



Utrecht University

How has the new-build gentrification of Dublin's North Lotts Docklands affected the surrounding East Wall neighbourhood?

A multifaceted approach to measuring knock-on effects resulting from the new-build gentrification of the Dublin Docklands to a bordering neighbourhood.

MSc Thesis in Human Geography

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List of Contents	Page
List of Figures	3
List of Tables	4
Table 1: Summary of East Wall sites. Source: ABP	324
Glossary	5
Acknowledgements	6
Chapter 1 - Introduction	7
Chapter 2 - Theoretical Framework: New-Build Gentrification	11
2.1 Introduction.....	11
2.2 The Evolution of Gentrification.....	11
2.3 Gentrification and Displacement.....	14
2.4 Specific forms of gentrifications.....	18
2.4.1 New build gentrification.....	18
2.4.2 Retail gentrification.....	21
2.5 Land use planning.....	21
2.6 Conclusion.....	22
Chapter 3 - Research Design and Methodology	23
3.1 Research Questions and Objectives.....	23
3.1.1 - Research Questions.....	23
3.2 - Scope of the Study.....	23
3.2.1 - Statement of the Research Aim.....	23
3.3 - Research Methods.....	24
3.3.1 - Qualitative approach.....	24
3.3.1.i - Document Analysis.....	24
3.3.1.ii - Observational and visual documentation analysis.....	25
3.3.1.iii - Semi-structured interviews.....	25
3.3.2 - Quantitative analysis.....	27
3.4 - Conclusion.....	27
Chapter 4 - Results	28
4.1 Introduction.....	28
4.2 Case study.....	28
4.3 Document analysis.....	29
4.3.1 Public planning policies.....	29
4.3.2 Planning applications.....	31
4.4 Census Analysis of East Wall neighbourhood.....	34
4.4.1 Population growth.....	35
4.4.2 Social Class.....	37
4.4.3 Level of Education.....	39
4.4.4 HP Pobal Deprivation Index.....	40
4.4.5 Nationality.....	42
4.4.6 Rental prices.....	44
4.5 Interviews.....	45
4.5.1 Population Pressure.....	46

4.5.2 Community changes.....	49
4.5.3 Development.....	51
4.5.4 Retail.....	56
4.5.5 Financialisation.....	58
5.1 Thesis Aim.....	59
5.2 Discussion.....	59
5.4 Future directions.....	65
5.5 Conclusions.....	65
Bibliography.....	66
Appendices.....	73
Appendix A: Resident Interview Participants.....	73
Appendix B: List of Documents.....	74
Appendix C: Merchant’s yard ‘Bricker’s yard’ on sale for possible redevelopment. Source: Savills, 2021.....	75
Appendix D: SDRA 6 Docklands Area. Source: Dublin City Council, Source: DCC.....	75
Appendix E: East Wall zoning in the Dublin City Development Plan 2022-2028. Source: DCC.....	76
Appendix F: East Wharf advertisement. Source: MKN website.....	76
Appendix G: Interview Topic List.....	77
Images.....	78
Image 2: Church Road retail spaces, 1970. Source: Butcher’s photo albums.....	78
Image 3: Church Road retail today. Source: My Own.....	78
Image 4: East Road, 1953. Source: Butcher’s photo albums.....	79
Image 5: East Road and Sheriff Street, 2009. Source: Google view.....	79
Image 6: East Road and Sheriff Street, 2023. Source: Google view.....	80
Image 7: East Wall Road, 2009. Source: Google View.....	80
Image 8: East Wall Road, 2017. Source: Google View.....	80
Image 9: East Road cafe. Source: My Own.....	81
Image 10: View from East Wall neighbourhood of the redeveloped Docklands. Source: My Own.....	81
Image 11: Mayor Street Upper redevelopment in the SDZ. Past terraced houses surrounded by newly developed apartments. Source: My Own.....	82
Image 12: East Wall Road with chain brands and new development. Source: My own...83	
Image 13: Caledon Road with new apartments and offices on East Road. Source: My own.....	83

List of Figures

Fig. 1: The yellow highlighted area shows the SAPS data for the East Wall neighbourhood. Source: CSO.....	35
Fig. 2: The Electoral Division of North Dock B, Dublin City. Source: CSO.....	35
Fig. 3: Electoral Division North Dock B Population Growth 1992 - 2022. Source: CSO..	36
Fig. 4: Total Population of SAPS East Wall. Source: CSO.....	36
Fig. 5: Comparison of population growth between both Electoral Division North Dock B (1992-2022) and East Wall (2006-2016) SAPS data. Source: CSO.....	37
Fig. 6: Social Class of East Wall Residents comparing the years 2006, 2011 and 2016. Source: CSO.....	38
Fig. 7: Social Class East Wall Residents SAPS 2006. Source: CSO.....	38
Fig. 8: Social Class East Wall Residents SAPS 2011. Source: CSO.....	39
Fig. 9: Social Class East Wall Residents SAPS 2016. Source: CSO.....	39
Fig. 10: Highest level of education completed of East Wall residents for the years 2006, 2011, 2016. Source: CSO.....	40
Fig. 11: HP Pobal Deprivation Index East Wall 2006. Source: Pobal HP Deprivation Index Scale (Haase and Pratschke, 2012) and Ordnance Survey Ireland.....	41
Fig. 12: HP Pobal Deprivation Index East Wall 2011. Source: Pobal HP Deprivation Index Scale (Haase and Pratschke, 2012) and Ordnance Survey Ireland.....	41
Fig. 13: HP Pobal Deprivation Index East Wall 2016. Source: Pobal HP Deprivation Index Scale (Haase and Pratschke, 2012) and Ordnance Survey Ireland.....	42
Fig. 14: Nationality of East Wall residents, 2006.....	43
Fig. 15: Nationality of East Wall Residents, 2011.....	43
Fig. 16: Nationality of East Wall residents, 2016.....	43
Fig. 17: RTB Average Monthly Rent Report (EURO) for all property types in East Wall, from the year 2008 to 2022. Source: RTB.....	44
Fig. 18: A comparison of RTB Average Monthly Rent Report (EURO) for all property types in Dublin 1 Area (Northside Inner City and North Docklands) and East Wall, from the year 2008 to 2022. Source: RTB.....	45

List of Tables

Table 1: Summary of East Wall sites. Source: ABP32

Glossary

Abbreviation	Explanation
ABP	An Bord Pleanála
BTR	Build-to-Rent
DCC	Dublin City Council
CBRE	Commercial Real Estate Services
IFSC	International Financial Services Centre
RTB	Residential Tenancies Board
SDRA	Strategic Development and Regeneration Area
SDZ	Strategic Development Zone
SHD	Strategic Housing Development

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

Urban sprawl and inner-city decline are urban planning problems that have appeared in urban landscapes throughout the years. Strategies such as building compact cities (Song, 2005 & Ellis, 2002) have been utilised to accommodate the continuing population growth. One common solution used by governments from all over the world has been to redevelop central underutilised or vacant land to achieve the consolidation of the city. Not only does this reduce urban sprawl, while encouraging sustainable practices, but it also combats the concern of inner-city decline by promoting reinvestment to the areas. Regeneration has become a common planning technique adopted by national governments to promote physical and economical urban renewal of central areas. However, a controversial form of this regeneration is gentrification, which has existed in urban history since Ruth Glass coined the term in 1964 (Lees et al., 2008) . She observed London's inner-city areas transforming with state reinvestment and an influx of a new affluent class to these areas. (Lees et al, 2008 & Davidson & Lees, 2005). Alongside this in recent years there has also been increased involvement of international investors or developers in the process of development, as financial property has become a financial asset. Financialisation of real estate refers 'to the original acquisition of different forms of decommodified and not fully commodified land and real estate by private equity funds and other opportunistic investment funds who have used aggressive strategies to invest short- to mid-term with the aim of buying low and selling high' (Aalbers, 2019, p. 381).

Both processes are viewed upon with alternative opinions varying from positive to negative. Perspectives are dependent on the context of each individual that may be affected by the redevelopment. Gentrification can be looked upon as increasing economic growth, reducing poverty levels, revival of the area and improvement in facilities and services for the community (Davidson, 2008). These same results can be interpreted differently however specifically for the pre-existing community. Rising property values put residents and local business owners at risk of displacement and it reduces the possibility of affordable housing (Zukin et al., 2009 & Marcuse, 1985). Gentrification can also alter the amenities and services to facilitate the new population which may face exclusion (Hubbard, 2018). The 'upgradation' and transformation of the area can also produce community detachment and a sense of 'un-homing' for those who have lived in the area before changes (Elliot-Cooper et al., 2020).

Financialisation also creates opportunities for redevelopment to be possible when financial capital isn't available for public actors. However, some think the state has given too much power to private actors to build infrastructure and accommodation, and this has allowed buildings to be produced in favour of the private sector. Important amenities and accessible

and affordable housing has been forgotten about in redevelopment of areas as they don't draw in high levels of profit (Blomley, 2017). There has also been a disconnect between developers, investors and the local communities themselves due to the growing distances between them as property has become an international liquid asset (Savini & Aalbers, 2016).

Financialisation and gentrification processes have become entangled in the property development world since national governments have strived to counteract urban blight through reinvestment and physical upgradation, and a major source of investment has originated from international private investors and developers who can benefit from a profitable property portfolio. Financialisation measures have particularly embedded themselves into the emerging trend of new-build gentrification, which refers to the redevelopment of mainly derelict brownfield sites in central areas such as past industrial sites (Davidson & Lees, 2005).

The focus of this thesis is the knock-on effects of new-build gentrification in one area on a surrounding adjacent neighbourhood. A lot of academic research focuses on the area directly impacted by gentrifying policies and processes, and there is a limited amount of papers that study the knock-on effects of gentrification to a bordering neighbourhood. With gentrification literature, there also tends to be a focus on neighbourhoods who have already undergone gentrification processes and not before or during redevelopment activities. This research will study the possible knock-on effects of gentrification to an adjoining neighbourhood and during the time period of the processes occurring. It will look at the case study of Dublin's North Lotts Docklands regeneration and with a specific focus on its nearby neighbourhood East Wall and its residents. The research will consider whether the redevelopment of the Docklands area has resulted in socio-economic or physical changes in East Wall, if government planning policies or other financial processes have been involved in the process, and whether the long-term local residents perceive any impacts in their neighbourhood in recent years during the redevelopment of the Dublin Docklands.

Dublin has been no exception to the processes of gentrification and financialisation. While deindustrialisation impacted the port of Dublin city in the 1960s, the docklands areas and surrounding neighbourhoods fell into a state of disrepair with physical dilapidation and a fall in economic levels. With a neoliberal government during the 1980s, they sought out international investment to the country and redeveloped one of the abandoned dock areas to create the International Financial Services Centre (IFSC), and the lowest corporation tax in the EU invited many major companies to relocate in the city. Since this example of state-led regeneration was a success, other areas of the docklands have been and are currently being redeveloped which includes the North Lotts area. Abandoned warehouses and factory

buildings have been replaced with high-rise luxurious apartment and sky-high office blocks which has transformed the area to attract a new socio-economic population of young professionals.

Dublin as a global city and a continuously growing economy is recognised by its consistent construction industry and the relocation of major technological companies. The majority of these movements have been focused in the Docklands area where valuable land is available in the core of the city. The government along with international investors and developers have taken advantage of the area designated as the Strategic Development Zone (SDZ) which includes both North Lotts and Grand Canal dock area. The major transformation of this area has been achieved with a total change in landscape and an increase in economic growth within the area. While overall it has improved the physical environment, it has also triggered further rezoning and redevelopment of land in the surrounding neighbourhood of East Wall. These forms of regenerative redevelopment have become a contested subject and an issue as both the construction sector and central government believe it is renewing a previously derelict area, that is now seen as an attractive location for both businesses and an affluent population bringing economic growth to the area. However, impacts have been felt different and unevenly throughout the local community.

New-build gentrification is an important area to explore for future urban development. There are still high amounts of industrial sites available for development to take place on and it is encouraged by both public and private actors. Public actors such as the government want for consolidated cities and for previously underutilised or vacant brownfield areas to be transformed into thriving economic generating areas. Private actors will also benefit from financial gains made through the property market.

The overarching research question is;

- 'How has the new-build gentrification of Dublin's North Lotts Docklands affected the surrounding East Wall neighbourhood?'

Answering this question involves in-depth interviews with long-term residents from the East Wall area who have lived there before and during the redevelopment of the North Lotts Docklands. In order to get an alternative perspective, two local business owners are also interviewed to examine impacts on small businesses. It was also necessary to analyse national documents which give a timeline of the redevelopment, and also showing the perspective of public actors on regeneration of the space. A comparative analysis of socio-economic characteristics of the East Wall neighbourhood also took place. By using

census data, figures for ethnic diversity, property values and economic levels were able to be gathered from before redevelopment took place to the most current data.

The second chapter illustrates how the topic of gentrification is portrayed in an extensive secondary literature review. It begins by following the evolution of gentrification and the reasons behind the manipulation of the term, the impacts caused by the process including displacement, and then specific forms of gentrification will be discussed. The third chapter consists of the research aims of the thesis and it will explain the chosen research methodology deemed suitable to answer the research question. Qualitative methods approaches document analysis and in-depth interviews, and quantitative analysis for census data will be described in this chapter. The fourth chapter will state the results found from the research. The final chapter of the thesis includes the discussion of results, the conclusions and limitations of the research.

Chapter 2 - Theoretical Framework: New-Build Gentrification

2.1 Introduction

This chapter traces the history of gentrification and how the definition has evolved throughout the year to accommodate different contexts of which the process is found in. It will then look to dive into the impacts of gentrification caused displacement. Examples of state-led and new-build gentrification found in academic literature will also be discussed.

2.2 The Evolution of Gentrification

After the British sociologist Ruth Glass witnessed London's inner urban areas undergoing redevelopment, she coined the transformative processes as the term gentrification (Lees et al., 2008). Originally, gentrification began with the government reinvesting in degraded urban areas in an attempt to combat inner-city decline (ibid.). The physical regeneration and upgradation of previously working class neighbourhoods led to an inward migration of a new affluent population, as these areas were now seen as socially and economically attractive locations to live (Davidson & Lees, 2005). As a result of the physical transformation of the area and the influx of a higher-income class, both the land and property values started to increase (Lees et al, 2008 & Curran, 2007). The previous residents and local business owners struggled to compete with the new market prices, and this resulted in various forms of displacement and displacement pressures as they were priced out of the neighbourhood (ibid.).

Gentrification is now a globalised concept and it has evolved to capture many variations of the process throughout the years. Academic literature has acknowledged the multiple waves of gentrification that vary depending on the characteristics and the actors that play a role in the process. The third wave identified by Hackworth and Smith (2000) occurred predominantly during the 1990s in the post-recession times (Smith, 2002). The government's neoliberal approach to development created a dynamic relationship between the public and private sector. The state was seen actively colluding with private developers through encouraging the private sector's involvement with new development, by introducing policies and incentives that support the new builds and reinvestment of inner-city areas produced by the private sector (Aalbers, 2018). In neoliberal urbanism, the real estate property market has become commodified resulting in beneficial profits for the private and public sector (Davidson & Lees, 2005; Aalbers, 2018) . During the third wave, the government and private developers interacted with one another to produce regeneration and development in decaying urban areas (Davidson & Lees, 2005). Neoliberalism has strengthened the relationship and collaboration between the state and private sector, as the state supports the

private sector's redevelopment. Neoliberal urbanism has also transformed property into a popular commodity which can result in profit for both the developer and the state, and national and local urban policies reflect this (Aalbers, 2018).

Continuing on, gentrification had evolved again however the fourth wave of gentrification is not relevant to the European context. Instead the fifth-wave of gentrification which was introduced by Aalbers (2018) is seen in Europe and it involves the financialisation of the property market, as a mutation of the third-wave state-led gentrification. Both Hackworth and Smith's (2000) third-wave gentrification and Albers' (2018) fifth-wave gentrification revolve around the interaction and relationship between the public state actors, international investors and developers and global capital. While developmental policies and incentives are provided by the state to encourage private developers to build, there is now an additional interest by international investors in the commodity of real estate in the property market. Private developers can look to urban space as areas of economic opportunities and for speculative purposes (Blomley, 2017). Moreno (2014) explained how financialisation has created an exclusive property market that favours the elite. The process as well has not only targeted the homeownership part of the market, but also the rental property market. One type of build that has increased in popularity for private developers is the Build-To-Rent (BTR) apartments. These mean they will remain in ownership by the investors and shareholders of the development, and continue to benefit the private actors by gaining capital and profit quickly. The BTR structures have not only created a new financial asset but they are also influencing the landscape of future neighbourhoods and reducing opportunities for people to become homeowners (Nethercote, 2019). Financialisation of the property market has also influenced student housing or tourist accommodation such as Airbnbs and hotels. In Cocola-Gant and Gago (2021), they talk about the rise in Airbnbs and short-term lets to visitors in Lisbon and how it has affected locals' opportunities to access the housing market.

Urban spaces are notoriously being built through investment and this creates forms of secession where middle to upper classes find themselves withdrawing from urban space to private space (Lawton, 2019). Exclusionary measures such as gates or private green areas found in new developments are controlled by specific income groups which can afford these spaces (ibid). Gentrification and financialisation processes create areas of exclusion by preventing those with a lower income in the area. It aims for specific higher socio-economic consumption practices that enable economic growth and deem the area 'attractive' (Blomley, 2015). Inner city areas that were once looked upon as examples of urban decay are now developing into investment opportunities of lifestyle and entertainment. Urban

redevelopment policies targeting past industrial areas in the city have been promoted by both local and national governments. Cheap land becomes available for new developments to take place and companies to locate their business there. Savini and Aalbers (2016) noticed how the development market was no longer bound to a local level but the financial capital involved in property development had expanded to international interests through financialisation. Detachment is seen to have grown during the land use planning processes as the local community and private investors are completely disconnected (ibid.). The future of the urban environment has become dependent on private property developers and international investors that view land as just another source of capital. Uneven development and connected problems occur when the actors involved with the redevelopment are disconnected to the social and political structures of an area.

