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***New Build Gentrification in the Dublin Docklands and
its effects on the Absolute and Perceived Employment
Opportunities of the Neighbouring Deprived
Communities.***

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Abstract

Gentrification is a process which has undergone large scale changes since its inception in the mid 1960s. The term was initially used to describe the middle class invasion of London's working class quarters but has now evolved to encompass a wider variety of actors, characteristics and even locations. Although gentrification has gained popularity over the last decade or so, an alternate viewpoint holds that the often celebratory tone surrounding the concept is unjustified, with the process overall being harmful for a neighbourhood. The process has gone through three separate waves or periods of development since its emergence and debate still exists today over how and why the phenomenon is actually caused, with authors such as Neil Smith and David Ley contesting its foundations.

This thesis looks at the relatively recent phenomenon of new-build gentrification, a process which describes the conversion of ex-industrial structures or previously under developed land to create newly gentrified landscapes which show all the hall marks and characteristics of gentrification proper. It is often the case that new-build developments are constructed on Brownfield sites where there are no indigenous population, however a dearth in research exists over how the process of new-build gentrification impacts on neighbouring communities. This research examines the impact of such developments on both the absolute and perceived employment opportunities of surrounding deprived communities. Thus it determines whether they act as a creator of employment, or whether they act as a barrier to the areas' frequently un-skilled workers, thereby resulting in further marginalisation. The focus of this study is the Sheriff Street neighbourhood, situated in inner city Dublin. The research examines the impact of the re-development of the Dublin Docklands as Irelands International Financial Service Centre (IFSC) on the residents' employment opportunities.

Research involved analysing Census information for the area, as well as undertaking interviews with community members and representatives and also those responsible for the development and regeneration of the Docklands. This research will not only illuminate the problems that exist in the Sheriff Street community so that improvements can be made, but it will also highlight the achievements and mistakes of the authorities responsible for the development, thereby providing lessons for other

city authorities and development agencies in the design and execution of comparable social regeneration projects. The current study demonstrates that the process of new build gentrification can impact the employment opportunities of neighbouring deprived communities. Whether these impacts are positive or negative heavily depends on the strength of the support structures and mechanisms implemented by the relevant authorities to ensure that the residents in the hinterland are not left behind by the new developments. It is vital that the opinions and concerns of the neighbouring community is taken into consideration at the initial phases of development to prevent the emergence of social, as well as physical divides, between the two communities. Social rejuvenation must be stated as a specific legal requirement from the outset to ensure that developers do not relinquish social responsibility for the entire area. Without this precondition, balanced regeneration will not occur.

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Glossary

ADM – Area Development Management

CCTV – Closed Circuit Television

CHDA – Custom House Docks Area

CHDDA – Custom House Docks Development Authority

DCC – Dublin City Council

DDBF – Dublin Docklands Business Forum

DDDA – Dublin Docklands Development Authority

DICP – Dublin Inner City Partnership

DOELG – Department of the Environment and Local Government

BEC – Business Exchange Committee

EU – European Union

ICON – Inner City Organisations Network

ICRG – Inner City Renewal Group

IFSC – International Financial Service Centre

SAPS – Small Area Population Statistics

UDP – Urban Development Plan

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Throughout the world various levels of government have introduced numerous urban renewal/regeneration programmes, many of them central to the reversal of processes of ‘deterioration’ in central-city areas (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Harvey, 1989, 2000; Lees *et al.*, 2008; Smith, 1996). One of the most controversial forms of regeneration, which is increasingly advocated as a solution to many of the city’s ills, is the process of gentrification. As indicated in a growing literature (Smith, 1996; Cameron, 2003), gentrification is a powerful and often rapid process which plays an important role in refashioning the physical, economic and social characteristics of central-city areas.

Ever since the term’s coinage by sociologist Ruth Glass in the mid 1960s, debate has existed over the effects of the gentrification process. In recent years the topic has found favour in many domains (Byrne, 2002. Porter, 2006, Smith, 1996) and has been associated with benefits such as renewal, increased property values and tax revenues, local service improvement and poverty deconcentration. However, there is an alternative view (Slater, 2006, Atkinson 2002) that deems the frequently romanticized and celebratory tone surrounding the concept unjustified. This school of thought perceives the process as harmful overall for a neighbourhood resulting in problems such as displacement, harassment and eviction (Dolbeare, 1978; Marcuse, 1986 Atkinson, 2000), community conflict (Spain, 1993), loss of affordable housing, homelessness (Slater, 2006), changes to local provision (Lang, 1982), crime and even population loss (Atkinson, 2004; Baldwin & Bottoms, 1976). The term gentrification can be said to have evolved or stretched over the last four to five decades, no longer being restricted to central areas of global cities but also encompassing other forms of development such as inner city regeneration.

