalymount Park"
[109] Laura Lynott, "Doubts Swirl Over Dalymount Park Redevelopment As Tesco Objects", *The Independent*, 2019.

forefront of the development. It has been theorised that stadium-led regeneration is often synonymous with gentrification. Mark Panton and Geoff Walters talk about how the redevelopment of sporting stadiums often leads to a gentrifying of the area that the stadium occupies. They note that during periods of austerity, which Dublin has been experiencing since the 2008 crash, the "combination of neoliberal urban policy… stagnating economy, powerful vested interests and a sporting event as a catalyst is precisely the kind of combination of issues that can produce the familiar mantra of 'public pain, private gain' in large scale Urban Development Projects…"[110] While Dublin's economy is no longer stagnant, a council-led regeneration project in an already gentrifying neighbourhood such as Phibsborough could lead to unsustainable growth and further gentrification. While the battle rages over Dalymount's possible regeneration, there is another community-based football movement happening in Dublin that subverts the organised nature of stadium football and uses it as a way to actively fight against anti-community development.

The beautiful game

Sunday Football is an informal, street football league that takes places every second Sunday in Dublin's inner city. The Sunday games are an offshoot of the independent football club 1815 F.C. On the club's Instagram account they write that: "1815 F.C is a community football club by the people and for the people. We are making use of the unused and rediscovering Dublin in a new light…"[111] The public pitches are often located adjacent to inner-city flats or hidden away in lesser-known parks. As well as creating a community by organising the

[110] Mark Panton and Geoff Walters, "'It's Just A Trojan Horse For Gentrification': Austerity And Stadium-Led Regeneration", *International Journal Of Sport Policy And Politics*, 10.1 (2018), 163-183 <https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2017.1398768>.
[111] "We Need You And Dublin Needs Us!", *Instagram*, 2019 <https://www.instagram.com/p/BvcCZUPnxB5/> [Accessed 9 August 2019].

Sunday Football, 1815 F.C. aims to bring attention to these public spaces and utilise them to their fullest potential. The only information about these pitches online or elsewhere is what has been published by 1815 F.C. One of these works is a map of Dublin that highlights the location and name of all the pitches. The club was founded in 2017 and the league has been operating like this for 2 years. It is mixed-gendered and hosts players from a variety of backgrounds with a differing skill levels.[112] Much like Weaver Park, the league exists as an antidote to a city that is steeped in regulation and privatisation. The league's conscious effort to fight Dublin's lack of investment in public space can be understood as an example of urban acupuncture. Its multi-locational nature is indicative of urban acupuncture, as it targets small pockets of the city for resistance to make the general urban environment less oppressive.

1815 F.C. has actively built a community that extends beyond the twice-a-month football games. In early 2019 it was announced that a pitch on Vicar Street in The Liberties was going to be used as a site to house a 'Rock and Room' hotel. It would be a part of a concert venue which is situated next door and would offer guests "a package of tickets/room/meal and membership of a new private club on the hotel's 8th floor with views out over the city and direct access to the venue."[113] Ironically, the site is a two-minute walk from the new aparthotel being developed on the grounds of the Tivoli Theatre, highlighting the depressing fact Dublin City Council are consistently green-lighting hotels amidst the biggest housing and homelessness crisis the city has ever faced.[114]

[112] "1815 F.C | 1815", *1815*, 2019 <https://www.1815magazine.com/1815-f-c> [Accessed 9 August 2019].
[113] RTE, "Vicar Street Set To Go "Rock And Room" With New Hotel", 2018.
[114] Joan Scales, "Buoyant Year Predicted As Six New Hotels To Open In Dublin", *The Irish Times*, 2018.

As well as being of importance to 1815 F.C. who regularly use the space for their Sunday Football, the pitch is also important to locals because, as mentioned above, there is very little open, public space in The Liberties. Residents groups have mounted campaigns against the hotel claiming that the proposed eight-storey structure is completely at odds with The Liberties, which is one the oldest parts of Dublin.[115] As well as the resident's protests, Sunday Football organised a 'Community Marathon Football Match' to protest, in their words, "greedy money hungry landlords/developers/councils…"[116] The tournament was organised in conjunction with local housing groups to stress the importance of spaces like the pitch and also to draw attention to the housing crisis that Dublin City Council seemingly chooses to ignore. The tournament was played with a large banner on display reading "build homes not hotels".[117] The event was well attended and received coverage through independent media outlets around Dublin.[118]

This event was followed, three months later, by another protest tournament in Dublin's North inner-city, where Mountjoy Park, which houses one of Dublin's pitches and is being redeveloped by Dublin City Council and The Irish Georgian Society.[119] The Irish Georgian Society is a group who aim to "conserve, protect and foster an interest and a respect for Ireland's architectural heritage and decorative arts."[120] While there is nothing inherently wrong with fostering an interest in Georgian architecture, the context is important. In this case we have the partnership between a city council and a society who promote the