Dublin and Financialisation

Dublin has been featured as a case study for financialisation processes in literature. Nic Lochlainn (2021) looks into the financialization processes occurring in Dublin's property market, particularly after the 2008 Global Financial Crisis (GFC), where financialisation has taken over the production of urban spaces. After the financial crash in Dublin, the private rental sector has doubled in size with households tenure, and the average rent has increased by 70% between the years 2006 and 2011 (Byrne, 2019). Both institutional investors in the Irish market and small-scale private landlords have gained from the unstable and badly regulated housing rental market. Institutional investors and company landlords continue to increase their role in Dublin's PRS. Also their involvement has resulted in uneven development and control in the PRS in certain areas because they are focused in major redevelopment areas, such as the Dublin Docklands area and own most of the newly built buildings (ibid.). 'Broadly, financialization concerns 'the increasing dominance of financial actors, markets, practices, measurements, and narratives, at various scales, resulting in a structural transformation of economies, firms (including financial institutions), states and households' (Aalbers, 2017, p. 544). The private actors have influenced the city's landscape by building higher density BTR accommodation and offices. The purpose-built rental accommodation is usually aimed at the professional higher income class with additional services such as co-working spaces, gym and onsite management (Nethercote, 2019).

High-tech and multi-national companies are attracted to building their new office space in the centre of cities and waterfront areas with an industrial past seem to be the most sought after for redevelopment. 'Former industrial areas, docks and warehouses, railroad embankments, car parks, and low-cost older residential blocks and houses are being replaced with high-end office spaces, higher density, opulent apartment blocks, and the corresponding amenities for

a more lucrative demographic.’ (Heaphy & Wiig, 2020, p.1). The smart city and smart urbanism principles with the attraction of young skilled working professionals and centres of innovation is what public actors want to see, to result in economic growth. Younger professionals also tend to locate closer to busier urban centres to be close to their workspace and their social life in these mixed-use dense urban spaces (Heaphy & Wiig, 2020). There has been an economic and social division between the two communities in the Dublin docklands, the young skilled professionals and the older residents and families (ibid.)

2.3 Gentrification and Displacement

Gentrification impacts are up for debate in the scholarly world. The core of this debate is focused on who benefits and who loses from the gentrification processes. Actors that are deemed winners in this debate are usually the gentrifiers, and now with financialisation processes involved, private developers and investors are also seen to benefit. On the other hand, the losers to gentrification processes are the residents who have had their community disrupted by change and those who feel displacement pressures. The complex process does not produce such definite results where people are restricted to one category, either winners or losers.

Marcuse (1985) defined four types of displacement. These included direct last-resident displacement, direct chain displacement, exclusionary displacement and displacement pressure. While the first two concepts are direct forms of displacement such as increasing rents or disinvestment in buildings to produce states of disrepair, the other two are forms of indirect displacement. Exclusionary displacement occurs when lower-income groups are not able to live in a neighbourhood due to gentrification processes. Gentrifiers will move into a property in the neighbourhood, which reduces the available housing options in the neighbourhood to the residents. Displacement pressure, the second form of indirect displacement ‘refers to the dispossession suffered by poor and working-class families during the transformation of the neighbourhoods where they live.’ (Bolt & van Liempt, 2022, p.99).

Slater (2006) questions why gentrification has been perceived less critically in the academic world. Gentrification isn’t solely focused on house values rising and displacement pressure, it also looks at aesthetically ‘improving’ the area by the location of boutique shops, trendy cafes and an increase in social and ethnic diversity. Lack of affordable housing and community disruption with displacement of pre-existing tenants are not the only impacts of gentrification discussed in literature. Freeman (2008) argues against Slater and mentions how ‘gentrification’s impacts are multifaceted, affecting people differently and even the same individuals in different ways’ (p. 186). Freeman wants to not only look at the critical

perspective but look at a multitude of perspectives to analyse the impacts of gentrification. Vigdor (2002) sets out to do this by studying if low-income pre-existing residents of now gentrified areas are harmfully affected by gentrification by seeing whether they find the redeveloped neighbourhood preferable. In this, it discusses whether revitalisation of an area increases the housing costs, and the ability of poorer households to remain in the area. Gentrification can cause the neighbourhood to be more attractive for previous households to want to remain in the area to benefit from improved employment opportunities and services available. On the other hand, these neighbourhood improvements can either cause displacement of residents or residents to 'accept cost increases, suffering a decreased standard of living in the process' (Vigdor, 2002, p.172).

Gentrification research tends to not focus on the long-standing residents who are not under threat of direct displacement but have experienced gentrification processes. It is so common and often believed to be the successful and preferred option to combat urban decline. We can see an example of Vigdor's (2002) discussion on the possible benefits of revitalisation of a neighbourhood on pre-existing residents in Doucet and Koenders (2018). In this paper, they look into the working-class residents perspective who have experienced the ongoing process of gentrification. They focus on long-term residents in Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam where the municipality promotes the processes of gentrification. Residents' reactions were mixed to the inward migration of white, ethnically Dutch middle class people to improve the neighbourhood: 'Residents we spoke with had ambivalent, nuanced, complex, contradictory and divergent perspectives on, and experiences with, gentrification. These are tied to much wider experiences and trajectories, both within a resident's own life and within the ever changing neighbourhood and city around them.' (Doucet & Koenders, 2018, p.3645). Due to the tenant protection laws of the Netherlands, renters are less likely to face displacement pressures. There was no single feeling or perspective that fit all but it varied between residents and nuanced reactions. Reasons for this include the history of the area of disinvestment and decline, and the early stages of gentrification causing little displacement and little negative impacts felt, but observing physical positive ones. The high ethnic minority neighbourhood has had social housing demolished and instead newly built home owner accommodation catering for a higher-income population.

Gentrification-induced displacement can vary between direct and indirect depending on whether it's based on rental or home ownership tenure. Usually getting priced-out of the property market is a result of a wealthier population moving in: 'Gentrification-induced displacement may occur when pressures on the housing market from affluent groups create inflated rents and prices which can push out the low paid or unpaid over time.' (Atkinson,

2000 p.307). Additional services and facilities may also be displaced for higher priced products and services which continues the trend of excluding those who can't afford the new products and services. Other effects of gentrification on long term residents also include displacement pressures: "displacement pressure' which refers not only to actual displacement but also to the anxieties, uncertainties, insecurities and temporalities that arise from possible displacement due to significant rent increases after renovation' (Baeten et al., 2017, p.631). It can also include general changes in the neighbourhood's community whether it is to do with culture or amenities. New-build gentrification does not cause direct displacement, however it can lead to these displacement pressures and exclusionary displacement forms.

Traditionally displacement comes in many forms which depend on contexts and these include direct, indirect and exclusionary. However (Elliot-Cooper et al, 2020), also relates it to the feeling of un-homing or that it 'severs the links between residents and the communities to which they belong, something registered through a range of modalities, including experiential, financial, social, familial and ecological' (ibid., p. 494). As previously mentioned, the impacts of un-homing can be a varied temporal process, and it depends on the amount of time it may take. Also displacement can result in relocation to affordable housing may mean areas in the suburbs or peripheral areas that have more transport infrastructure or lack sufficient services. Those who stay in the area even after it is 'gentrified' could still feel displacement pressures from the redevelopment and changes going on in surrounding areas. The redeveloped neighbourhood is not always catered to a more affluent population, but sometimes instead accommodates young professionals or students that receive low wages, hence the initial move to a more affordable neighbourhood which has a working class background. However, services and amenities such as shops and pubs that have catered to pre-existing residents may be pushed out due to exclusionary displacement. 'Displacement is not just about direct replacement of the poor by wealthy groups; it also involves forms of social, economic and cultural transition which alienate established populations' (ibid., p. 504).

Hamnett (2003) counters the argument of Elliot-Cooper et al. (2020) of displacement by introducing the theory of replacement of population characteristics. In this paper, Hamnett (2003) explains how global cities have managed to successfully transition from industrialism to post-industrialism, specifically looking at the professional structure of the population. Cities have been changing their physical and cultural characteristics to cater to the lifestyle and demands of a new professional class: 'The link between an expanded middle class and gentrification is based, at least in part, on the fact that this new class is not only larger than

hitherto but has a much higher income than the traditional inner-city working class.' (Hamnett, 2003, p.336). There is a reduction in working class and an increase in professional classes, and this explains why there are larger proportions of the latter in previous working class areas, and that it is not necessarily displacement but replacement instead. Freeman (2005) also spoke about how population changes are observed from the initial stages of gentrification. The introduction and rise of young working professionals and professionalisation of the neighbourhood population is a sign that the young working professionals or recent college graduate workers, who have lower salaries and are paid less, will move into gentrifying neighbourhoods as the lower wages will match the current low property prices.

While Hamnett (2003) and Freeman (2005) find that gentrification does not necessarily lead to displacement, Van Gent and Hochstenbach (2020) discussed the alternative negative impacts caused by gentrifying processes of both income and ethnic segregation in the Dutch context. Although North American studies found gentrification caused further separation between ethnicities, it was more varied across Dutch cities. But they do find that housing value increases when there is a higher number of native-Dutch people living in the area. New housing built will continue to cause segregation of native Dutch and non-Western non-natives, this is due to the fact that newly built accommodation has less social housing. Systemic changes in the housing system occurred when the Housing Memorandum 1989 came out and deregulated housing associations as well as weakened state support in social housing (van Gent, 2013). As van Gent (2013) said, globalisation, financial capitalism and neoliberalisation are all deeply embedded with urban development and housing systems. Exclusionary displacement can also be found in Amsterdam after the selling off of social housing, a decrease in cheap housing and increase in affordable housing meant that people were excluded to move to certain areas where they would have before. Social housing will not be reproduced as quickly as it is sold (ibid).

The redevelopment that leads to state-led gentrification is embedded in state policies to improve the areas and introduce social mixing urban planning techniques by spreading the concentration of working class communities with the introduction of higher socio-economic status into these areas (Davidson, 2008). The types of policies being used in London are different from traditional gentrification. Although state-led gentrification is thought to cause less displacement in areas, the main evaluation measure is those that have benefited from improved living conditions of neighbourhoods. It is also important to evaluate the forms of displacement taking place, as direct is more visible, indirect is less obvious. Although, there is a sense of loss of community and 'un-homing' by residents in the neighbourhood

Riverside. There is little tenant protection and rental security for the residents, and the private sector has the power in development, with little interest in keeping the community a community (Davidson, 2008). Atkinson (2000) also looks at the effects of state policies to promote mixed communities and encouraging gentrification and how it impacts the social networks within the community of three London neighbourhoods. There has been a rise of professional workers moving closer to the centre of London, and the resulting increase in rents and house prices causes displacement, which also can change the neighbourhood's social network as a whole. Again it is clarified that gentrification is neither the destroyer nor the saviour of urban areas decline, and its impacts are felt differently between residents. The new population can also result in social differences and disrupt social networks within the community: 'The children of parents in council or other protected forms of tenancy were often unable to stay in the same area after moving away from home because of high local prices and rents.' (Atkinson, 2000, p.319). Interaction and communication between residents of a neighbourhood are important for the formation and strengthening of social networks. Social networks developed differently over recent years due to the rise and availability of technology, and means to communicate from a distance via texting, social media, emailing and phone calls. Network capital which can include appropriate meeting spots is important to avoid social exclusion. Less face-to-face also creates chances of weak ties (Larsen et al., 2006).

2.4 Specific forms of gentrifications

2.4.1 New build gentrification

Davidson and Lees (2005) believed that the development and transformation of vacant or decaying industrial sites was a mutation of the third-wave gentrification called new-build gentrification. Lambert and Boddy (2002) counteracted this belief as they thought this process can't be defined as gentrification due to the development taking place on brownfield sites that will not result in direct displacement of an existing population, and instead called the process 'residentialisation'. Davidson and Lees (2005; 2010) again reiterated their belief and disagreed with Lambert and Boddy by applying Marcuse's (1985) varied explanations of displacement to recognise indirect displacement occurring in London's Docklands waterfront area as a result of new-build gentrification. The adjacent communities to the redeveloped brownfield areas reported feeling their place-based identity had been displaced and the residents didn't recognise their neighbourhood (Davidson & Lees, 2010).

Examples of exclusionary displacement were found when lower-income classes or the pre-existing community were outpriced of their neighbourhood because they could no longer afford the increased property prices in a redeveloped area (Davidson & Lees, 2005). Hamnett (2003b) also uses the multibowl water fountain analogy to understand the geographical expansion of gentrification and its parallel price increases in the surrounding areas: 'The volume of water at the top represents middle-class housing demand. The water falls into the top bowl but, as prices rise, this is soon filled and the water spills over into the next bowl which in turn spills over down to the lowest and broadest bowl of the fountain.' (Hamnett, 2003b, p. 2416). The community may also feel displacement pressures, and they could feel that their home or place-based identity is displaced because of the gentrified neighbourhood. The new builds usually provide little benefits to the original community (Smith & Williams, 2007), and the new residential property proved to be unaffordable and inaccessible for the original residents (Curran, 2007). Davidson and Lees (2005) recognised four characteristics that determined new-build gentrification and they believed that the development and transformation of vacant or decaying industrial sites was a mutation of the third-wave gentrification called new-build gentrification. These characteristics included a reinvestment of capital into the area by the provision of policies that would encourage upgradation of the area, developing accommodation and other light labour facilities such as offices, which provided a new economic growth area. The second characteristic was an inward migration of a higher-income class which was a result of the area becoming attractive to a more affluent population, and the close proximity to city workplaces. The third characteristic was a landscape transformation from the new builds taking place on past industrial sites. Lastly, there were forms of displacement of the pre-existing community including indirect displacement through the exclusion of residents from the area's property market.

Doucet (2009) also looks at the residents who are still living in a gentrifying neighbourhood and have lived before gentrification started, who have not faced displacement yet. This paper looks at how the residents of a neighbourhood in Edinburgh, Scotland perceive some of the changes to housing, amenities and social networks. There was less criticism about the process occurring in their neighbourhood, because the transformation was mainly performed through new-build gentrification. The updated retail spaces improved the area for residents to places they could enjoy such as cafes and restaurants, instead of pubs. Local residents were optimistic and welcoming about the changes but believed the redevelopment was not built for them: 'local residents interviewed in this study could see these changes, and were positive towards them, they also realised that they were not the intended target audience of much of this transformation.'(Doucet, 2009, p. 312). The housing tenure of social housing

makes up a large percentage of the area, so they may not feel the effect of gentrification as intensely or experience the impacts such as displacement. Hackworth (2002 in Slater, 2006) explains how displacement or replacement is not always an instant event that occurs, but that the changing area can also take time to produce an area for a higher socio-economic class, and once the space continues to be built for a more affluent population it can be show slower and gradual impacts of gentrification. Although displacement is difficult to measure, it is still an important effect to take notice when discussing gentrification. The reduced number of low-rent housing in an area will impact the pre-existing population that consists of the working class and prevents residents from being able to stay in their neighbourhood, this process refers to 'exclusionary displacement' (Marcuse, 1985).

Waterfront redevelopment has been a major part of the state's approach to regenerate decaying inner-city areas. The processes that occur tend to align with new-build gentrification by transforming vacant brownfield sites. It can be seen along London's waterfront during the 1980s and it still continues today (Davidson & Lees, 2005). It involved the national government and the Greater London Authority's urban policy to entice private developers to build there (ibid.). In New Zealand, urban policies such as The Building Act 1991 encouraged new-build gentrification to take place along Auckland's waterfront and to increase residential spaces in the city (Murphy, 2008). New-build gentrification also took place in Dublin's Docklands beginning at the end of the 1980s when part of the land was redeveloped into the IFSC. The pre-existing residents of Sheriff Street seemed not to benefit from employment opportunities (Duignan, 2011) or the new residential spaces built as they have been excluded from the housing market (Moore, 2008 & Duignan, 2011).

Dublin Docklands regeneration

Regeneration schemes in the Dublin Docklands have increased tensions between the residents and public and private actors involved in the development. It's said they feel excluded from the redevelopment processes. Dockland communities can be seen as tight-knit communities with close family and friend ties, and usual face-to-face interaction. Wonneberger (2011) looks into how the urban space of the Dublin Docklands has transformed and also how this has affected the social structure of the Dublin dockland communities. Effects that benefit the whole community are perceived as positive, whereas effects that make fundamental changes to their neighbourhood are not welcomed. Their attachment to both physical and social aspects is disrupted with some of the redevelopment. 'The transformation of the physical landscape also has a significant impact on dockland culture, community structure, identities and residents' everyday lives' (ibid., p.48). New residents tend to separate themselves from the previously established communities due to

lifestyle differences or new physical architecture of privatised and gated spaces. Wonneberger (2011) noted the differences between old and new residents included education, social networks, place attachment to the area, lifestyles and cultural/leisure preferences, and also communal identities and communal networks.

2.4.2 Retail gentrification

The opening of new retail property such as coffee shops, restaurants, and specialty clothing and food boutique stores have become an indicator of gentrification in urban areas since the 1970s. Land in gentrifying or pre-gentrifying stages are also cheaper for private developers to build in than already popular areas. Zukin et al. (2009) speaks about commercial upgrading in gentrifying neighbourhoods by/through smaller local chain stores and boutique stores have increased in neighbourhoods such as Harlem and Williamsburg in New York. However, there has also been an increase in larger chain retailers. The pre-existing traditional retail that has been a local store have reduced greatly in these areas by being replaced with retail as mentioned before. Chain stores and boutiques are seen as valuable to improve the areas. These new shop spaces accommodate the needs of the new wealthier population that move into redeveloping areas, and encourage their consumption practices and socialising practices. Newer chain stores can be less personal and knowing of the community. Previous traditional stores may also be forced to move because of higher valuing of land. In order to keep up with the new stores/competition, the traditional stores may alter their products to be more attractive to the new wealthier population, but this may also force the previous customers to choose elsewhere. In London, the promotion of cosmopolitanism in the city and the encouragement of social and ethnic mixing has managed to accelerate gentrification processes (Hubbard, 2018). Again the redevelopment and transformation of spaces has caused streets with previous 'local' traditional stores turn into stores that cater to middle class consumption demands. Both displacement and exclusionary processes can take place due to the unaffordability of the area with these new shops. Overall, this retail transformation can have some heavier impacts and act as a catalyst of the residential gentrification processes, as it will change the daily routine of the community and their experiences in the area. It will specifically exclude or place displacement pressures on the residents who can no longer afford it, and instead focuses on those who are attracted to the area because of these services and amenities.