Contemporary gentrification has become increasingly complex because different actors and locations have become involved and the landscapes produced have changed. One of these outcomes has been the development of a new strain of gentrification known today as ‘new build’ gentrification. Debate exists over whether or not new-build residential developments can actually be classified as a form of gentrification but the hypothesis of Davidson & Lees (2005) has been taken here as it fits within the boundaries of the phenomenon where it leads to the production of a

gentrified landscape and can result in the involuntary displacement of residents. The focus of this thesis is the impact of new-build gentrification on both the perceived and absolute employment opportunities of surrounding deprived communities. With a specific focus on the Dublin Docklands' regeneration, the research will consider whether development acts as a provider of employment and career opportunities for the frequently un-skilled workers in the disadvantaged hinterland, or whether it further marginalizes inhabitants, even acting as a barrier to entry into the workforce. New build gentrification is an important area of exploration as while the direct creation of employment has become synonymous with this form of gentrification, its actual affects on surrounding areas are unclear. Taking the case of the Dublin Docklands as a recent example of a new-build gentrification, this thesis will focus on the disadvantaged community of Sheriff Street encompassing the Lower Sheriff Street, Seville Place and Oriel Street area adjacent to the initial phase of the Docklands redevelopment, measuring the impact that this large scale development has had on the absolute and perceived employment opportunities in those surrounding areas.

The central research question of this thesis is;

- How has the redevelopment of the Dublin Docklands affected both the perceived and absolute employment opportunities of its neighbouring deprived community?

Answering this research involved interviewing a number of residents from the chosen case study area who have resided within the community prior to and after the redevelopment of the Docklands. As well as this it was also necessary to interview members of Dublin City Council (DCC), the Dublin Docklands Development Authority (DDDA) and other relevant institutions to decipher how new-build gentrification has affected employment opportunities within the area and what is being done to ensure the indigenous population are not being neglected. Interviews were all carried out in a semi-structured manner which allowed for focusing in on specific topics as they arose. A comparative analysis was also undertaken of the areas' Small Area Population Statistics (SAPS) from Census archives, from the time prior to the docklands redevelopment to the most recent Census information available, to establish the manner in which the socio-demographic and employment

characteristics of the area have changed over the last two decades and whether or not these changes can be accredited to new-build gentrification. Adopting a mixed method approach of both qualitative and quantitative techniques for this research will allow a greater understanding of the results.

With the case of new build gentrification, increases in employment in the newly developed area are almost guaranteed. This is because with new-build gentrification, development is generally concentrated on land that was previously abandoned or on 'Brownfield' sites thus employment is attracted to the area without the displacement of residents (Boddy, 2007). However this form of gentrification can also have an effect on neighbouring residents. New-build gentrification differs from the original concept in a number of ways with one example being the issue of direct displacement. However, the process can have indirect effects, for instance what Marcuse (1986) has defined as 'exclusionary displacement', that is where lower income groups are unable to access property because of the gentrification of the neighbourhood. A similar phenomenon may apply in the case of employment. Significant research has shown gentrification can have a direct effect on employment levels (Lyons, 1995). However as new-build gentrification differs from the original phenomenon, a gap exists in the literature with regards to how new-build gentrification impacts the employment opportunities of neighbouring deprived communities. Research has demonstrated the knock-on effects of new-build gentrification; particularly on issues regarding displacement, whether it be human or industrial. However there is a dearth in research, specifically focussing on employment and whether or not this neighbouring redevelopment can provide opportunities for the communities' residents or if it is a negative process. This thesis will add to the existing body of literature on new-build gentrification focusing particularly on how it affects both the perceived and absolute employment opportunities in neighbouring deprived communities. In addition to this, the results of carrying out this research may also assist policy makers in preparing guidelines for similar redevelopment projects to ensure neighbouring communities are not adversely affected by the proposed development.

The second chapter consists of a review of the extensive secondary literature on the topic. It begins by tracing the evolution of gentrification, weighing up the benefits and costs of the process, with a particular focus on the relationship between new build gentrification and employment. In order to afford the reader the required background

to the current study, the third chapter offers a detailed examination of the Dublin Docklands area and the surrounding deprived communities of Lower Sheriff Street, Seville Place and Oriel Street. It chronicles the history of the area, outlining its transition from the country's thriving port to one of the most impoverished areas of Dublin and then examining its relatively recent change in fortune and how this in turn affected the local indigenous population. Attention in the fourth chapter shifts to the research aims and objectives of the thesis, presenting a detailed account of the research methods and techniques and outlining challenges encountered in the data collection process. Analysis of relevant data from the SAPS, and of the responses from interviewees, both representatives of the indigenous population and those responsible the development and continual management of the area, forms the basis of the next chapter. The final chapter of the thesis includes the conclusions and recommendations as well as discussing any limitations in the research.