[115] Conor Pope, "Liberties Protest At Site Of Proposed 'Rock And Room' Hotel", *The Irish Times*, 2019.
[116] "If you can be there, then be there.", *Instagram*, 2019 <https://www.instagram.com/p/BwxVRurnAJY/> [Accessed 9 August 2019].
[117] "UEFA Unofficial", *Instagram*, 2019 <https://www.instagram.com/p/BxEySq6HgYC/> [Accessed 9 August 2019].
[118] "Football Against The Developers", *Medium*, 2019.
[119] "Community Marathon Football Match", *Facebook.Com*, 2019 <https://www.facebook.com/events/344545276495523/> [Accessed 9 August 2019].
[120] "Preserving And Promoting Ireland's Architectural Heritage And Decorative Arts", *Igs.Ie*, 2019 <https://www.igs.ie> [Accessed 9 August 2019].

aesthetics of colonial-era architecture and housing, many of which were used as slums up until the mid-20th Century. When the plans and accompanying report for Mountjoy Park were revealed, the report concluded that "it is a park that needs vision and investment to realise its potential in revitalising this area of the inner city…"[121] This call for revitalisation is the call for gentrification. As discussed previously, gentrification is often descried euphemistically as 'rejuvenation' or 'urban renewal', but when we look at what exactly Dublin City Council and the Irish Georgian Society are calling for; it is the transformation of a working class area to better fit middle-class values and increase potential profitability.

This time 1815 F.C. joined forces with Dublin Central Housing Action, who are a direct action housing group who occupy unused sites, conduct anti-eviction work, chair a homeless support group and advocate for more social housing and the upkeep of existing stock.[122] The collaboration between housing activists, local residents and 1815 F.C. exemplify how resisting neoliberal development patterns can engage and strengthen communities. While the fate of the Vicar Street pitch has already been sealed and the future of Mountjoy Park as we know it remain uncertain, communities have been united and solidified. The oppressive and totalising nature of gentrification is inarguable; often it is private capital and large corporations that triumph over marginalised communities. As we have seen, this is often the case in Dublin. However, the resistance to this can be incredibly powerful and inspiring. Much like the Weaver Park project, Sunday Football's community spirit also shows how cherished public space is in the city. Not only that, they have made a bold and clear statement: these spaces will be defended and protected - while neoliberal devolpment and

[121] Ronan McGreevy, "Plan To Turn Dublin's Mountjoy Square Into Visitor Attraction Revealed", *The Irish Times*, 2018.
[122] "Dublin Central Housing Action", *facebook.com*, 2019 <https://www.facebook.com/pg/dublincentralhousingaction/about/?ref=page_internal> [Accessed 9 August 2019].

gentrification seek to monetise every square inch of the city, there will always be communities engaging in resistance and activism. And where there is resistance there is hope for a better and more liveable future.

Conclusion

This thesis has two main aims: one is to uncover the links between Irish neoliberal policy and gentrification and other forms of displacement; the other is to highlight the interventions and resistance that have sprung up as a reaction to this neoliberal urban development. Undoubtedly, gentrification and neoliberal urban policy are intrinsically linked. This was highlighted by examining the political motivation behind the implementation of Ireland's neoliberal policies. To further establish this link, the profit-driven nature of neoliberal ideology has been firmly linked to instances of gentrification and displacement.

As well as highlighting the interconnected nature of neoliberalism and gentrification, it was also the aim to show how displacement is not something that is experienced equally. Using my background at a gender studies student, I highlighted how people can be more vulnerable to displacement or experience it in a more concentrated form, depending on their identity and social status. Because gentrification takes different shapes depending upon the environment it happens in, I felt it was important to characterise the city of Dublin itself. The focus was not only on how Dublin's specific context causes gentrification, but also how gentrification plays out is informed by the city's unique make-up.

The new knowledge that has been produced here is the characterisation of the resistance that is currently taking place in Dublin. From the Weaver Park project to Sunday Football's informal and inclusive community league, this thesis has created a snapshot of contemporary Irish responses to the issues caused by neoliberal policy. These responses are

community-based and subsequently are small and localised. The work that is done by these groups rarely extends beyond the immediate sphere they inhabit. Most of their actions are Dublin specific, in that they make use of the various resources in the city to carve out a more liveable existence for themselves and the wider community.

Hopefully by chronicling this resistance, it could be used by others as a blueprint or inspiration. As stated in the introduction, neoliberalism is a global phenomenon. What is being focused on here is not the overthrowing of the system, but the interventions being made that work to produce a greater quality of life for the people who are directly impacted by neoliberal policies. If the methods of resistance here can be of help to other people in similar urban contexts then this thesis can be considered a success.

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