2.5 Land use planning

The compact city is one of the popular urban planning techniques in recent years due to its contribution to sustainable development. It is found in international and local policies as it

encourages benefits to economic, environmental and social sustainability. The compact city planning principles encourage high density, diversity, mixed land use, sustainable transportation and increase in green space (Bibri et al., 2020). These strategies must occur at the same time in order for the sustainability of the compact city to be effective. These strategies overall hope to improve livability.

Land use controls and planning determined by governance and institutions decide who or what is valuable or who will be excluded from an urban area (Lombardo & Wideman, 2018). Land use looks into the density, height, scale of buildings that can benefit others while excluding others. Land uses tend to aim to improve and manage populations of areas but through this both exclusion and inclusion are dictated. Valorisation of land can occur through densification and increased heights. Devalorisation of property can also happen as a result of valorisation and increase in property values surrounding non-property owners (Lombardo & Wideman, 2018). Land use and property rights also decide who belongs in the area, and the aim for urban improvement is whatever the most important and best use is which leads to forms of exclusion (Lombardo & Wideman, 2019). Uneven development is found happening where there are processes of devalorisation and revalorisation occurring in urban spaces, and sometimes at the risk of lower-income residents (Lawton, 2019). Uneven development describes the processes that change social and economic circumstances by favouring the wealth of some places at the expense of others (Smith, 2010).

2.6 Conclusion

The term gentrification has evolved greatly since its original definition coined by Ruth Glass in the 1960s. The various mutations, including the third wave of new-build gentrification and fifth wave of financialisation of gentrification, illustrate how gentrification can be applied to different contexts with additional public and private actors. While the impacts of the processes such as displacement and land valorisation are discussed in detail and show how they are multifaceted depending on the position of the stakeholders. The following chapter explains the methodology used to analyse these impacts of new-build gentrification and financialisation within East Wall, Dublin.

Chapter 3 - Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Research Questions and Objectives

The focus of this thesis is the knock-on effects of new-build gentrification in one area on a surrounding adjacent neighbourhood. It will look at the case study of Dublin's North Lotts Docklands regeneration and with a specific focus on its nearby neighbourhood East Wall and its residents. The research will consider whether the redevelopment has had socio-economic or physical changes in East Wall, if government planning policies or other financial processes have been involved in the process, and whether the long-term local residents perceive any impacts in their neighbourhood in recent years during the redevelopment of the Dublin Docklands.

3.1.1 - Research Questions

The overarching research question is: 'How has the new-build gentrification of Dublin's North Lotts Docklands affected the surrounding East Wall neighbourhood?'

The general initial questions that my research is built around are as follows;

1. What planning policies and stakeholders have been involved in the forms of redevelopment in East Wall?
2. How has the demographic and socio-economic population structure in East Wall been impacted by the surrounding redevelopment in the Docklands?
3. What predominant changes and development trends can be observed in the physical landscape in East Wall?
4. How are these social and physical changes perceived by the pre-existing community of East Wall?

3.2 - Scope of the Study

This research will analyse the perceptions of East Wall residents on the redevelopment of the Docklands and any resulting knock-on effects it has had to their own neighbourhood. This will be realised through semi-structured interviews. The topics of the interviews will be discussed in detail.

3.2.1 - Statement of the Research Aim

The objective of this research is to identify what impacts new-build gentrification development has on the socio-economic and physical environment in an adjacent deindustrialised neighbourhood. The case study of East Wall in Dublin's North East inner city

will be used to analyse how the redevelopment of the Dublin North Lotts Docklands has affected the community of the adjacent area.

While this research focuses on a single specific case study of the East Wall neighbourhood and the Dublin Docklands, the results of this research should assist further findings and conclusions of new-build gentrification development research.

3.3 - Research Methods

Since the research aims and objectives were explained, the appropriate research methods for examining and collecting data will be established. The main methodological approach chosen for this research is qualitative analysis; 'qualitative methodology refers in the broadest sense to research that produces descriptive data- people's own written or spoken words and observable behaviour' (Taylor et al., 2015, p.7). Qualitative research allows researchers to understand people's own perspectives and how they experience their own reality. Both people and settings are viewed holistically and not as separate variables. It allows the researcher to understand the perspective of the local residents of East Wall who have been affected by their surrounding environment and how their community has been impacted. In-depth interviews were used as our primary qualitative method. Although quantitative research methods will also be used to examine the census information for the case study area and realise patterns of socio-economic change in different developmental stages of the North Lotts Docklands site. This mixed method approach reinforces the strength of the results of the study, by combining qualitative and quantitative data it will clarify how exactly the redevelopment has affected the nearby community.

3.3.1 - Qualitative approach

Several qualitative research methods were used to collect and analyse the data. The qualitative approach was suitable to answer the overarching general research question, and 3 sub questions (1, 3, 4) of this thesis.

3.3.1.i - Document Analysis

To answer the first question, extensive document analysis was used to look at relevant past and current planning policies and development plans of the local authority Dublin City Council and also national government departments, which are listed below in Appendix B. It clarified why property development had emerged in specific locations and which stakeholders were involved. In order to look at the stakeholders involved, document analysis is also used to look at planning applications submitted to An Bord Pleanála and Dublin City Council. This is useful to observe key players involved with development in the area. It also allowed for building type and tenure trends within the neighbourhood to be analysed.

Qualitative content analysis of the documents and policies identified patterns and themes in the texts that were not immediately obvious to the reader through coding the text.

3.3.1.ii - Observational and visual documentation analysis

To answer the third question, past and current data about the physical landscape has been collected. Observational data and visual documentation analysis was conducted through photographs taken on my field trip to analyse the current landscape, and platforms such as Google Maps were used to gather data on the past landscape. By gathering both the past and current observational data, it was possible to compare and analyse predominant physical changes and trends that have occurred in the neighbourhood. The types of developments such as hotels and apartments can also be found through these platforms and also through planning applications from An Bord Pleanála. Two community books on East Wall were also given on loan from a resident. This showed the neighbourhood and its community through pictures over the last 100 years. It also provided past retail and present retail spaces to be examined.

3.3.1.iii - Semi-structured interviews

Lastly to answer the fourth question, interviews with residents and local business owners were conducted, as it was essential to understand the perceptions of the East Wall residents and business owners in regards to impacts caused by the redevelopment of the Docklands. The size of the sample is important to acknowledge because the increase in sample size produces more precise results and reduces sampling errors. Both purposive and snowball sampling were used due. Snowball sampling involved participants being recruited through informants (Marshall, 1996), which allowed difficult to reach parts of the population to be contacted and interviewed. Purposive sampling was also used to gain access to participants that research questions and topics were relevant to (Bryman, 2008), and this benefited the data collection process in its limited time frame.

The residents that were interviewed were a part of a homogenous sample where each participant had the similar characteristic of residing in the area for 10+ years, as it was important for participants to have lived in the area before and during the major stages of redevelopment, because they experienced any changes that took place within their community. A total of thirteen residents were interviewed in-depth and each one had a duration ranging from thirty minutes to one hour. The codes for interview participants can be found in Appendix A. Contact was made through a facebook residents group, approaching members of the community in the area in person, or gaining contact through snowballing. Two participant interviews were conducted over the phone due to busy schedules, while the

rest were in person. In-person interviews allowed for the impact and emotions behind words to be more apparent to the researcher. Interviews were semi-structured which helped to create a comfortable environment for the residents and it put less pressure on the conversation to flow, while still keeping the focus on the questions (Taylor et al., 2016). The topics focused on the main topic of redevelopment of a nearby area, and whether they had perceived physical or socio-economic changes since this redevelopment. Physical characteristics such types of buildings (hotels, offices, apartments), densities, height changes and retail and consumption spaces were discussed. Socio-economic factors that were discussed included diversity in the population referring to both ethnicities and income class. Other impacts analysed were rising property values, changes in accommodation tenure, local feeling or sense of community and belonging, traffic, and access amenities and services. Questions about the future, what they felt the community needed and whether the redevelopment had positive or negative impacts were also asked.

The research also includes two semi-structured interviews with local business owners in the area. It was important to gain a different perspective to the redevelopment nearby and to evaluate how it has affected local retailers in the area. Neither participants lived in the area themselves. It is important to examine different aspects of long-term and newer business owners in the area and how the redevelopment has impacted their business, and also to look at the type of retail that has positive or negative impacts. Topics discussed were changes in customer frequency, diversifying customer population and preferences, services or products taken to accommodate changing customers, benefits from redevelopment, and pressures felt.

Coding was used to analyse the interview transcripts and 'refers to the classification of events in discrete categories and the labelling of these categories (Kowal & O'Connell in Flick, 2014, p.67). This allowed for key themes and trends discussed by the participants to be identified in the transcript.

There were certain challenges I encountered during the qualitative data collection process. First, it was difficult to get into contact with residents who fit the criteria of being long-term residents, as a lot of older residents did not use social media such as facebook or had limited phone use. This meant I had to rely on others to try to contact them for me which lengthened the process. Another difficulty experienced was participants finding times that suited them in their busy schedules. Especially, as the field work was conducted abroad, it meant there was a limited time frame for in-person interviews to be conducted, and

in-person interviews were important to allow older residents to be at ease while interviewing as the quality of phone calls made it difficult for conversations to be heard and understood.

3.3.2 - Quantitative analysis

To answer the second question, data was collected from the census and central statistics office regarding the socio-economic and demographic of the neighbourhood. A comparative analysis of SAPS data was used for the years 2006, 2011, and 2016. Comparisons were made for subjects such as population growth, social class, educational attainment, social deprivation scale and rental costs.

One challenge that arose from the census data is that the boundaries of the area, in which the population data was measured, changed shape and size throughout the years. It made it difficult for one to get an exact measurement of change in population as it wasn't always measuring the exact area.

3.4 - Conclusion

Measures have been taken during the course of this research and after it was completed to minimise any harm that could be caused to any of the study's participants. It is also ensured that the study protects the rights of each participant. The data that has been received through interviews and observations has been made private. In order to anonymise the data and disclose identity, each participant was given a code name. The physical copies of the data were transcribed and safely stored online. After the submission of this research, the physical copies will be destroyed.

Positionality challenges could arise where there is a visible social or economic difference between the interviewer and respondent (Sultana, 2007). It was found that most respondents were comfortable and talked openly about how they perceived their neighbourhood. As the neighbourhood was already familiar to me, I felt respondents could see I was aware of some issues already happening and also more understanding of the context of these issues. There was one respondent who I felt saw me as an outsider, and it seemed to influence their answers to my questions. I felt the semi-structured interviews with a set list of topics worked best to prevent this from happening again.

Chapter 4 - Results

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the results of the data collection. In the theoretical framework a summary was given on the various mutated forms of gentrification and its multifaceted impacts. It is still unknown how the new-build gentrification of the North Lotts Dublin Docklands has affected its adjacent neighbourhood of East Wall. First, a case study will be given on the Dublin Docklands redevelopment to have a better understanding of the context of the area. This will be followed by document analysis which will further analyse what private and public stakeholders are involved in the regeneration process, and how planning policies have stimulated development growth in this area. Document analysis will also allow for physical and financial trends to be recognised in the environment. After, census data from throughout various years will be presented in charts which will be analysed and compared to other contextual trends, to realise demographic changes in the East Wall neighbourhood since the nearby rebuilding of the docklands. Finally, personal interviews with long-term residents of East Wall will be examined to gain perspective from community members who have experienced the neighbourhood before and during the redevelopment, and whether they have felt changes within their neighbourhood. The different methods of analysis will allow for a multifaceted approach to the main research question.

4.2 Case study

The East Wall neighbourhood and docklands were initially developed from the reclamation of land from the Dublin bay area by the 1750s (Dublin City Council (DCC) Planning scheme, 2014) to accommodate the growing docklands' workers population. It is recognised as one of the five Docklands residential neighbourhoods with a long-standing working class population. During the 1960s, similar to other port activity areas, there was a decline of dockland activities after the introduction of mechanisation and containerisation. This caused a deterioration in the area, with high levels of unemployment, population decrease and low education levels (Kelly, 2008 & Duignan, 2011). There was also an increase in suburbanisation which was promoted by the government and led to further urban decay.

The initial physical regeneration of areas of the Docklands began in the late 1980s with the Urban Renewal Act and the arrival of the IFSC on the Custom House Docks in 1987 (DCC Planning scheme, 2014). This showed the beginning of a neoliberal government approaching redevelopment in a new way to stimulate economic growth in inner-city areas. The new central business district attracted international investment, major financial companies and private entrepreneurs to locate their offices in the area with the incentive of

the low corporation tax rate of 12.5%. The successful transformation of this area of the docklands encouraged further redevelopment under the Dublin Docklands Development Authority Act 1997 down the north docks with the regenerated Point village through the 2000s (DCC Planning Scheme, 2014). In 2014, the North Lotts and Grand Canal Planning Scheme was published, and it defined the Docklands SDZ for the government's next regeneration project. Once Google set up its European headquarters in the Grand Canal Dock area, also known as the 'Silicon Docks', other major technological companies such as Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn located their offices in the docklands area. Since then, there has been continuous successful reinvestment and redevelopment of the Docklands which has led the space to be in high demand.

East Wall is a neighbourhood adjacent to the SDZ North Lotts docklands area. Surrounding the residential area were past industrial sites that have over the years become underutilised or were left vacant. These areas are now being targeted to combat urban decline and to prevent urban sprawl.

4.3 Document analysis

Regeneration of inner-city neighbourhoods plays a major role in both national and state policies in order to create an 'improved' attractive environment where economic growth and investment can happen. Several documents (as seen in Appendix B) show the intention of the public actor's towards the transformation of these areas and how it has been portrayed to the public. Planning applications from the national planning board, An Bord Pleanála (ABP), also gave insight to the private stakeholders involved in the redevelopment, and their own reasoning behind why certain types of developments are being built. The following documents allow for the context of this redevelopment of the Docklands to be better understood during the research. It also introduced questions of interest for interview participants.

4.3.1 Public planning policies

In 2014, DCC and ABP created and passed the Docklands area of North Lotts and Grand Canal Dock Planning Scheme for the Docklands SDZ. It is essential to attract international investment into the area: "Maintaining and enhancing the Docklands brand and international marketability as an attractive and prime location for investment and high-value development is also one of four key focus areas..This international reputation must be carefully maintained and nurtured in order for the area to retain and evolve its role as a key national and international economic engine." (DCC Planning Scheme, 2014, p. 226). It shows the

relationship between public and private actors in the development of the area. The government's allocation of land as part of SDZ allows for the fast track delivery of both residential and non-residential development.

DCC releases a development plan for Dublin City every six years. In this document, it contains national and local planning strategies to encourage development within the city with housing, sustainability and economic development. In Dublin City's Development Plan 2016-2022, it described the meaning of the SDRA: 'The designation of the Docklands, including the Docklands SDZ, as a Strategic Development and Regeneration Area (SDRA) provides for the continued physical and social regeneration of this part of the city, consolidating the area as a vibrant economic, cultural and amenity quarter of the city, whilst also nurturing sustainable neighbourhoods and communities.' (DCC Development Plan 2016-2022, p. 264). The area is also zoned as Z14 which is defined in the plan as 'To seek the social, economic and physical development and/or rejuvenation of an area with mixed use, of which residential and 'Z6' (enterprise and employment use) would be the predominant uses' (ibid., p. 26). Key opportunity sites as part of the SDRA 6 Docklands include Docklands innovation park, Chadwick's Yard, East Road and Castleforbes Business Park. As part of the SDRA, it was stated a number of local environmental improvement plans were to be drawn up including for the East Wall and the Sheriff Street/North Wall area. However, East Wall's plan was never complete according to DCC when these plans were asked for.

In DCC City Development Plan 2022 - 2028, the consolidation and compaction of the city utilising vacant or brownfield sites is encouraged, especially targeting areas along transport corridors. The allocation of the SDRA is a key planning policy that achieves a compact city by the intensification of available land within the existing urban boundary: 'Consolidating the physical development of the city by tackling brownfield, vacant and underutilised lands, thereby also achieving improvements to the social and economic environments, in addition to the built environment' (DCC Development Plan 2022-2028, p.107). High-density residential buildings are also a factor in a successful compact city. It is mentioned that the increase in BTR developments had had negative impacts in certain city areas by creating areas with an overconcentration of substandard unit sizes and an over proliferation of rental tenure. BTR developments currently have smaller standard unit sizes compared to other apartment developments (CBRE, 2023). This had led to unsustainable neighbourhoods with an unhealthy mix of tenure. The document continues to promote it in SDRAs: 'BTR should be concentrated in significant employment locations, within 500m of major public transport interchanges and within identified Strategic Development Regeneration Areas.' (DCC Development Plan 2022 - 2028, p.154).

DCC 2022-2028 also recognises the location of new stores and retail competition in areas such as East Wall and states ‘This new convenience retail provision has provided greater consumer choice and competition and in many areas, has had regeneration benefits and provided much needed neighbourhood scale retail provision.’ (ibid., p. 203).

4.3.2 Planning applications

The Docklands Innovation Park, Merchant’s Yard, Alexandra Place, East Road (1-4), East Wall Road and Alfie Byrne Road junction and the Castleforbes Business Park are the main past industrial sites in East Wall which have been targeted for major redevelopment.