Chapter 2 – New-Build Gentrification: Origins, Theories and Impacts.

2.1 – Introduction

Over the last forty years scholars have struggled to pin down the exact meaning of the term gentrification. Not only have they contested its formation but also the consequences of the process, positive or negative. This chapter initially traces the evolution of gentrification as a concept, from its development in the early 1960s up to the present day, highlighting the profound changes in its meaning and interpretation. Attention then shifts to the causes of gentrification and discussion of the prominent theories on its existence. Following on from this, the next section explains the various impacts associated with the process, which is vital in understanding how it can affect people's lives in the context of this research. The focus then turns to the central theme of this thesis, the relatively new phenomenon of 'new-build' gentrification and examines how the process may impact upon employment opportunities within its hinterland.

2.2 – The Evolution of Gentrification.

Gentrification has become a shifting, complex, and contradictory phenomenon, and scholars are clearly motivated to find new ways to pin down the 'moving target' of gentrification at empirical, conceptual, and theoretical levels (Smith & Holt, 2006). The term gentrification was coined in the mid 1960s by sociologists Ruth Glass where she described the process of how a new urban 'gentry' transformed the working class neighbourhoods;

One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle-classes—upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages—two rooms up and two down—have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences ... Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in

a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed."
- (Glass 1964, xviii)

This explanation of the term from the mid 1960s has changed considerably and one could say it has almost evolved, encompassing a wider variety of actors and characteristics. In the majority of cases its key actors have shifted from the middle and upper income immigrants moving into a neighbourhood to governmental, corporate, or corporate-governmental partnerships acting as the main orchestrators of regeneration and renewal schemes (Smith, 2002). In terms of location, gentrification can be described as being gone global (Davidson & Lees, 2005). It is no longer restricted to the central areas of global cities but can be seen across every continent, with the term also being used to explain changes in some of these cities' suburbs. The concept has also been stretched from a process which involved the upgrading of period terraced or row housing in inner-city neighbourhoods to include other types of development including inner-city redevelopment involving residential conversion of ex-industrial structures (Hamnett & Whitelegg, 2007) and also new-build developments such as the London Docklands (Davidson & Lees, 2005). Throughout this period of time there appears to have been progressively less concern about displacement and related injustice issues which was a main motive behind the formulation of the concept (Slater, 2006). At the same time, gentrification is being embraced by policy-makers as a potential urban renewal solution. Gentrification has therefore had something of an image makeover; a process once associated with riots and the forceful resistance of displacement has now found favor in some quarters (Davidson, 2008).

As the process of gentrification has changed and evolved over the last number of decades, three distinct phases or waves of its development have been identified by Wyly and Hammel (1999, 2001) and also Hackworth and Smith (2001). The first of these waves of gentrification occurred from the late 1950s until the fiscal crisis of 1973 and relied on public subsidies and urban renewal, directed at countering suburbanisation. Its effect, the authors argue, were widespread and although it had not been explicitly stated in the preceding literature, Wyly and Hammel (1991, 2001) and Hackworth and Smith (2001) identified an underlying assumption that the process was led by owner occupiers. This was followed by a second wave in the late 1970s

where the players are identified as aggressively entrepreneurial and speculative developers and owner occupiers, and a local state indirectly involved through public private partnerships (Bounds & Morris 2006). According to Hackworth and Smith (2001) most local state efforts primarily focused on prodding the markets rather than directly orchestrating gentrification. The important characteristic of second wave gentrification for Wyly and Hammel was its integration into a range of national and global economic and cultural processes, such as the internationalisation of the property industry and the rise of global cities. This second wave came to an abrupt halt with the start of the early 1990s recession but reports of the demise of the gentrification phenomenon were premature. Shortly after gentrification was once again up and running. Hackworth's (2002 & 2007) analysis of the third and current wave of gentrification, showed that the alignment of local government with major real estate capital lay at its core. He concluded that gentrification in this wave is characterised by major corporate involvement, openly facilitative state processes, limited resistance and geographical expansion into new neighbourhoods. Bounds and Morris (2006) state that gentrification in the current period, has become part of local and federal public housing policy, enlisted to overcome the problem of concentrated poverty in inner-city housing reservations, and provides a new means for the provision of assisted housing.

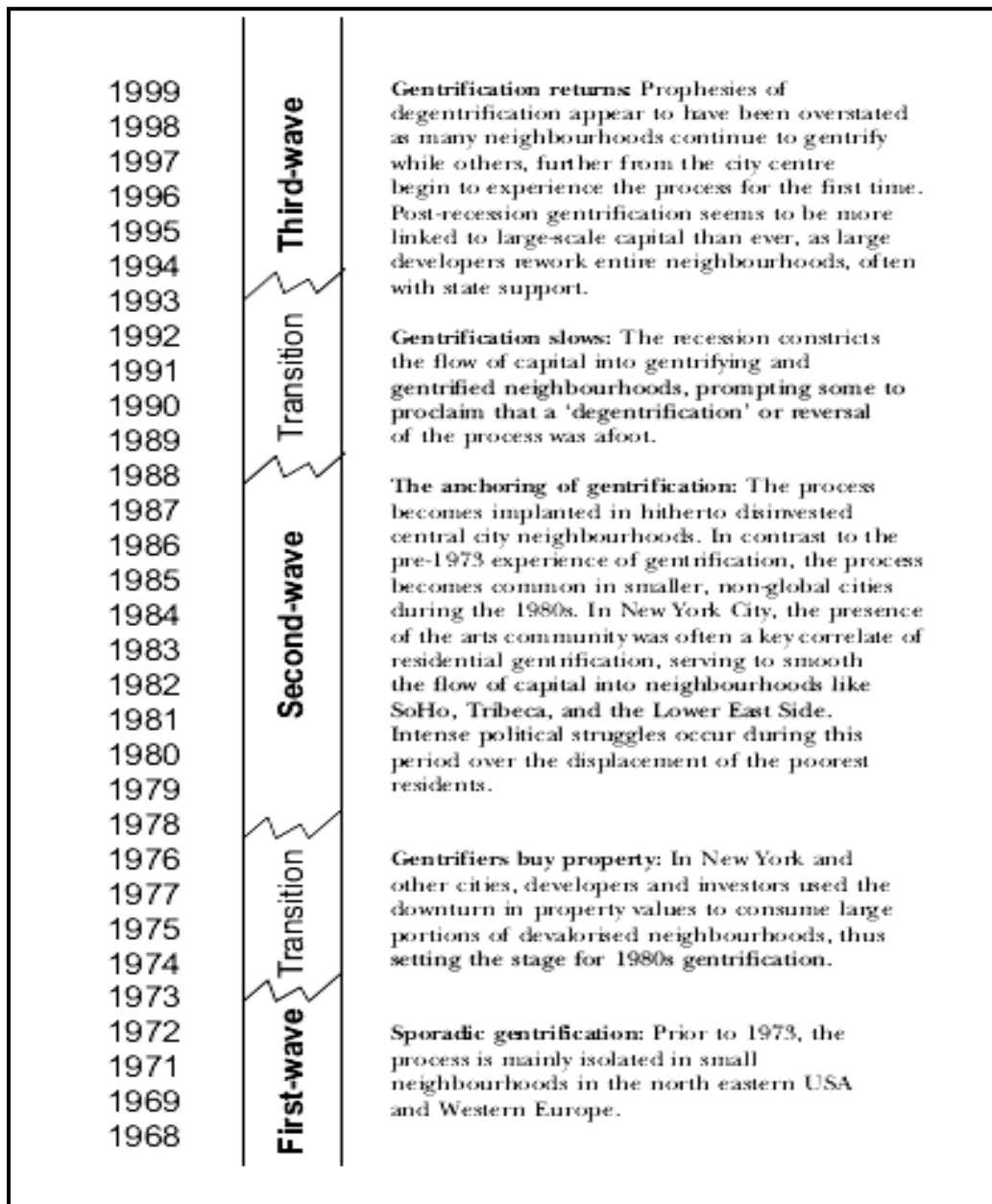


Figure 2.1: Schematic history of gentrification.

2.3 – Causes of Gentrification

Over the past 30 years the gentrification debate has continually been dominated by what drives the process (Wyly & Hammel, 2001; Zukin, 1990). The vast majority of analysis has focused on two explanations of the process, the first being the ‘demand side’ supported by Canadian Geographer David Ley and the second being the ‘supply side’ advocated by Scottish born anthropologist Neil Smith.