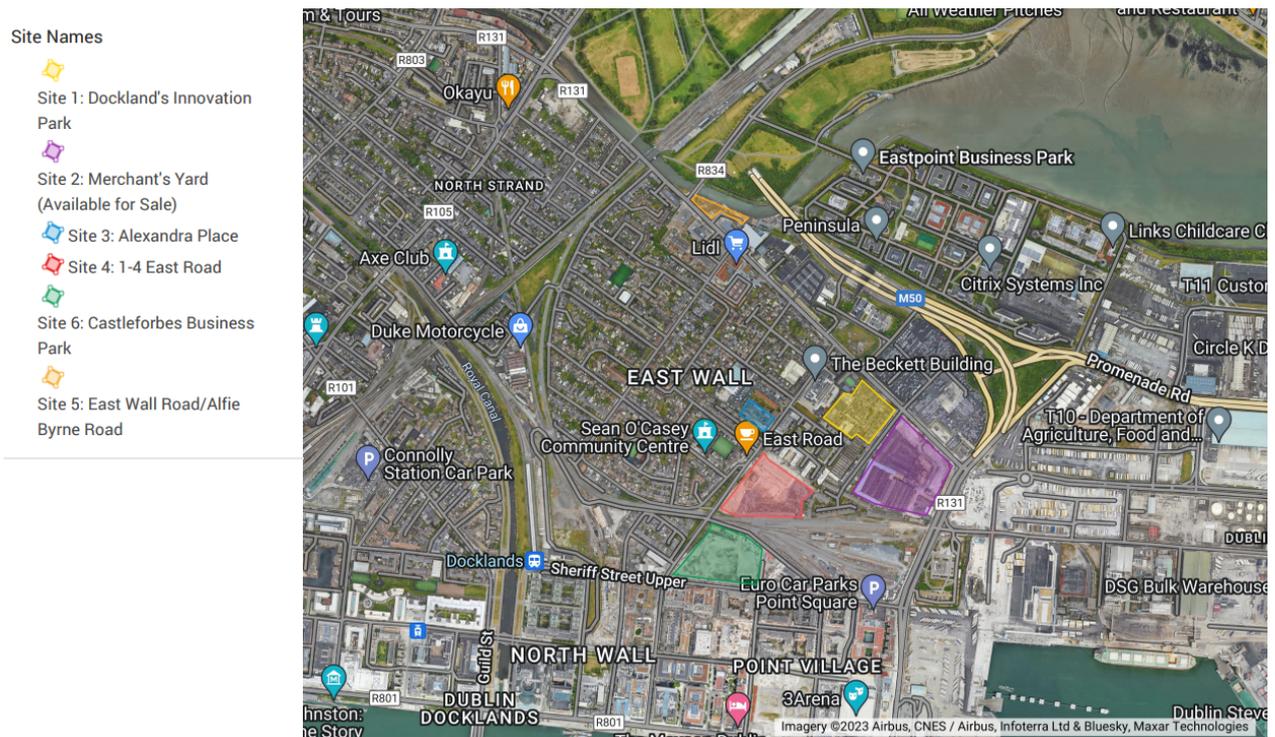


Image 1: East Wall current redevelopment sites. Source: Google Maps.

Site No.	Type	Tenure	# of units	Parking
1.Docklands Innovation Park (Accepted)	Apartments	Unknown	337 (48.4% 1 bedroom)	195
2.Merchant's Yard a.k.a Brick Yards (On Sale)	Apartments	Unknown	Potential 1,051 apartments	Unknown
3.Alexandra Place (Accepted)	Apartments + Hotel	Unknown	131 apartments 106 hotel	Unknown
4.East Road (1-4) (Currently)	Apartments	BTR	560 (11% studios, 39% 1 bedroom)	241
5.East Wall Road/Alfie Byrne Road (Currently)	Apartments + Hotel	BTR	87 apartments (52% 1 bedroom) 183 hotel	45
6.Castleforbes Business Park (Currently)	Apartments + Hotel	BTR	702 apartment (72% 1 bedroom) 219 hotel	Unknown

Table 1: Summary of East Wall sites. Source: ABP.

The above table shows a summary of ABP planning applications for the past industrial sites that are being targeted for redevelopment. Sites 1 and 3's planning application have been accepted but there has not been redevelopment on the sites as of yet. Site 2 is on sale at the moment for €80 million (Savills, 2021). Sites 4, 5 and 6 are currently being redeveloped at this moment.

Successful planning applications showed that high-density apartments and hotels were the predominant building types planned for the area. 3/6 have stated that the apartments are Build-To-Rent which means that people will not be able to buy them, and they will be rented from a company. Another noticeable pattern is that there is a concentration of single bedroom apartments, with 3/6 applications having 50% or more one bedroom or studio apartment. Site 1 was slightly under at 48.4%.

Sites 1, 4 and 6 were put through as Strategic Housing Development (SHD) applications, which means they bypass the city council's decision and local area development plans, and they go directly to ABP for a decision which cannot be appealed once accepted. Each of these planning applications also focused on the location of land being a part of the SDZ North Lotts and the SDRA 6 Docklands which meant that the land is zoned as Z14. Planning applications referred to the attractive location of the area by being in close proximity to Dublin City Centre, the North Docklands, the IFSC and the East Point Business Park. Site 5 advertises investment opportunities and on their website it states 'The Hotel's location close to business demand generators will significantly assist in the Hotel's performance and rank against its competitive set...' (MKN, 2023). Site 2 also promoted its high profile location next to the Docklands: "The property provides a purchaser with an opportunity to develop a scheme of unrivalled scale in the Docklands area and to capitalise on an area undergoing major change. (John Swarbrigg in Savills, 2021).

Another noticeable trend was the increased involvement of international investors, which are involved with 3/6 of the sites. Site 5, now known as the *East Wharf*, is currently advertising an opportunity for investors to take advantage of the hotel or residential development (MKN, 2023). Both sites 4 and 6 have been sold to a joint venture of investment firms with the common investment firm being Eagle Street Partners which 'is a pan-European real estate investment and asset manager'. (Eagle Street, n.d.). The other involved international investment with site 6 is the firm Nuveen and they focus on the financial gain from the site: 'The development, which benefits from full planning permission, is expected to complete in 2024, and on completion will have a Gross Development Value (GDV) in excess of \$500m.' (Nuveen, 2021).

While there has not been any recently completed residential accommodation in the East Wall area, there are many examples in the North Docklands. One example, located at the end of East Road, is a completed BTR development called Spencer Place. It illustrates the cost of newly built apartments in the area. One bedroom apartments start at €2025 monthly and include luxurious amenities such as a cinema, a gym, games room, a coworking lounge and

a rooftop terrace. Two bedrooms start at €2825 monthly. It advertises itself by stating: 'Find your ideal 1-bed apartment at Spencer Place, right in the heart of the thriving capital. Libra Living means smart, balanced, modern living - in a stunning Docklands location.' (Hooke & MacDonald, n.d) .

4.4 Census Analysis of East Wall neighbourhood

This following section includes a comparative analysis of the official census data courtesy of the Central Statistics Office (CSO) of Ireland of the Small Area Population Statistics (SAPS) for the East Wall neighbourhood. SAPS provides more detailed information for smaller areas of the neighbourhood. Certain themes were focused on when analysing the data to measure demographic changes in the area resulting from recent redevelopment. These included overall population growth, highest education levels attained, social class, and the nationality of the residents. Three time periods were chosen for the comparison 2006, 2011 and 2016. The 2022 SAPS data won't be available until later this year. However, data for a broader area, the electoral division North Dock B, was available to measure population growth from 1996 to 2022. The Residential Tenancies Board (RTB) Average Monthly Rent report also provided data on rental prices for the East Wall neighbourhood for various types of properties between the years 2008-2022.

The starting time period for the SAPS comparative analysis is 2006, because this was before the major redevelopment of the North Lotts Docklands. The second time period is 2011, this was chosen because it provides insight into the time after Spencer Dock and The Point Village (nearby docklands areas) were transformed physically with new apartments and office blocks. The third time period of 2016 was chosen because it was after the designation of East Wall and the North Lotts Docklands area as a SDZ and SDRA, which introduced fast planning and development of the area. It is also the year of the most recent available census data. These three time periods will show what influence the development of nearby dockland areas had on the East Wall neighbourhood over a 10 year period.

Two issues that arose included the lack of SAPS data for 2022, and that SAPS boundaries had changed throughout the years. The Electoral Division data also didn't provide data for comparative subjects throughout the selected years, such as nationality and ethnicity, so comparative analysis was also not possible for the Electoral Division area.



Fig. 1: The yellow highlighted area shows the SAPS data for the East Wall neighbourhood. Source: CSO.

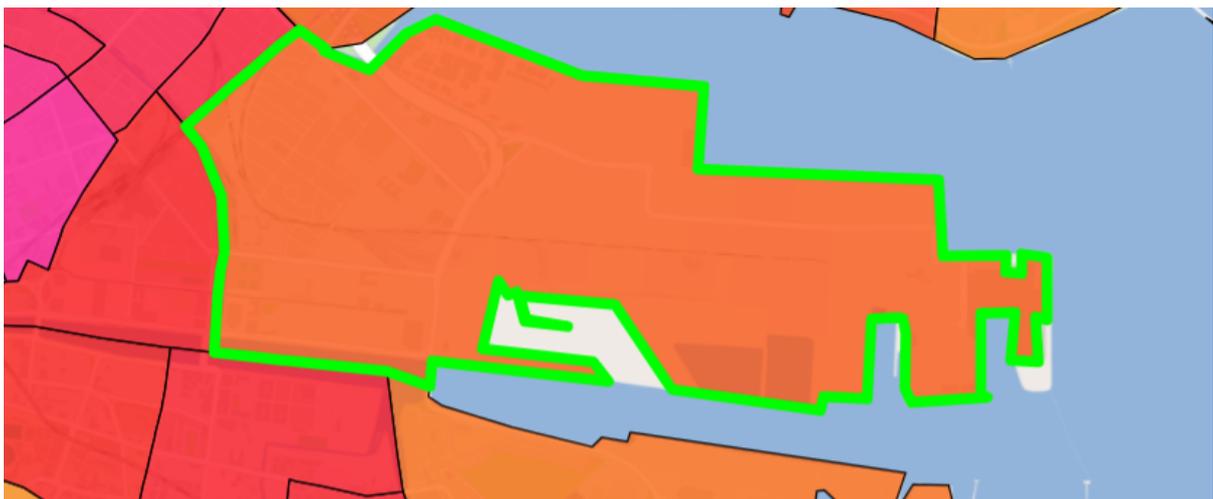


Fig. 2: The Electoral Division of North Dock B, Dublin City. Source: CSO.

4.4.1 Population growth

Figure 3 shows the total population of the Electoral Division North Dock B Dublin City from the years 1992 to 2022. As seen from Fig 2 above, this area is larger than the case study East Wall. However, East Wall is included in it and it provides data from the 2022 census. In 1992, the docklands area and inner-city population had dropped already due to suburbanisation in previous years which also led to further deterioration of the areas. This is clearly shown in figure 3 as the population of the North Dock B area stands at 3503. Population growth increased greatly between the years 2006 and 2011, with the population growing from 3690 to 6895. This can be attributed to the redevelopment of CHQ, the Point

Village and Spencer Dock area which attracted global firms and created thousands of employment opportunities with workers being attracted to the area. The next large jump in population growth went from 7695 (2016) to 10173 (2022). This can be a result of the SDZ of the North Lotts and Grand Canal Dock undergoing major transformation with increased high-density apartment and office complexes in the area.

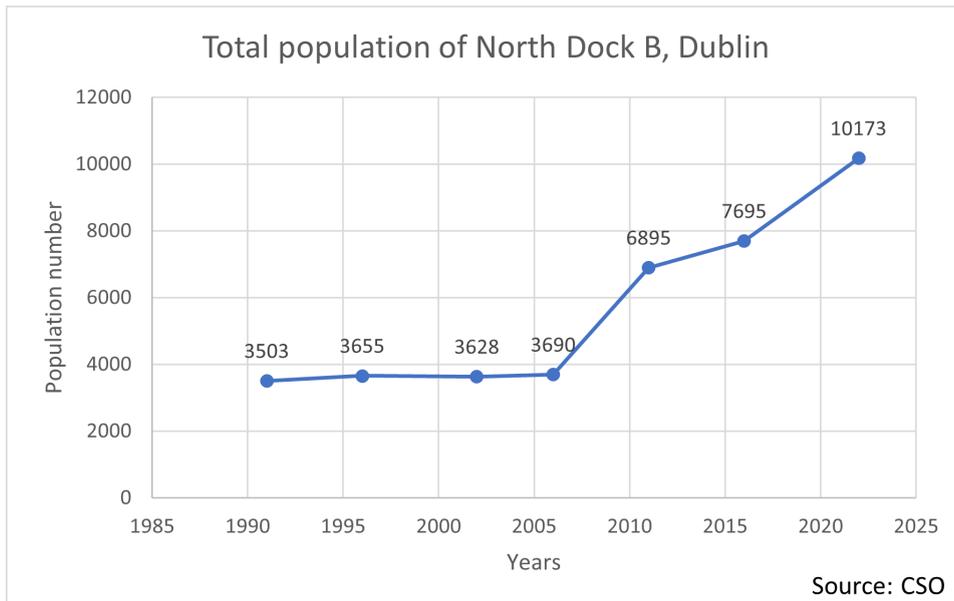


Fig. 3: Electoral Division North Dock B Population Growth 1992 - 2022. Source: CSO

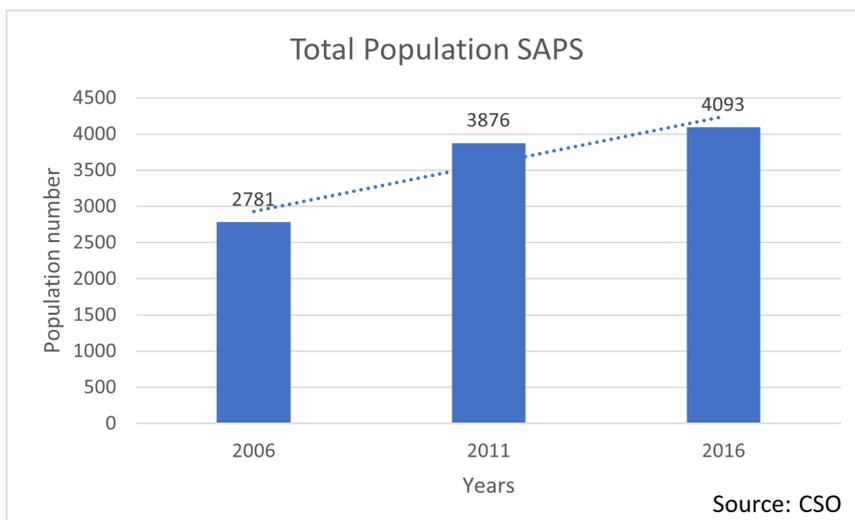


Fig. 4: Total Population of SAPS East Wall. Source: CSO

Although, Fig 4 shows a much more gradual growth in population for East Wall, it still illustrates there has been growth from 2781 (2006) to 4093 (2016). East Wall has not

experienced significant development in the area compared to the surrounding North Dock B area.

In Fig 5, it compares the growth of the SAPS East Wall population to the Electoral Division North Dock B population. North Dock B in other areas has been the target of massive physical regeneration especially along the Quays area closer to the River Liffey. East Wall has not received much attention from developers until recently in the last 5 years.

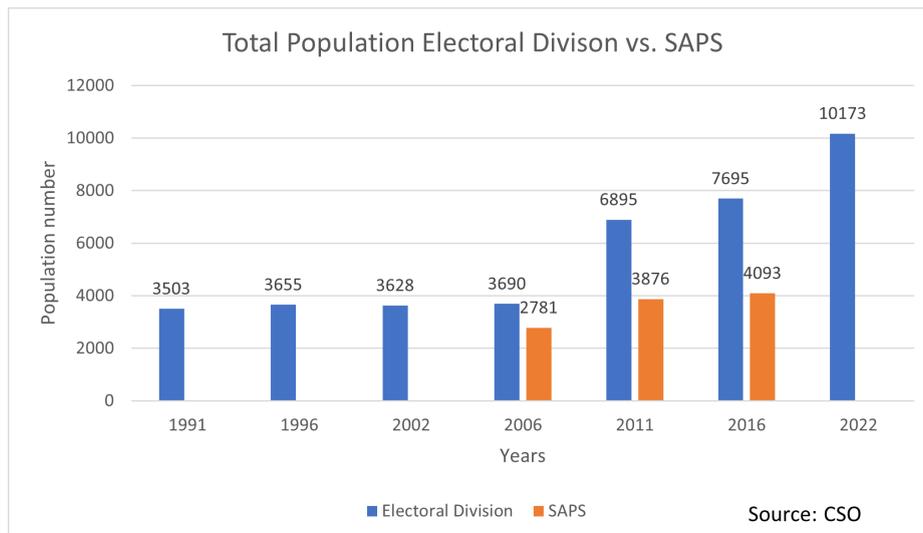


Fig. 5: Comparison of population growth between both Electoral Division North Dock B (1992-2022) and East Wall (2006-2016) SAPS data. Source: CSO

4.4.2 Social Class

The following information shows trends of the social class of the residents throughout the years 2006, 2011 and 2016. The social classes of ‘Professional workers’ and ‘Managerial and Technical’ workers show increases between 2006 and 2016. ‘Professional Workers’ rose from 7% (2006) to 9% (2016) as seen in Fig 6. ‘Managerial and Technical’ workers saw the greatest increase from 22% (2006) to 27% (2016). The increase in these social classes could be attributed to the inward migration of professional workers who want to live in close proximity to their workspace in the docklands. There are no significant differences found in the social class of ‘Non-Manual’ workers. Figures 7, 8 and 9 show ‘Skilled Manuals’, ‘Semi-Skilled’ and ‘Unskilled’ have seen decreases. ‘Skilled Manuals’ have decreased from 21% (2006) to 18% (2016). ‘Semi-Skilled’ decreased from 19% (2006) to 16% (2016), and ‘Unskilled’ from 8% (2006) to 6% (2016). This can show that there hasn’t been any additional

population of these social classes moving into the area as the levels haven't had much change. It could also be due to the outward migration of these social classes from the area.

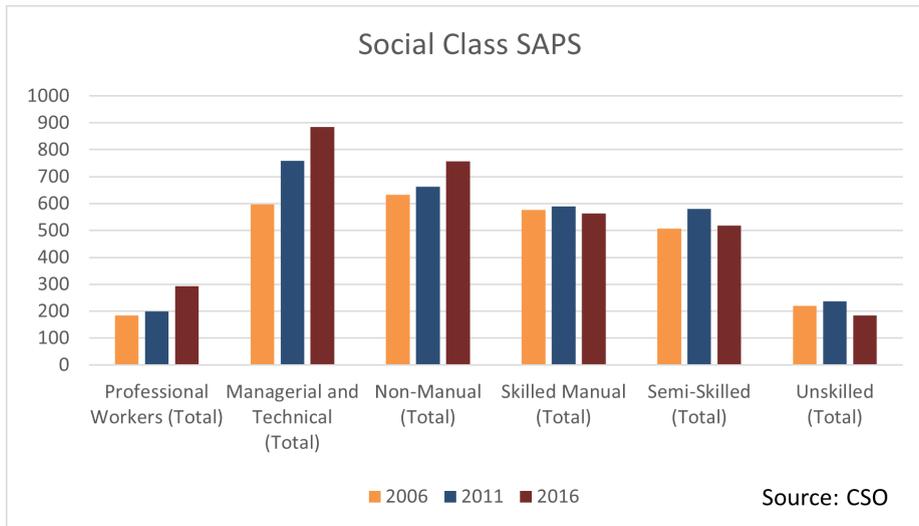


Fig. 6: Social Class of East Wall Residents comparing the years 2006, 2011 and 2016. Source: CSO.



Fig. 7: Social Class East Wall Residents SAPS 2006. Source: CSO.



Fig. 8: Social Class East Wall Residents SAPS 2011. Source: CSO.

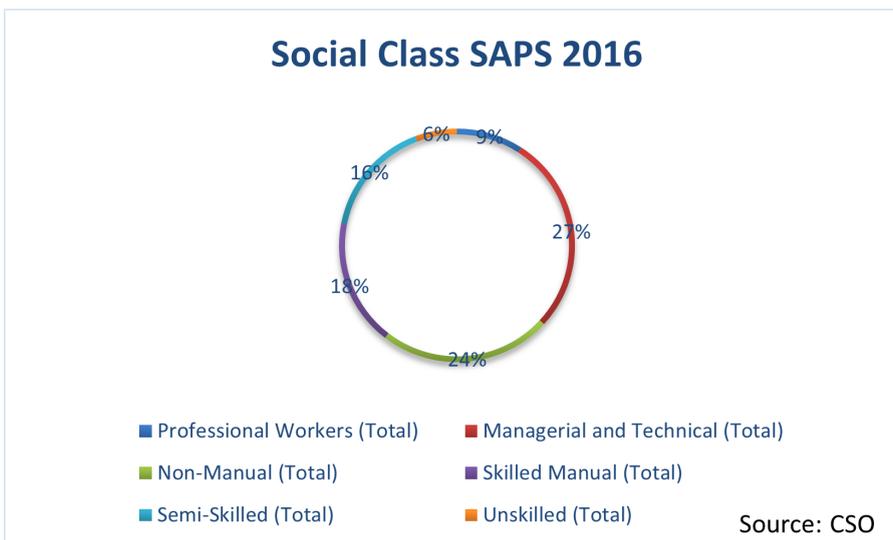


Fig. 9: Social Class East Wall Residents SAPS 2016. Source: CSO.

4.4.3 Level of Education

In Fig 10, it shows the highest level of education completed of the East Wall residents in the years 2006, 2011 and 2016. It shows the highest increases occurred in 'Honours Bachelor Degree, Professional Qualification or both', and 'Postgraduate Diploma or Degree' including a masters degree. The 'Honours Bachelor Degree, Professional Qualification or both' initially valued at 94 (2006) has risen to 376 (2016). The total 'Postgraduate Diploma or Degree' began at 149 (2006) to 384 (2016). Those who ceased education after primary education decreased from 561 (2006) to 387 (2016). Overall, the increase in the population who have

attained higher levels of education shows that there are higher education levels within the community.

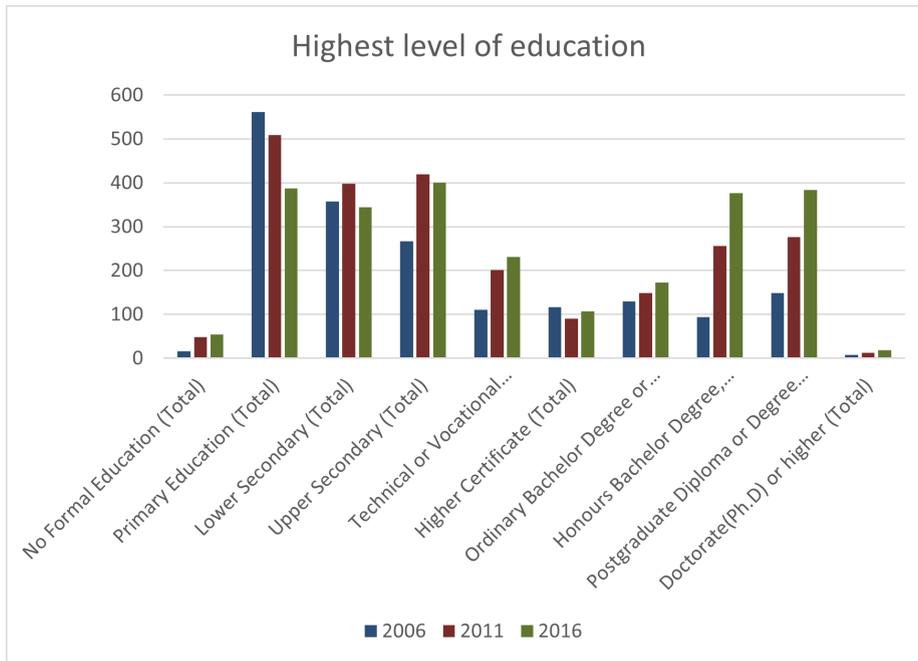


Fig. 10: Highest level of education completed of East Wall residents for the years 2006, 2011, 2016. Source: CSO

4.4.4 HP Pobal Deprivation Index

The HP Pobal Deprivation Index shows Ireland's social gradient metric using scores of SAPS referring to levels of affluence of disadvantage (Haase et al., 2012). Census data of employment, age profile, educational attainment are all data categories used to measure this score for small area scores (50-200 households). In 2006, it is shown in Fig 11 that areas in the East Wall neighbourhood range from very disadvantaged to marginally above average. With just one small area with a score of affluent. The majority of the surrounding docklands areas are predominantly marginally above average score.

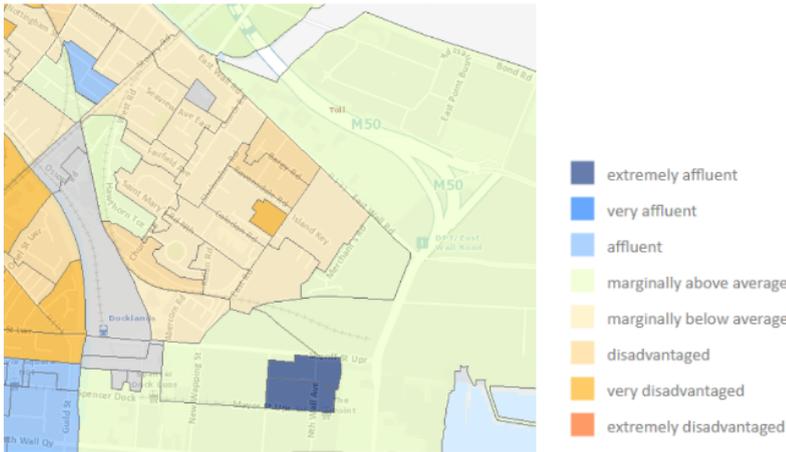


Fig. 11: HP Pobal Deprivation Index East Wall 2006. Source: Pobal HP Deprivation Index Scale (Haase et al., 2012) and Ordnance Survey Ireland.

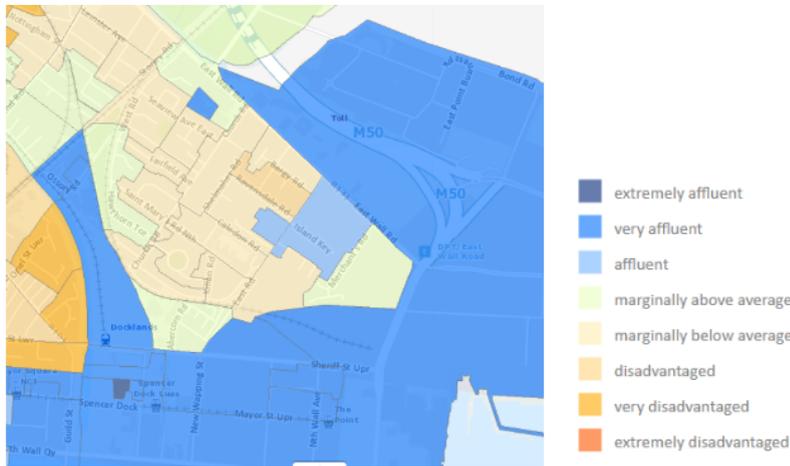


Fig. 12: HP Pobal Deprivation Index East Wall 2011. Source: Pobal HP Deprivation Index Scale (Haase and Pratschke, 2012) and Ordnance Survey Ireland.

However, in 2011 it is shown in Fig 12, after redevelopment of the Point Village and Spencer Dock, that the surrounding docklands area deprivation score increased to very affluent. Two main areas within the East Wall neighbourhood increased to affluent and this included the redeveloped industrial sites of new apartments and the Beckett office building, where Facebook was once located.



Fig. 13: HP Pobal Deprivation Index East Wall 2016. Source: Pobal HP Deprivation Index Scale (Haase and Pratschke, 2012) and Ordnance Survey Ireland.

In the final measured year 2016, it is shown that the East Wall neighbourhood overall has increased to levels of marginally above average and marginally below average, with no areas deemed as very disadvantaged anymore (Fig. 13). The East Wall neighbourhood area is clearly defined as it is surrounded by the SDZ of the North Lotts docklands which has increased to very affluent. This data was taken from the time after SDZ and the SDRA were designated and redevelopment of the surrounding docklands had developed. Overall, the HP Pobal Deprivation Index has shown how the population and deprivation levels of the East Wall neighbourhood have improved from 2006 until 2016.

4.4.5 Nationality

The following graphs Fig 14, 15 and 16 depict the percentage of nationalities in the East Wall neighbourhood. The Irish nationality decreased from 85% (2006) to 77% (2016). In the Dublin City Council area, the 2016 census results found that just approximately 17% of the resident population were non-Irish. In East Wall, it had a higher percentage of 19% non-Irish population with 3% not stating their nationality. The nationalities that increased the most were the Other EU 27 which started at 4% (2006) to 9% (2016) and the Rest of the World nationality, which began at 4% (2006) to 6% (2016). There is an overall increase of non-Irish nationalities in the area since the redevelopment of the docklands began.

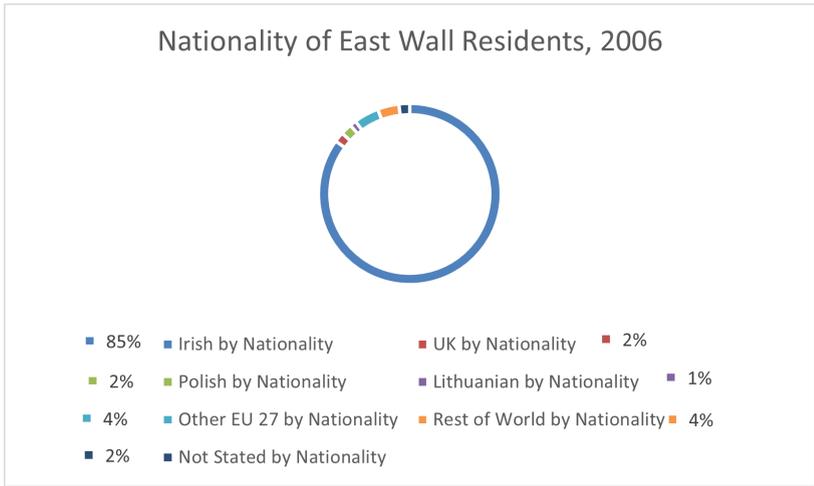


Fig. 14: Nationality of East Wall residents, 2006.

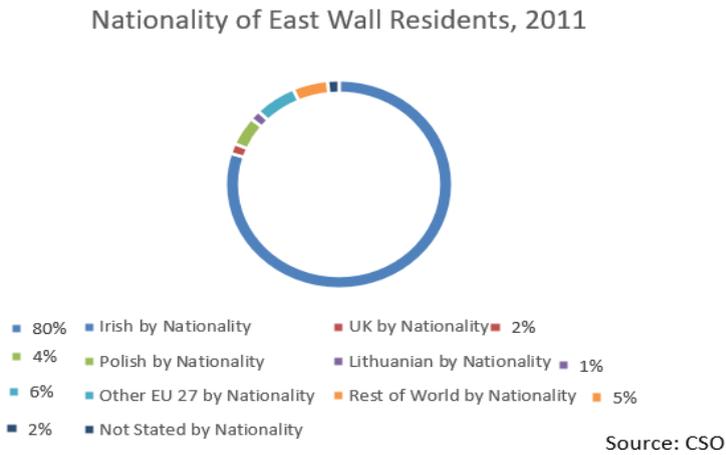


Fig. 15: Nationality of East Wall Residents, 2011.

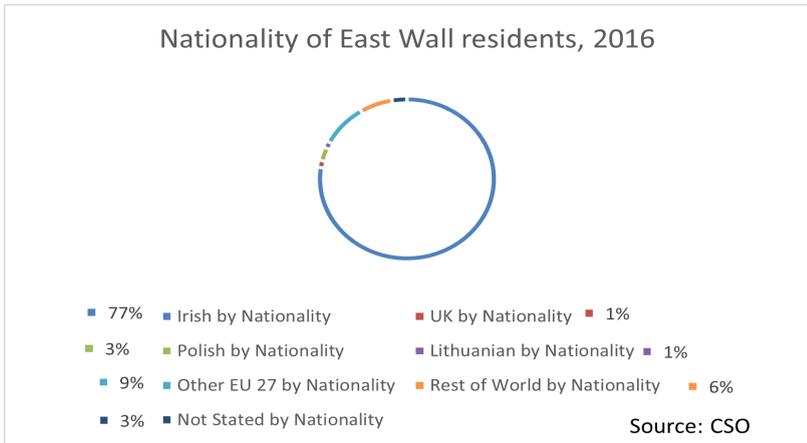
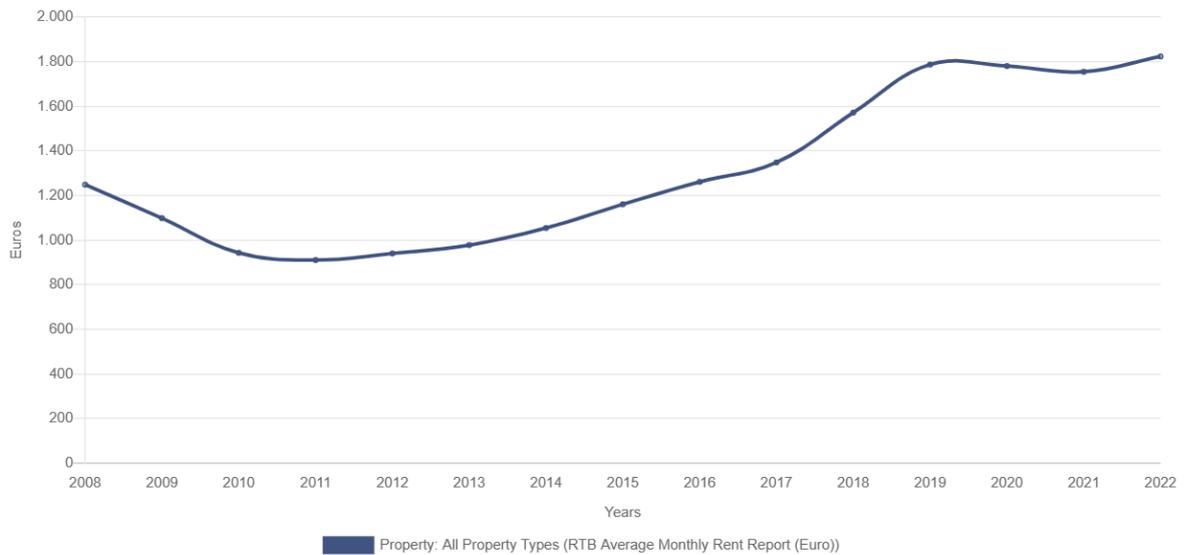


Fig. 16: Nationality of East Wall residents, 2016.

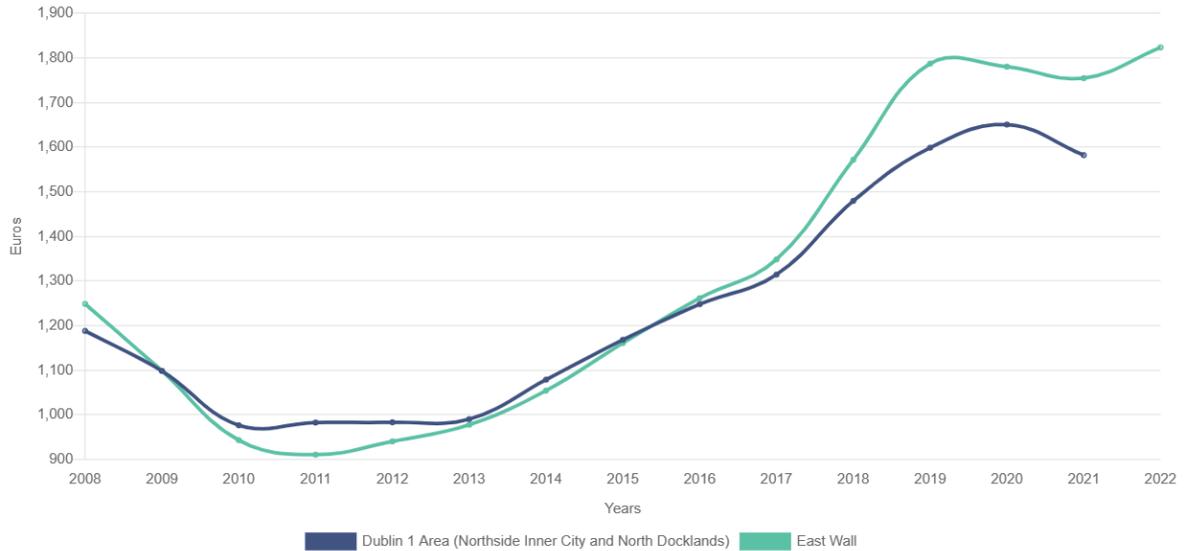
4.4.6 Rental prices



June 28, 2023 11:00:00 UTC

Fig. 17: RTB Average Monthly Rent Report (EURO) for all property types in East Wall, from the year 2008 to 2022. Source: RTB found in CSO.