The 'demand side' or consumption explanation of gentrification as advocated by David Ley, is where the process of gentrification is caused by changes in the demand preferences, lifestyles and demographics of people. These changes are spurred on by the development of the post-industrial city where areas such as the service, scientific, managerial and technical industries have taken the place of industrial work in city centre locations. Laska and Spain (1980) describe it as a 'back to the city movement' involving a shift in lifestyle preferences among young, educated and affluent households towards central city neighbourhoods, implying a return from the suburbs of the middle classes. For some theorists like Ley, a shift in lifestyle and residential preferences provides the basis for demand-side approach to conceptualising gentrification as essentially a population movement. Ley (2006) explains how the middle class workers are attracted to living in city centre locations. Different factors such as living in close proximity to work as well as social and cultural attractions, and other pulling factors such as the architecture and distinct character of living in these areas are major reasons for attracting middle class people into city centre locations.

For Smith, a focus on consumption patterns provides only a partial explanation of gentrification processes as *"the gentrifier as consumer is only one of the many actors participating in the process. To explain gentrification according to the gentrifier's actions alone, while ignoring the role of builders, developers, landlords, mortgage lenders, government agencies, real estate agents and tenants, is excessively narrow"* (1979, p. 540). Therefore, Smith challenges notions of consumer sovereignty, suggesting that the needs of production offer a more decisive explanation driving gentrification. This 'supply side' can be described as a back to the city movement of capital, not people, and can be best explained using Smith's 'rent gap' theory seen below in Figure 2. The rent gap is the product of neighbourhoods going through a cycle of devalorisation, i.e. the cycling process of new construction of structures and their first use, disinvestment and abandonment. The devalorisation cycle eventually leads to what Smith and LeFaivre (1984, p. 50) describe as the "systematic decrease in the capitalised ground rent, reflected in lower house rents in an area and a relatively lower selling price for structures". According to Smith (1996, p. 62) the ground rent refers to the "claim made by landowners on users of their land", and the capitalised ground rent is defined as "the quantity of ground rent that is appropriated by the landowner, given the present land use". When the gap between the potential ground

rent and the capitalised ground rent is sufficiently high, capital is reinvested to put the property back to its highest and best use in the form of businesses and affluent users (Smith and LeFaivre, 1984). This rent gap expansion is further aided “by continued urban development and expansion, that has historically raised the potential ground rent level in the inner city” (Smith, 1996, pp. 67–68).

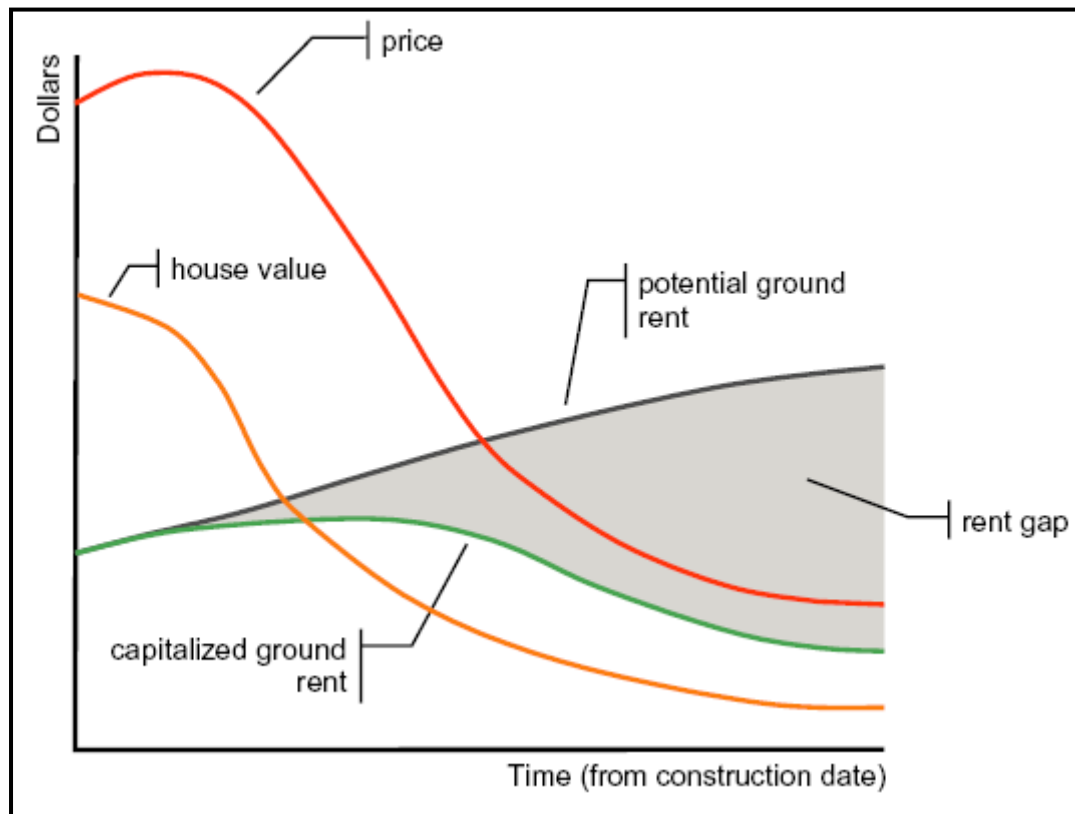


Figure 2.2: The rent gap hypothesis. Changes in rents and values in an inner-city neighbourhood (Diapi & Bolchi, 2006, p. 9).

2.4 – The Impacts of Gentrification.

Although Gentrification’s popularity has increased over the last number of decades and the process has been associated with benefits such as renewal, increased property values and tax revenues, etc. Many believe (Slater, 2006, Atkinson 2002) the often romanticized and celebratory tone surrounding the concept is unjustified. Instead the process overall is viewed as harmful for a neighbourhood, resulting in problems such as displacement, harassment and eviction, community conflict, to name just a few.

The benefits and costs are so unevenly distributed that one has to look not at some overall equation but at different segments of the population (Smith & Williams, 1986), and it should be interpreted according to its impact on the particular stakeholder involved. For example, rises in property values may be good for owners but are bad for poorer households trying to purchase in the area and for property tax burdens on poorer homeowners in the same area (Lang 1982).

Gentrification can develop naturally in an area, rapidly transforming a run down inner-city neighbourhood but the process can also be aided through or spurred on by government initiatives such as urban renewal or regeneration schemes. Gentrification has been construed as both destroyer and saviour in the regeneration of run-down areas, yet it is clear that it is not simply one or the other. There are both positive and negative impacts of gentrification. In the context of the current research it is important for the reader to have an awareness of these potential impacts in order to understand the possible ways that residents may be affected. The following section describes the range of potential impacts associated with the phenomenon.

2.4.1 – Gentrification and Displacement

Although displacement has generally taken on a cumulative weight of its own, often without the supporting empirical data in many studies (Keating, 2000), the topic is a dominant theme in research literature. The difficulty with measuring displacement lies in the general trend among displacees to move from the area, thus often making them difficult to trace. However despite the lack of empirical data, displacement is widely viewed as one of the major costs of gentrification (Atkinson, 2004; Chernoff, 1980; Dolbeare, 1978). According to Sumka (1979) displacement can broadly be characterized as an involuntary move by a household, with the drivers of such involuntary moves often being related to both economic and social imperatives. Gentrification-induced displacement can 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).

Other less obvious ways of causing this displacement is through the influx of these affluent groups altering the social characteristics and services of an area so that

residents' social networks are distended?, while the cost of living may increase as service provision caters for higher income groups. For the most part the burden of displacement appears to fall on single people in particular. It is often hard for single people to afford accommodation. This often manifests itself in the high number of flat shares and lodgers in these areas (Atkinson & Kintrea, 1998). For many residents, gentrification can erode both their ability and their desire to remain in that location as social, physical, economic, and environmental changes can take place unrelated to the patterns of their own lifestyles and the resources on which they lived. The displacement of lower income residents is most often achieved through rental and price increases, though other, more insidious, methods are also used by landlords. Tenants are sometimes encouraged to move out through inducements (cash sums for vacating the premises), harassment, violence and intimidation, while eviction and rent rises also lead to displacement (Atkinson, 2000a).

Peter Marcuse (1986) identifies four types of displacement which can result from gentrification. The first being economic/physical displacement where residents are priced out of a dwelling through rent increases or by physical means. The second is known as last-resident displacement where only the last resident is counted as displaced. The third form is known as chain displacement where counting includes the number of residents over time that have been displaced from a property and includes previous households who were forced to move out due to deterioration of the building or rent hikes. The fourth and final form which he identifies is known as exclusionary displacement which relates to the inevitable lack of affordable housing associated with process of gentrification. The influx of more affluent members willing to pay higher prices for their homes excludes lower income groups from settling in the area.

2.4.2 – Gentrification, Changing Service Provision and Community Conflict

It is widely argued that gentrifiers under occupy their properties resulting in a drop in population in the area (Wagner 1995; Bailey & Robertson 1997). Although many

believe the increase in middle class residents is beneficial for an area because of the fiscal boost it brings to the community, other scholars have challenged this idea, arguing that most gentrifiers already live in the city (Gale, 1984). The drop in population coupled with the significant change in the residents' social status also has a knock on effect on local shops and services in gentrifying neighbourhoods. As a result of gentrification a new service infrastructure can often spring up around the wealthy new residents. Gastro Bars replace pubs, delicatessens replace grocers, increasing the cost of living or distending the scope of shopping trips. Such changes are often perceived as improving an area, yet they belie the reality that social problems have not been resolved (Atkinson, 2004) which can lead to the further alienation of the original residents.