The average monthly rent of all properties in East Wall was collected from the RTB Average Monthly Rental Reports starting from 2008 to 2022 (See Fig. 17). Rents began increasing from €914 per month (2012) to €1,823.66 per month (2022). The year 2012 was around the time redevelopment of the Docklands started to pick up again after the GFC. The most rapid growth was between 2017 to 2019 when rent went from €1348.55 per month to €1787.36 per month, respectively. 2016 was the major year for redevelopment starting in the North Lotts docklands area which is the closest area to the East Wall neighbourhood. Rent dropped slightly in 2021 but this could be due to the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic.



June 28, 2023 11:00:00 UTC

Fig. 18: RTB Average Monthly Rent Report (EURO) for all property types in East Wall and Dublin 1 Area, from the year 2008 to 2022. Source: RTB found in CSO.

It is clearly shown in Fig. 18, that when East Wall rental prices are compared to the surrounding Dublin 1 area of the Northside Inner City and North Docklands, that East Wall experienced a greater increase in monthly rental prices. The year 2017 is when the two rents diverged dramatically for the first time. As mentioned above, this was around the time major redevelopment began to occur in the North Lotts docklands area. The years 2017 to 2021 will be analysed as there is no data for Dublin 1 monthly rents available for 2022, the rent of Dublin 1 increased from €1314.50 (2017) to €1582.22 (2021), whereas East Wall rent increased from €1348.55 (2017) to €1754.79 (2021). East Wall has more expensive rent than Dublin 1 which really changed between the years 2017 to 2021. This could be a result of the attractiveness of the East Wall area and its proximity to the SDZ.

4.5 Interviews

The following section will provide the results of in-depth interviews with long-term residents and local business owners. Interview respondent codes can be found in Appendix A. These results have been analysed and coding techniques allowed common themes to be identified in the interviews. The following themes are population pressure, community changes, development, retail and financialisation.

4.5.1 Population Pressure

The redevelopment of the Docklands has attracted an increased amount of footfall and a rise in local population. Local residents shared similar experiences of amenities and services being put under pressure due to the population growth.

Uneven development has taken place in East Wall as it is made clear that investment is only going into spaces that are being redeveloped that stimulate economic growth. Residents observed the building of hotels, apartments and retail spaces but had not seen any future planning for amenities that were high in demand.

“There’s two hotels going on the East Wall Road. There’s aldi and lidl, like shopping facilities, there’s the cafes and stuff like that but from the educational side of it. There’s nowhere for the kids.” - EWC1

One particular vulnerable group that was repeatedly acknowledged in interviews were the children and young adults population of East Wall. The growing population has put a strain on available educational facilities including the single school and the two creches in the neighbourhood. EWI said: *“They need more educational resources - schools, nurseries - to accompany the growing community”*. The need for a larger school and more creche facilities was a shared opinion among the residents. One of the local creches had to close their waiting list down as they couldn’t keep up with the number of children needing a space in the creche. Parents that put their child’s name down on the waiting list assumed this would guarantee a spot for their child, however this was not possible due to the limited space available. EWK said *“There’s not enough child care in the area. Like I know it’s happening all over, but every day of the week we’re getting five or six phone calls from people crying out for childcare.”* Increased child numbers had not only resulted from the new accommodation in the local area, but also from the additional workforce that were working in nearby new offices and retail spaces. The close proximity to offices such as the IFSC and the Silicon Docks meant that East Wall is along workers’ commute routes.

The one primary school in East Wall holds space for around 230 students. This school is also struggling to find space for increased numbers of children in the area. Both EWN and EWE2 agreed that the additional housing has put pressure on school spaces.

“If they’re gonna allow all this extra housing in East Wall, there’s just not the space in this school.” - EWN

“If you build 800 apartments and 800 families go into them and they only all have one kid each. East Wall has one school and then they have Sheriff street school but it's small. So like where are all these kids gonna go?... You're building all these apartments, but you're not building a single facility.” - EWE2

Residents shared their frustrations over the lack of investment in their own local facilities to accommodate the population growth. Many parents encounter difficulties trying to find a place for their child in the area. One participant explained her daughter's rush to put her unborn child's name down on the waiting list for the primary school:

“[Name Removed] put her daughter's name on the waiting list when she was only four months pregnant and there were already eight people on the list. This is years before the school starts, and months before the child is born” - EW12.

There is an overconcentration of residential buildings in the area with no suitable facilities to accompany the population growth. This can be a result of the private actors being the dominant players in development and their main goal is making profit, often overlooking the needs of the community:

“It just is not gonna be enough things for anybody, the more and more apartments you build in, unless you start building facilities to go with it. Which they're clearly not doing because they make no money from it like they make no money from building playgrounds. The only thing they make money from is building apartments...” - EWE2.

The increased population has put pressure on the medical services in the area, specifically the General Practitioner's services. There has been an increase in waiting times to receive an appointment, and once an appointment is secured, residents have found themselves queuing for hours in the waiting room. EWC1 said their partner's experience with making an appointment: *“He rang 31st of march to make an appointment to get his bloods done, and he got the 12th of may to go and get his bloods done.”*. EWK also said : *“Like you'd want to nearly be ringing saying listen I might be sick next week. That's just gone ridiculous.”* Residents have expressed frustration that appointments have to be made weeks in advance, and there is little attention given to urgent medical issues because the service is so far stretched attempting to deal with the additional population. One participant also explained there has been little investment into any medical services in the area: *“We haven't got*

enough doctors and it's not the money that they're making - there is not enough going into it. But that's what it brings with the explosion of people" (EWS).

There has also been additional pressure put on the roads of East Wall. The surge in popularity of the area has made some residents feel unsafe in their neighbourhood because of the increased traffic.

"Inner city communities- people just looked out for each other, and it was just such a safe community to be living in and bringing up children. And now, I still feel it is the only lack of safety is from cars driving too fast" - EWM

"It's become a rat run with cars. Cars going through the area, you know, coming from town." - EWE1

The speeding cars that use the neighbourhood as a shortcut to offices have made the roads dangerous for children to play on. Parents are afraid there will be an accident involving their child. EWC1 said *"You know this is residential, and even going down towards the creche the cars zoom down. There's kids coming out of here in two minutes and the place is like trying to cross the motorway."*

One of the biggest issues that residents noticed since the docklands redevelopment was the increase in commuter parking in the area. Participants said cars would be from newly built apartments and offices that lacked sufficient car parking space.

"The parking is not even just from the offices. It's the new apartments that have gone up and there's not enough car parking spaces for even one per apartment." - EWE1

"We would often notice builders, particularly parking in our spots, on our, on our home road, to go to work, which is they don't have anywhere else to park." - EWN

There are residents who have driveways which they would rent out to office workers on a weekly basis because car parking spaces are in such high demand due to not being provided for in their offices. It was also resulting from the free parking roads in the area that is close to the city centre. The pressure on the roads have resulted in some residents' driveways being blocked by commuters or builders from close by redevelopment sites: EWC1 has a wheelchair ramp in their driveway and have still experienced cars parking there: *"But like if you see a ramp going to someone's house, somebody would obviously*

think they're elderly or have a disability. And they give no consideration when they just park the car there anyways." It has also prevented emergency services from travelling through the area.

4.5.2 Community changes

East Wall is known for its tight-knit community, as it has a history of the same families living in the neighbourhood for generations. When participants were asked about whether there were noticeable differences to their community now compared to in the past, there were varied responses.

The increase in population and certain developments such as high-density apartments and hotels have resulted in increased levels of anonymity within the community. *"Before you knew everybody - everyone - now I very rarely know everybody that lives on that whole road."* (EWC2).

Some participants believed that contemporary lifestyles of full-time working caused changes in the population rather than the new development, as it made it difficult for newer residents to become familiar and involved with the community.

Age is a factor when analysing the effects of the redevelopment on the community. Participants' ages and stages of their life influenced how their own social networks had been impacted by the redevelopment. Young people still living in their family home and older participants who were home owners had not been directly affected by the increased property prices.

"I feel like at my age it's probably still pretty similar because people who are around my age, probably still haven't moved out or moved on anywhere else." - EWC2.

"I don't have that local feeling because all my friends moved out and not by choice... maybe my mam will still have it because a lot of her friends still live in the area. They bought years ago and they didn't get outbid or get pushed out because of money." - EWEr.

One resident had lost their sense of community and the local feeling of the area, as they experienced all of their friends they had grown up with being priced out of the neighbourhood. Participants, who were older and who owned their homes before the redevelopment started, recognised a change in the community, but still felt it was similar to what it was before. The sense of community was still felt by an older participant who had lived in the area for over 80 years, as they believed the people arriving into the area adapted

to the community and absorbed the traditions. *“Everyone talks to everybody, it's always been that way and it will stay that way and the people coming in are beginning to do the same. They're beginning to say hello to you and goodbye and so forth, etc.”* (EWJ).

When asked about whether they have noticed a different higher economic class moving into the area, there was a general consensus that while higher-income classes had moved into the area, there was still a prominent lower to middle income population, and it was more of a mixed income community. Participants did recognise that higher-income classes were moving into the area because they noticed their neighbours professions involved with the digital companies.

“There's an awful lot of professional people coming in whereas before it was known as a working class, a word I hate. But it's just changing that way” - EWS.

“And like there's a couple down the road and they're lovely. He's an animator and she's a camera woman but she earns pretty good money. She's really good at her job and they are a lovely couple and obviously I have nothing against people moving in here that have great jobs and all the rest.” - EWN.

Also participants knew higher-income classes were moving into the area because they were able to afford the current house prices.

“It's definitely always been a working class area and I feel people who are buying houses outright aren't probably middle class, you have some sort of money in your background. So I would say that there definitely must be a bit more of a mix now.” - EWC2

“It definitely changed like no one from a working class area is buying a house for €625,000 that's just absolutely not happening. My next door neighbours - They're Irish, but they are not from Dublin but they both work for LinkedIn.” - EWE2

Increased levels of diversity were also found in the new population when comparing it to the past. Income, occupation and nationality have created a much more culturally mixed community. In the past, the population would have been made up of predominantly native Irish residents. Nowadays, development in apartments and offices have introduced different nationalities to the neighbourhood. Residents also recognised the different nationalities would usually reside in rental accommodation.

“There’s been major changes down here - people coming from all different countries, and they’re all buying houses down here. Yeah which are very expensive in this area now, in this part of the area you know because of the docklands. Its pushed up the houses”. - EWS

“Now there are houses and flats that are rented by people, say who work in Google or work in Facebook, whatever. So what that has meant is that we have a pretty diverse population, multicultural population. of people who are working and living in the area.” - EWM.

“A lot of people kind of moved into the area that would be working down in the Docklands. It brought a few different nationalities as well then. And we just found in around the preschool, a lot of parents, like it was no longer just all Irish parents. You were getting Polish, Italian, Spanish and I just thought it brought a good mixture to the area.” - EWK.

4.5.3 Development

Residents have felt impacts more unevenly depending on what side of the neighbourhood they live on, the area closer to the docklands has had a rise in development as there are brownfield sites available to redevelop, while the other side is already mainly built up with houses. Due to the high levels of homeownership and social housing in the area, direct displacement hasn’t been felt by the long-term residents, however they do note the difficulty of future generations remaining in the area. Residents have found rental accommodation has short term contracts and it has a higher change over rate for residents. This has prevented proper social relationships to form within the community as people tend not to settle and remain in the area.

“A lot of these high flyers because you probably want to be working from seven o’clock in the morning to seven o’clock at night to afford some of the rent then. They can’t give to the area or even take from it. They’re just living there. It may as well be an AirBnB, because they’re just coming and going. They’re not invested in the area because they’ve no reason to be.” EWE1.

Residents have noticed the most common type of development in the area is apartments, which both public and private actors justify by referring to the national housing crisis. However, the accommodation being built is not affordable or accessible to the local residents that would like to remain living in the area.

Participants also raised several issues regarding the type of tenure of the new residential units. First, they believe that the rental model and BTR developments are for profit as the rent prices are expensive. BTR also decreases the opportunity for residents to settle in the neighbourhood and buy a home which the participants shared concerns of creating a transient community. While EWE1 said: *“I think it's absolutely disgraceful that we are building apartments that, not only we can't afford but actually won't even be available for sale - to own it.”*. EWS had a different perspective and they believed it was more transient in the past: *“It was transient a few years ago, people were buying houses down here because you could afford them and they sold them a few years later and moved onto whatever. It was transient at one time but it's not anymore. It's the place to be everything is so close now.”*.

The new apartments don't create an instant transient community, but young professionals who move to the area in order to be close to work have created a gradual transient community due to their short living time in the area: *“The one thing that I care about is all these build to rent and it's not giving people a chance to be part of the community because they're only going to be here for a while and then you get another job that goes somewhere else.”* (EWM). The workers who live in the area are dependent on their jobs to stay there, and in recent months major tech companies' redundancies meant that residents employed by them that were living in the area would move out: *“Especially with houses that are rented out and a lot of the apartments that people don't really stay. And then I suppose with a lot of companies like Google and that are after letting loads go so you probably see them moving out.”* EWK.

Another resident spoke about the constant changing of her next door neighbours and her lack of relationship with them due to their short stays:

“I don't talk to my neighbours. I have rented houses on either side of mine and the neighbours are constantly changing. It's hard to get to know them because they are barely there.” - EWP1

Transient communities can have long-term negative impacts on communities as they are not invested in the neighbourhoods social and political structures:

“If you're only renting short term or you know you're only going to work for Google for a year or two, you don't really care whether the money goes into local playgrounds, you don't care whether money goes into local roads or bins or schools because

you're not here for a long one. So when it comes to like voting for politicians in here who are going to fight change for all these things or in theory change them, you don't care about the area because it doesn't affect you." - EWE1

Residents also shared concerns that the size of these apartments were not suitable for people to live in permanently:

"What are they building? They're not building for people to stay in them, they're building for people to pass through them. That's the problem. They're just being built for - to put people in like boxes." - EWJ.

"A lot of the apartments being built in East Wall aren't suitable for raising a family in, or for long term, or for your life." - EWN

This could also lead to a more transient community, as people wouldn't settle there for their different life stages. The single bedroom or two bedrooms are not accessible to families to settle in the area. The size of the apartments are targeted mainly at young professionals in the area.

After apartments, the second most popular development in the neighbourhood is hotels. Again, this development is popular for its profit making abilities for the private actors responsible for building. Hotels provide amenities and services to visitors of the neighbourhood, and they provide little benefit for the residents themselves. EW12 and EWN mentioned how hotels were aimed mainly at business workers that were attending conferences in the city's financial hub.

"There's no need for hotels in the area, they aren't built for the community but more likely built for local office workers" EW12.

"A lot of the clientele during the week would be business people, staying there for work and meetings in the IFSC even down the country. So unless it's for things like that, I don't really see tourists staying there." - EWN

Participants have recognised positive impacts in East Wall as a result of being close to the redeveloped Docklands. There have been scholarships and funding made available to local residents by some companies located in the recently developed offices. This has provided some benefits of access to employment and further education to the local residents.

“People that was born in East Wall, lived in East Wall, raised in East Wall never got any position. They were never bank managers. They were never doctors. They were never lawyers. And it's already took 50 years for us to get our first barrister and that was because the financial centre started to give scholarships. Okay, so It was a poor area and it kept that way but now the kids are all in IT.” - EWJ

“We have some good contacts with some of the companies and they've been very good some of them have offered the safe pass training to young people, which is, you know, a step on towards employment.” - EWM

Other participants found that the redevelopment in the area is needed and appreciated to transform derelict sites to more useful functions:

“I have no problem with apartments or hotels or offices or whatever if it's going to replace like where there was nothing really going on” - EC2.

Housing prices in the East Wall neighbourhood have been severely impacted by the growing attractiveness of the area to a more affluent population, to young working professionals that work in offices nearby and to smaller private landlords. While there is a national housing crisis in the country, East Wall residents feel that the neighbourhood which has always been considered a working class neighbourhood has recently experienced an increase in house and rental prices that match those prices of property in typical affluent neighbourhoods. The increased prices of property in the area have deterred younger residents from staying in the area as they believe there is better quality housing at more affordable prices in different neighbourhoods.

“You know some of these new apartments that they build are like insane money, it's totally inaccessible to people who might be from around here. So it's kind of like it is ideal to have these brand new buildings and they do look really nice, but it's kind of doing that thing of pushing people out.” - EWC1.

“I think if you grow up in an area like East Wall, which isn't or shouldn't be an overly expensive area, to not be able to afford the area you grew up in, I think it's really sad that you can't go buy a house in the area you grew up in. You both work full time jobs. You're not looking for five bedrooms, six bathrooms mansion, you're looking for a basic two bed, three beds.” - EWE1

“The houses have like really gone up crazy prices. Like, you're not getting a four or five bedroom house. Most of them are two bedroom kind of you know. Yeah. And the prices have really just shot up.” - EWK

The newly developed residential spaces are also unaffordable and inaccessible to the residents of the area. East Wall has become an attractive area to live and develop in due to its location to the city centre, and the docklands redevelopment. This has caused space to be in greater demand and therefore it has resulted in increased property prices. Several residents have been approached by developers to buy their houses and have received enormous figures.

“But they all wanted to come to East Wall. But they couldn't afford it now. I mean, I was offered €600,000 for this.” - EWJ.

“Its pushed up the houses, I mean my house was looking at €700,000 last year... It's a massive difference in a few years because the development has pushed up everything down here.” - EWS.