Community conflict has also emerged as a problem in many neighbourhoods that have undergone gentrification. Shaw's (2000) study of the aboriginal neighbourhood of Redfern in Sydney, Australia is a prime example of conflict occurring between the area's inhabitants and the residents of the surrounding non-aboriginal suburbs. The community seems out of place and sits in a glaring juxtaposition to the neighbouring gentrifying areas resulting in the area "*imploding in a sea of drugs, crime and cultural inferiority*" (Shaw, 2000. pg. 291). Another example can be seen in the work of Spain (1993), where she explores similar types of conflicts that arise in gentrifying neighbourhoods and rural counties in the wake of rapid immigration. Here she recognises the problems associated with the influx of people into an area with greater access to resources than long-term residents and the resulting conflict which often accompanies this redistribution of resources due to privatisation.

2.4.3 – Gentrification and Crime:

Ideas are split with regards to gentrification and its effect on crime levels in newly gentrified areas (Atkinson, 2002). Some believe (Henig 1982; Reiss, 1986; Bottoms and Wiles, 1986) it can reduce crime and almost eradicate it completely. Others contend (Ayanna, 2007; Taylor and Covington, 1988) that it can act as a catalyst for an increase in specific types of crimes. Often in areas prior to gentrification taking hold, soon-to-upgrade communities may possess some of the highest crime rates in the

city because of their central location as well as the population characteristics of those who reside in filtered-down housing stock.

There are three main reasons why some expect that revitalisation will undermine, if not erase, these criminal traditions, thus causing offence levels to drop. The first is that middle income areas generally have lower crime rates. So, as these previously lower-class areas are populated by a larger proportion of middle-income residents, their crime rates can be expected to decline (Harries 1980). The second reason for a potential reduction in crime refers to a process which is generally seen as a cost of gentrification and involves the displacement of households with incomes below the poverty line. This however also means the dislocation of those low-income populations that in theory include many persons under pressure to commit crime. The third explanation offered is the potential of more affluent newcomers to have more political clout than the former residents and therefore an ability to lobby effectively for increased police protection, elimination of rooming house, improved street lighting, and other city services that may help reduce crime (Taylor and Covington, 1988).

It is however by no means a foregone conclusion that gentrification reduces crime in areas. Baldwin and Bottoms (1976) believe that as areas gentrify, they become increasingly attractive to local and nearby rational offenders. The reason for this is that potential offenders may interpret the in-migration of more affluent residents as an increase in both the attractiveness and amount of potential targets. Up-scale persons are more attractive street-crime victims, presenting a potentially larger “take” for the robber. Thus the rational offender perspective focuses attention on crimes of gain, and in general terms, predicts a link between gentrification and increasing robbery, burglary and larceny (Harries, 1980).

2.4.4 – Gentrification, Renewal and Poverty

Deconcentration

Perhaps one of the most obvious and visible benefits of gentrification is the renewal and rejuvenation of areas. This renewal can come about as a result of state sponsored

renewal schemes through the upgrading of architecturally desirable areas, or the redevelopment of run down neighbourhoods. However, the physical rehabilitation of neighbourhoods by new homeowners also allows improvement, often without direct public subsidy. The subsequent change in image of neighbourhoods associated with renewal may also invite further investment and alter preconceptions about the social ecology of an area (Atkinson, 2004).

The influx of more affluent residents into the gentrifying neighbourhoods not only creates a greater social mix but also deconcentrates poverty within the area. Concentrated poverty, which tends to agglomerate alongside the concentration of capital, threatens the interests of capital by potentially reducing the return on their investment in that area. According to Reese et al. (2010), concentrated poverty encourages social unrest, threatening to depreciate the value of current or future investments in real estate, businesses and other aspects of the built environment.

Although it has been argued that displacement comes at the price of this social mix, Lees (2008) identifies three reasons why it has been advocated. The first is with regards to the ‘defending the neighbourhood’ argument which claims that since middle-class people are stronger advocates for public resources, socially mixed neighbourhoods will fare better than those without middle-class households. The second argument claims that neighbourhoods which are tenure and socio-economically mixed are able to support a stronger local economy than areas of concentrated poverty. Finally, the ‘networks and contacts’ argument draws on Putnam’s (1995) influential account of bridging and bonding social capital to promote social mixing as the way to generate social cohesion and economic opportunity.