The topic of displacement was experienced differently between residents. One younger participant referred to their age when explaining they haven't noticed too much displacement for their age group yet, as they were still living at their parent's home. But they also recognised that when the time came to move out of their family home, they would not be able to afford to stay in the neighbourhood. EWN is still living at their family home and is worried about their future staying living in the neighbourhood: *“I would have thought a teacher would have been a good enough job to support being able to buy a house here but it's not anymore.”* EWN. EWC1 managed to buy a house in the area because it was owned by a previous family member: *“We would have never won in a bidding war. I was just lucky that I didn't have to go bidding. I never would have bought in East Wall.”* (EWC1). Many older participants who were home owners had experienced family members not being able to afford to live in the area after generations of the family living there:

“When your mother and father lived down here, most of them kids would end up living down here in their own house. All that kind of stuff is gone. Your children are going all over the country or wherever they're going to. Because of the price in some cases, but because the way of housing people now has gone.” - EWS.

4.5.4 Retail

Since the redevelopment of the docklands, there have been a number of retail spaces introduced into the area. Large chain companies such as Lidl and McDonalds are found located on redeveloped industrial sites in the area. These companies moved into the area within the last decade. With the addition of the new brands, it has attracted residents from surrounding residential areas to shop. This has increased anonymity within the community as East Wall residents find it difficult to recognise who lives in their area with the increased foot traffic:

“It would only be people from East Wall who shopped in it. So like all those things have definitely changed as well, that you could walk through East Wall, and not know a sinner. Whereas years ago, you'd walk through you East Wall and you'd be stopping for every second person.” - EWE1.

As well as the bigger names, there are openings of smaller independent shops in the area. These have been welcomed by residents as they have filled a niche in the area's market. One newer business owner said: *“It was risky in one way to be opening because there was nothing going on in the area, but then it was also like a positive that it was opening in another way, because there was nothing going on”* (EWT). It was risky for a business owner in an unknown retail environment, however it meant there would be limited competition because of the gap in the market. New cafes and restaurants are not increasing competition with other local runned consumption spaces because there was none opened. Interview participants also noticed the introduction of different products that the area has not seen before:

“It's just funny to see the difference because it's definitely not something that you ever would have seen like 15 years or like 10 years ago... It's kind of like avocado on toast, it's got all day breakfast burritos, and oat milk. So that was interesting but it is still really nice” - EWC2.

Many residents have welcomed the opening of these new shops in the area. Participants recognised the positive impact the population growth has had for local retailers as it increases footfall and consumer activity to the area. But one resident noticed the increased prices of some of the products from the new retail in the area. They predicted the smaller businesses that are affordable to the local residents will not be able to keep up with the new businesses.

“Well the shops now at the moment are fighting all the time with their competition which is lidl and aldi. That will kill the shops eventually. We have a few cafes at the moment down here and a few small little restaurants. You’d be eating your sandwich for 12 pounds and a coffee for 7 pounds. It’s going to go up because the price for the area is going to go up.” - EWS.

A newer business owner wanted to emphasise that all customers are the same regardless of their background or whether they are local residents or office workers. EWT said *“Once people walk through the door, it doesn’t matter where they’re from, but they’re all treated the exact same. There’s none of this preferential treatment or specific VIP treatment for certain people.”*. They altered their menu to meet the demands of the local residents by providing a full Irish breakfast. This is something the owner said they never planned on selling but they changed their mind after listening to the residents. They also praised the local community as the reason behind their success.

An older business owner has noticed the major differences between the past and present of the neighbourhood. They talk about their beginning in East Wall along with 56 small locally owned businesses, which has been reduced to around six. There were no chain stores such as Lidl or Aldi in the area, which meant reduced competition. The rent would be too expensive to stay on the street if they didn’t own the building themselves. EWP2 said:

“Lidl and aldi crucified all the shops, you know? Without a doubt. There’s nothing you can do about it, they have the money and the power. The fact that I own this it’s grand. But if i didn’t own this i’d be gone, i’d definitely be gone.”

This shop also had to adapt to the changing lifestyles of people in the area. EWP2 explained: *“It’s weird, it’s all peculiar, now tomorrow morning we’d come in here tomorrow or Saturday morning and we’d have a good few people in at 7 in the morning and at 10 o’clock you wouldn’t have anyone. Years ago, at 10 o’clock you’d be packed and at half 7 you wouldn’t see one.”*. They also found smaller families or single people moving into the area have created less of a demand for their products.

Larger chain companies have moved into the area which have more financial resources to lower the price of their products. EWC2 discussed the future of the smaller businesses in the area: *“I would say they could definitely kind of disappear because I feel like eventually there won’t be that kind of same loyalty because people will obviously be like, well, it’s way cheaper to just go up the road.”*. EWK also said the increase in shopping opportunities

meant they shopped less in the smaller shops: *“I wouldn't really go down Church Road as much. I used to go down to local butchers all the time because me mam went there, but I kind of stopped doing that as well I think, because the likes of Aldi and Lidl kind”*.

4.5.5 Financialisation

Private actors that are the key players in the redevelopment of East Wall have focused their investment into spaces that produce profit, rather than into social amenities or accommodation that will benefit the community. Residents also noticed the increased involvement of private actors in the development of their neighbourhood. Many participants believed this involvement meant the interests of the community were not prioritised, and instead it was the demands of the private actors which controlled the ongoing transformation of their area. EWE2 said:

“You're giving planning permission to private builders, obviously, private builders are there to make profit. They're not there to help anybody out, they're a business at the end of the day. So you're giving away all these planning permissions for all these apartments being built. And yet there's not an average person on an average wage who is going to get mortgage approval for these apartments.”

The selling off of whole apartment buildings to private investors and vulture funds has created frustration for some residents who are still hoping to remain living in the area because it is reducing their opportunity to buy a house, and the rental costs are too expensive:

“I don't believe that because we're from here we have the right to housing. but I'm trying to say that we're nearly being left without an option here because all of the apartments being built, well a lot of them on the Quays, they've been sold before they've even been put up for sale.” - EWN.

The financialisation of property also doesn't just involve the bigger actors, smaller builders and landlords have seen property become a financial asset and have taken advantage of available housing in this affordable neighbourhood. There have often been bidding wars between local residents and builders for houses put on the market. Builders are seen to be more powerful as they have increased financial capital available compared to the local residents: *“You go to look at houses and you know you're getting outbid by a builder or a landlord to buy the house in East Wall and rent it out. So you know you don't stand a chance because they have unlimited funds.” - EWE2.*

Chapter 5 - Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Thesis Aim

The main focus of this research was to discover if new-build gentrification of an area had impacts on a nearby neighbourhood. It focused on Dublin's North Lotts Docklands new-build gentrification and its effects on the adjacent neighbourhood of East Wall. East Wall is one of the Dublin docklands communities and it has a history of being a low density working class neighbourhood. The government's approach to combat urban decline and to stimulate economic growth resulted in regeneration schemes of the Dublin Docklands, which has experienced major physical, social and economic transformations. Although East Wall is not located directly in the development zone, it is bordering the docklands and it also has a similar industrial history as the North Lotts area.

The research was conducted using a multifaceted approach by looking at different aspects to the effects of the new-build redevelopment on the East Wall neighbourhood. Planning policies and planning applications made it clear how the government approached the regeneration strategies. It also highlighted the involvement of private actors in the development of the neighbourhood and their influence on the physical and social environment. With the rapidly changing landscape, possible changes to the demographic and socio-economic structure of East Wall was explored to see if the redevelopment had affected the population. Lastly, it was important to understand how East Wall had changed from the perspective of long-term residents' who had experienced the pre- and during development stages of the neighbourhood.

5.2 Discussion

Waterfront redevelopment has been a common tactic in many cities such as London (Davidson & Lees, 2005) and Auckland (Murphy, 2008) to combat urban decay and Dublin is no exception. National and local planning policies such as the DCC Development plans played key roles in the redevelopment of East Wall. The allocation of the North Lotts docklands and areas in the East Wall neighbourhood as part of the SDZ and the SDRA promoted the area for private investment in order to regenerate underutilised or vacant brownfield areas. The reasoning for this was to improve the physical, economical and social aspects of the neighbourhood after years of urban decline as seen in other examples of gentrification (Lees et al., 2008). The previous success of national redevelopment planning schemes, such as the Urban Renewal Act in the 1980s and later on the Dublin Docklands Development Authority Act in 1997, proved to the government that regeneration and reinvestment of inner-city areas were important tools to combat issues found in areas that suffered from physical deterioration and social deprivation. The introduction of neo-liberal

approaches widened the government's capabilities to finance redevelopment with the assistance of private investment. The North Lotts and Grand Canal Planning Scheme was released in 2014 and it acknowledged the Docklands as a SDZ. The East Wall neighbourhood also became a part of the SDRA. More recently, the state advertising land to redevelop to property developers shows the evolution of property into a commodity that benefits both the private actors and the state through economic growth, which demonstrates neoliberal urbanism (Aalbers, 2018). This also reflects neo-liberal policies as seen in the post-recession third wave gentrification (Hackworth and Smith, 2000). This opened up investment and development opportunities for past industrial sites in the neighbourhood.

Aalbers (2018) recognised public actors actively colluding with private developers by introducing incentives. The government had incentives for private actors to allow easy and fast track planning applications by introducing the SDRA and SHD applications. These incentives were found in the docklands such as a low corporation tax rate of 12.5%, fast track planning and the ability to build below normal standard accommodation increasing profitability for developers. Although during the third wave, public and private actors interacted with one another to regenerate decaying urban areas (Davidson & Lees, 2005), in Ireland, there was restricted interaction between the local public actors due to the SHD applications which allowed private actors to bypass any local planning schemes and which could not be appealed once accepted by ABP. Again, this shows the neoliberal approach of the government, as the state reinforces the power of private actors' involvement in redevelopment, limiting their own power in the process. It has strengthened the relationship between the national government and the private sector, but the local authorities' control has weakened.

New forms of development resulting from the goals of consolidating the city and the aims of profitable ventures are now advancing out of the docklands SDZ boundary and into the East Wall neighbourhood. Tall high-density buildings are appearing in the traditionally low rise neighbourhood with planned developments as tall as 18 storeys as seen in the planned Castleforbes Business Park and 15 storeys in the *East Wharf* development. Apartments are also becoming the dominant residential building type in a neighbourhood that has historically been made up of houses. It has been shown that every recent application of main redevelopment sites have been accepted for multi-storey apartment buildings. The dominant tenure of homeownership and social housing is also shifting to rental accommodation from the surge of BTR developments that are planned for East Wall. BTR also means that property prices are controlled by private owners of these apartment buildings. Changes in tenure and housing type were the predominant changes in the physical landscape of East

Wall. There was also an increased involvement and interest of international investment firms in the development and ownership of these buildings. The targeted past industrial sites are seen as opportunities for financial gain. These types of development trends reflected parts of the fifth-wave gentrification that had intensified financialisation processes of the property market (Aalbers, 2018). The exclusivity of the new residential targets a specific income class, or as Moreno (2014) refers to as favouring the elite. BTR has changed the tenure of the residential aspect of the neighbourhood by private actors focusing on the rental market. BTR continues to be the more profitable venture for those involved in the investment and development of the area which have the strongest influence in the neighbourhood's landscape (Nethercote, 2019). BTR has also impacted the residents of the neighbourhood by reducing opportunities for home ownership and settling in the area. Newly built residential developments had high rental prices. One bedroom apartments starting at €2025 means there is little opportunity for local residents to stay in the area by moving into one of these new residential complexes. These apartments are also focused on certain demographics such as young professionals as they are primarily one bedroom apartments with little space for families. The smaller sized apartments and rental tenure had created a more transient community.

As well as the rise of apartments in the neighbourhood, there is also the arrival of hotels. These hotels are being advertised to their close proximity to the city centre but also the surrounding financial district. Conference rooms are offered with the intention of attracting business groups for work functions. Both the North Lotts Docklands area and the East Wall neighbourhood are at the early stages of new-build gentrification. Similar to Doucet's (2009) paper, East Wall residents welcomed new retail and consumption spaces as they found it 'improved' the area and it gave them access to more choice. However, East Wall residents were aware that the residential and other developments such as hotels were not being built for them.

Levels of detachment and disconnect are also found between the private actors that are building the neighbourhood and the residents themselves. The residents' needs are ignored as the private actors view land as a source of profit and are oblivious to the social needs of the area (Savini & Aalbers, 2016). Non-profitable developments are not prioritised, although the community needs them. Both BTR apartments and hotels have become valuable assets in the property market. The increased involvement of private developers and international investment firms in the shaping of East Wall neighbourhood was found in most of the planning applications. These developments are just looked upon as sources of capital for the stakeholders involved. There are no planning applications for facilities and amenities that are

needed by the local residents. The single primary school will remain the only available educational place in the area for the time being. There is also a lack of public squares and green spaces in the neighbourhood. This is resulting from the major development players being private stakeholders who prioritise profit over the interests in the community. They have complete control of the shaping of this neighbourhood because the government no longer plays a strong role in development. The needs of the community are overlooked as most owners of these sites are completely disconnected to the physical and social needs of the East Wall residents.

While the docklands area was the main focus for private actors to redevelop initially, the demand for space and the renewed attractiveness of the area meant that private actors have set their sights now on available brownfield areas in East Wall. Hamnett's (2003b) multibowl water fountain analogy can be applied when the demand of space in the redeveloped area spills over into the nearby neighbourhood. Areas such as Castleforbes Business Park and East Road were promoted by the government for redevelopment as part of the SDRA. The population of the North Dock B area and the East Wall neighbourhood has increased since the end of the 1990s. East Wall hasn't experienced such a rapid increase as the whole North Dock B area but this is due to redevelopment mainly being focused in the surrounding docklands area. Since 2018, there has been a rise in planning applications for industrial sites in East Wall. None of the major developments have been completed yet, but with some completion dates set for the end of 2024, it is expected that the East Wall population will begin to match the rapid population growth of North Dock B.

The population growth in the area and the docklands area has put additional pressure on East Wall's medical services, educational facilities and infrastructure. Increased levels of traffic and commuter parking has caused disruption to roads. It has also caused parents to feel unsafe about their children playing outside because of an increase in car accidents. Children are the most affected group of population growth. The two creches and one primary school are struggling to accommodate the child population in the neighbourhood due to the limited space.

Within the population changes, there were no major differences in social class or income class. The community had become a more mixed income population. New arrivals to the area tended to have a higher income because they could afford the area. Hamnett (2003) also noticed gentrification led to an expansion of the middle class with an increase in professional class. Increases in the 'Professional Workers' and the 'Managerial and Technical' social classes and decreases in 'Skilled Manuals', 'Semi-Skilled' and 'Unskilled' social classes are found in East Wall. This is a result of inward migration of young professionals moving into the area to be closer to their workspaces, and as found in

Elliot-Cooper (2020) and Freeman (2005) the area can accommodate young professionals who are on lower wages as it has been more affordable in the past. This is also reflected in the higher education levels. 'Honours Bachelor Degree, Professional Qualification or both' and 'Postgraduate Diploma or Degree' both increased within the East Wall population. Both of these results are reinforced by the results of the HP Pobal Deprivation Index that show East Wall has lower levels of social deprivation and it no longer contains areas that are measured as disadvantaged. These levels of improvement are found to be related to the redevelopment of the docklands as it has also improved to affluent levels.

The population also had increased amounts of different nationalities since the redevelopment of the Docklands. Unlike Doucet and Koenders' (2018) research on a Rotterdam neighbourhood, there was an increase in ethnic diversity because the redevelopment resulted in an inward migration of different nationalities to an area that had always been predominantly made up of native Irish. It had higher levels of diversity compared to the whole area of Dublin City Council. The major technological companies located in the docklands areas tend to have ethnically diverse workforces. The new young professional class is located in areas that are in close proximity to their offices which can explain why there is an increase of different nationalities in East Wall. Even though the East Wall population had become ethnically, socially and economically diverse, there were little signs of any forms of segregation which has been found in Dutch examples of gentrifying neighbourhoods (Van Gent and Hocchstenbach, 2020).

It is interesting to note here that there has been little tension or segregation arising between the pre-existing residents and the newer residents in the area compared to other gentrification literature, for example in Van Gent and Hochstenbach's (2020) findings within the Dutch context. Most residents seem to be welcoming of these new residents and have formed neighbourly relationships with the ones that settle. The pre-existing community have noticed the new arrivals have adapted well to the neighbourhood. While there are changes in the composition of the population with increased professionalisation, income and diversity, there are no issues or tensions found between the old and new residents. The main problem that the pre-existing residents have is with the type of development that is being introduced to the area. The densification of the neighbourhood that is already struggling with pressures on their amenities, services and infrastructure, and the increase in rental tenancy, and the size of the new living units are leading to a more transient community. It leads to a neighbourhood where people are unable to settle in East Wall and call it their home, which also fails to allow connections to be made within the community's social networks. It fails to make a community a community (Davidson, 2008).

Physical regeneration of the previously working class neighbourhood has led to an influx of young professionals to the new economically attractive area close to the rejuvenated central hubs. There has been major increases in property values which is a common result of a gentrifying area (Hamnett, 2003, Lees et al., 2008 & Curran, 2007). Forms of indirect displacement (Marcuse, 1985) are seen in East Wall as residents are outpriced of the neighbourhood when competing with the new higher-income population. Factors such as age and tenure meant that impacts are felt differently by residents, and these reflect how their wider experiences and trajectories have influenced their perspectives on gentrification as seen in Doucet & Koenders (2018). Younger residents tended to feel higher displacement pressures due to the increased property prices while not owning their own house. They also had their social networks disrupted the most due to indirect displacement of younger residents being priced out of the neighbourhood. For younger residents who had their social networks disrupted more from indirect placement, there was an increased sense of 'un-homing' (Elliot-Cooper et al, 2020) felt compared to older residents. Although similar to Atkinson's (2000) paper, older residents who had managed to live in the area for generations had experienced their children being priced out of East Wall.

The extent of impacts residents have experienced shows there are no definite categories of 'winners' and 'losers'. As Freeman (2008) mentioned 'gentrification's impacts are multifaceted, affecting people differently and even the same individuals in different ways' (p.186). The dominant tenure of the neighbourhood, homeownership and social housing, meant that most long-term residents had not been directly displaced as they owned their own home. However, demographic changes in the neighbourhood showed there was the slow process of replacement (Hackworth, 2002).

Displacement pressures were also found for older business owners who found it difficult to compete with larger chain stores. Similar to Zukin's et al. (2009), there are signs of commercial upgrading in the neighbourhood. The arrival of new chain stores increased levels of anonymity in the community. New products were also being introduced to East Wall as local business owners changed their products to accommodate the preferences of the new population and their lifestyles (Hubbard, 2018).

5.3 Limitations

It is still in the early stages of development in East Wall. For the docklands area itself, there were plenty of documents and recorded impacts of the development on the area itself. It was difficult to draw comparisons or make predictions between the areas. It also meant that

some interviewed residents had not noticed major changes or immediate impacts in the community yet that were thought to be expected.

Issues arose when it came to the census comparative analysis. The SAPS census data for 2022 had not been published at the time of conducting this research. This information would have been useful because it would have recorded demographic changes in the neighbourhood in the most recent time period. SAPS boundaries had also changed throughout different years of the census which meant it was more difficult to accurately compare the neighbourhood in different time periods. Some Electoral Division data was available for the 2022 census, however it didn't provide data for comparative subjects throughout the selected years, such as nationality and ethnicity, so comparative analysis was also not possible for the Electoral Division area.

5.4 Future directions

Further research should be conducted on similar case studies. The knock-on effects of new-build gentrification is still under-researched. If other data is collected on neighbourhoods that border targeted areas of regeneration, it will provide greater insight into the extent to which new-build gentrification can have. However, it is also important to continue gathering data of the same neighbourhood throughout the years at the different stages of development. As found in Doucet & Koenders (2018), the early stages of gentrification on a neighbourhood meant that there was little displacement of residents in areas with a high home ownership tenure, and limited negative impacts. Residents observed mostly positive physical changes of vacant or underutilised sites. It would be interesting to see whether impacts are felt differently at later stages of gentrification. The comparative analysis of the physical, social and economic states is essential to measure the magnitude of the gentrification effects.

5.5 Conclusions

The mutated third-wave gentrification, new-build gentrification of the docklands has had knock-on effects to the East Wall neighbourhood. The transformation of vacant industrial sites in the docklands has increased attractiveness to the area to major technological companies with an increase of population to the area. With the success of this development, the government has put forward more industrial sites nearby located in East Wall to be developed by developers. It is an opportunity that private actors have taken advantage of as

property is a popular financial asset. Processes that portray the beginning of new-build gentrification and financialisation of a neighbourhood are reflected in East Wall.

Knock-on effects of the new build gentrification include characteristics of the process itself as defined by Davidson and Lees (2005; 2010) when they looked at the case study of London's Docklands waterfront area. While not all members of the community of East Wall have lost their sense of place, all residents recognised changes and experienced forms of displacement pressures and exclusionary displacement (Marcuse, 1985 & Baeten et al., 2017). Reinvestment of capital into the area through national policies and incentives is clearly found in the docklands area SDZ and East Wall SDRA. This is the government's strategy to 'improve' areas that had lacked investment for years. Landscape transformation is currently taking place within the neighbourhood. Although East Wall is a traditionally low-rise neighbourhood, future developments showed there was going to be an introduction of high-rise and high-density apartment complexes and hotels. These redevelopments were also encouraged by the close location of offices which have ignited an inward migration of a higher-income class as it has become a more attractive area.

This research provides information on how the new-build gentrification of one area can have the same impacts on an adjoining neighbourhood that is not initially the target of the regeneration projects. It increases the attractiveness of nearby areas while introducing a new population and new types of development to the neighbourhood. This case study of East Wall as well gives perspective on how the early stages of redevelopment has affected the neighbourhood.

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Appendices

<u>Interview Code</u>	<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Tenure</u>	<u>Length of Residence</u>
1. EWC1	Young/Middle Age	Home Owner	Since Birth
2. EWC2	Young Adult	Family Home	Since Birth
3. EWE1	Middle Age	Home Owner	Since Birth
4. EWE2	Young/Middle Age	Home Owner	Since Birth
5. EWK	Middle Age	Home Owner	Since Birth
6. EWI	Young Adult	Family Home	Since Birth
7. EWI2	Middle Age	Home Owner	Since Birth
8. EWM	Elderly	Home Owner	Since Birth
9. EWN	Young Adult	Family Home	Since Birth
10. EWP1	Young/Middle Age	Home Owner	15 years
11. EWP2	Elderly	Home Owner	Since Birth
12. EWS	Elderly	Home Owner	Since Birth
13. EWT	Middle Age	Home Owner	Since Birth

Appendix A: Resident Interview Participants

<u>Name:</u>	<u>Year:</u>	<u>Published by:</u>
Dublin City Development Plan	2016 - 2022	Dublin City Council
Dublin City Development Plan	2022 - 2028	Dublin City Council
North Lotts and Grand Canal Dock Planning Scheme	2014	Dublin City Council
Market Outlook Report: Ireland	2023	CBRE Research

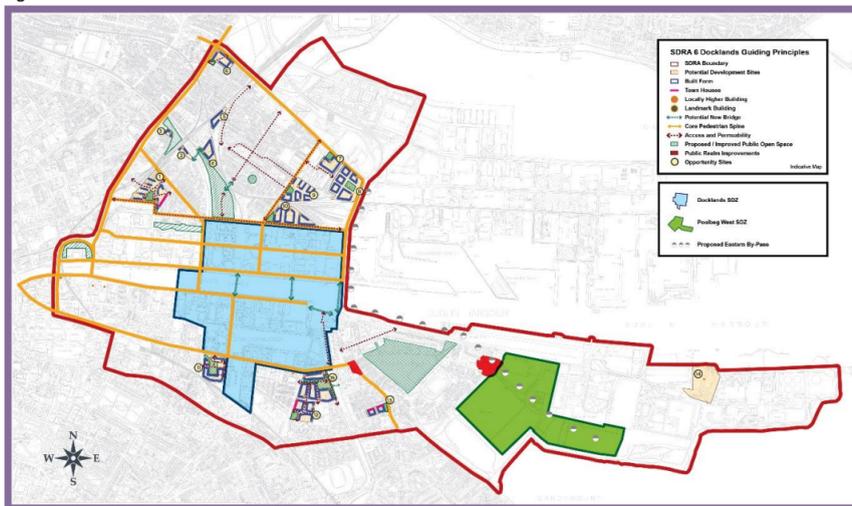
Real Estate		

Appendix B: List of Documents.

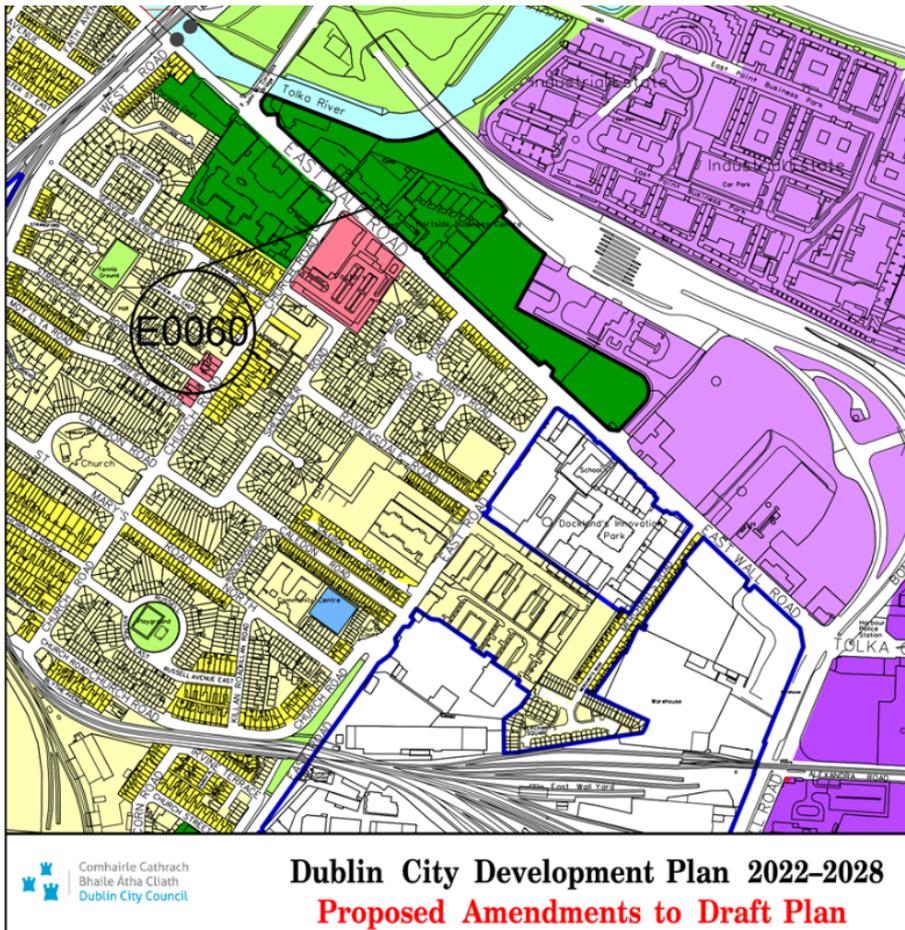


Appendix C: Merchant's yard 'Bricker's yard' on sale for possible redevelopment. Source: Savills, 2021.

Figure 13-6: SDRA 6 Docklands



Appendix D: SDRA 6 Docklands Area. Source: Dublin City Council, Source: DCC.



Appendix E: East Wall zoning in the Dublin City Development Plan 2022-2028. Source: DCC.



Appendix F: East Wharf advertisement. Source: MKN website.

Residents

Connection to East Wall - networks, interaction, attachment

Resident - How long? Born? Work there?

Physical changes - builds, hotels, new housing, offices

Social changes - ethnicities, socio-economic, cohesion

Development:

- Past: Industrial, IFSC, Regeneration Docklands
- Present: House prices, traffic, accessibility
- Future
- Differences since North Lotts redevelopment

What changes have been noticed?

- Community: local feeling, belonging, sense of place
- Amenities + Services + Facilities
- Shops
- Building type

Needs being met?

What do they need?

Why is East Wall attractive?

SDRA // SDZ

Businesses

Customers - Changes to accommodate

Positive and negative effects - benefits?

Displacement issues? Economic? Pressures?

How to diversify consumers or focus on old inhabitants?

How do they see their customer base? Old vs. New

Social interaction

Appendix G: Interview Topic List

Images

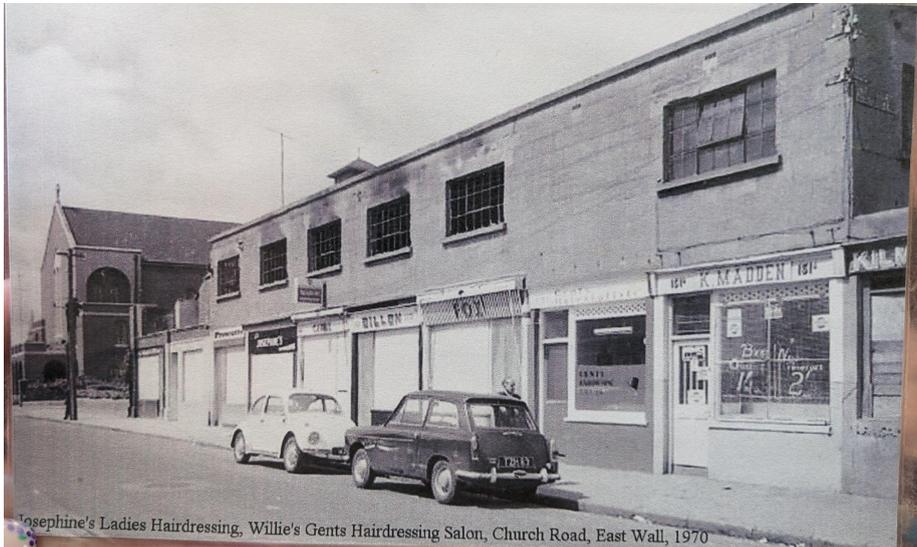


Image 2: Church Road retail spaces, 1970. Source: Butcher's photo albums



Image 3: Church Road retail today. Source: My Own.

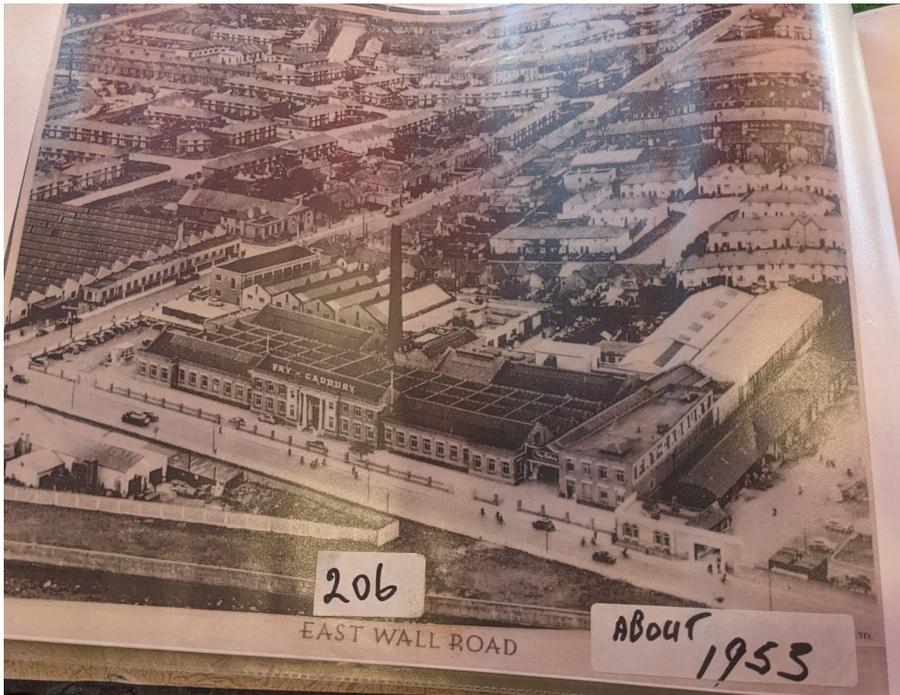


Image 4: East Road, 1953. Source: Butcher's photo albums.

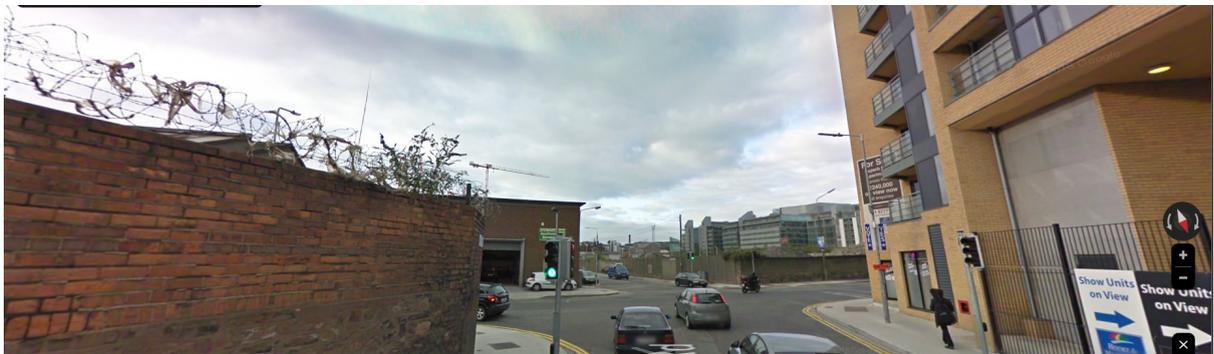


Image 5: East Road and Sheriff Street, 2009. Source: Google view



Image 6: East Road and Sheriff Street, 2023. Source: Google view.



Image 7: East Wall Road, 2009. Source: Google View.



Image 8: East Wall Road, 2017. Source: Google View.



Image 9: East Road cafe. Source: My Own.



Image 10: View from East Wall neighbourhood of the redeveloped Docklands. Source: My Own.



Image 11: Mayor Street Upper redevelopment in the SDZ. Past terraced houses surrounded by newly developed apartments. Source: My Own.



Image 12: East Wall Road with chain brands and new development. Source: My own.

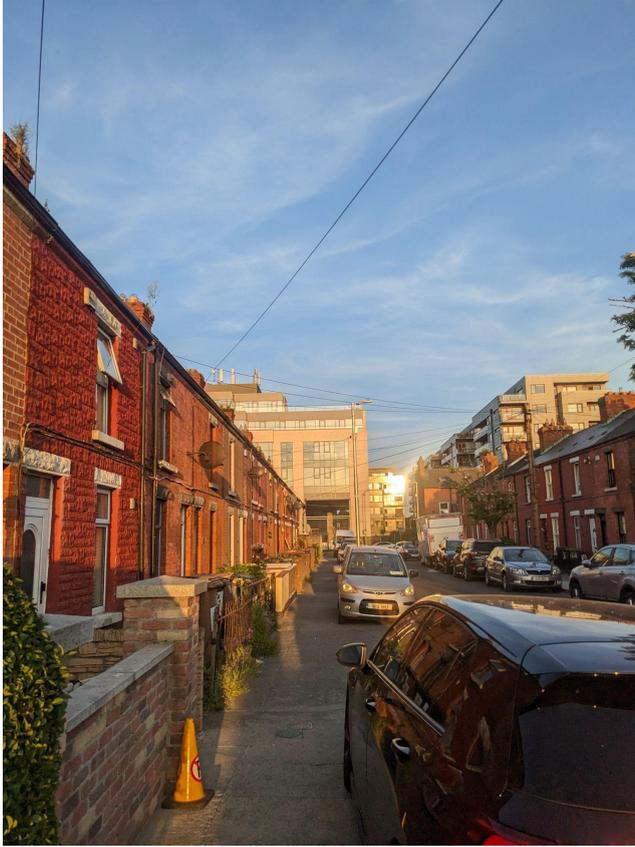


Image 13: Caledon Road with new apartments and offices on East Road. Source: My own.