2.4.5 – Gentrification, Property Values and Tax Revenues

Although the benefits of gentrification largely fall on the gentrifiers, there are examples where the existing residents of an area also profit. Better quality shops and services in an area is one example where original inhabitants benefit from the influx of more affluent residents. It is also true to say that for those who own their own home, gentrification in an area will generally result in an increase in the value of their properties. This increase in property values can be looked at two fold, both as a cost

and a benefit of the process depending on the stakeholders involved (Atkinson, 2004). However home owners in the area can see an almost overnight dramatic increase in the value of their property.

The boosting of a city's tax revenue due the arrival of more affluent residents is another positive attribute acknowledged by authors and an outcome which is widely welcomed by city councils. However this is not always the case. As discussed above, gentrification can lead to a reduction in population due to the underutilization of space. Gentrifiers have also been shown (Gale, 1984) to primarily move within the city from one neighbourhood to another which will have a minimal effect on the cities tax base.

Although the process of gentrification has a number of vital benefits, its costs are significant and it is difficult to know whether it can be beneficial or otherwise harmful for a community. Despite the evident negative effects gentrification can have on a community, it is a process which is frequently being advocated in government policy as a solution to a variety of a city's social ills and enhancing an area's run down reputation. The next section will focus on the area of new build gentrification, a branch of gentrification heavily entwined with the state and debate continues over whether it can actually classified as a type of gentrification.

2.5 – New Build Gentrification and the Production of Employment.

Some of the earliest accounts of gentrification were largely related to distinctive landscapes of urban restoration and revitalization (Davidson and Lees, 2005). However, as gentrification matures, both as a theory and as a process, new spaces of gentrification have emerged, both globally and down the urban hierarchy (Lees et al., 2010). This has led Smith (2002) to call for the need to 'widen the spatial lens' of gentrification studies. Smith believes,

“Gentrification is no longer about a narrow and quixotic oddity in the housing market but has become the leading residential edge of a much larger endeavour: the class remake of the central urban landscape” (1996, page 39).

As demand and property prices increased sharply in the central areas of some of the world’s largest cities, the gentrification and conversion process expanded to encompass a wide range of different property types including old office buildings, factories, schools, and hospitals. For example in inner city London, there is almost no type of building which is not subject to upmarket residential conversion if it happens to be potentially profitable (Hamnett & Whitlegg, 2006). Contemporary gentrification has become increasingly complex because different actors and locations have become involved and the landscapes produced have changed. One of these outcomes has been the development of a new strain of gentrification known today as ‘new build’ gentrification. The late 1980s saw the first glimpse of research focusing specifically on new build gentrification. Here the detailed studies of Caroline Mills’ (1988, 1989, 1993) on Fairview Slopes, in Vancouver, saw developers, architects, and marketing agents create a newly built landscape of gentrification through the development of townhouses and condominiums, which demonstrated processes of capital reinvestment, social upgrading, and middle-class colonisation. In the case of Fairview Slopes, where gentrification had been the result of a number of different actors, including gentrifiers, architects/developers, marketing agents, and the local state coming together, can be compared to new-build gentrification in the 1990s, where the local state in many cases was the lead actor. Neil Smith (1996 & 2002: Hackworth & Smith, 2001) firmly placed gentrification within the changing context of evolving neo-liberal urban governance and reinforced the fact that the state was acting as a leading agent in this form of gentrification.

The idea of this new-build gentrification has however, not been without its critics. While the term has long been generally accepted, Lambert and Boddy (2002), and, more recently, Boddy (2007), argue that the demographic transformations stimulated by city centre new-build developments are relatively innocuous. They do not cause population displacement, and are not associated with the rent-hike and eviction processes of gentrification proper. Other authors such as Buzar et al (2007a) believed that the process does not involve the rehabilitation of old housing and that the way of life to which the social categories concerned aspire is different in the case of new

buildings. Boddy (2007) questions whether the concept, and what it conveys, may have been stretched beyond the point at which it remains useful and credible as a means of understanding the processes at work. Instead authors have chosen to phrase the theory as form of 'reurbanisation' or 'residentialisation' (Butler, 2007b; Boddy 2007; Buzar *et al.*, 2007), terms which have come to be used to argue against 'new-build gentrification'. Reurbanisation was first used in the late 1970s as a theoretical concept to refer to the opposite of de-urbanisation or deconcentration, It was a process driven by second demographic transition which leads to residentialisation and it is argued, can therefore improve quality of life and use of inner city space (Haase *et al.*, 2005).

This thesis however questions this proposition, instead recognising that gentrification is 'a highly dynamic process, it is not amenable to overly restrictive definitions' (Smith, 1986; 3). Instead, it will also consider the views of Davidson and Lees (2005) which present state-led process of new-build redevelopment (Cameron, 2002) as a form of third wave gentrification (Hackworth & Smith 2001) characterised by major corporate involvement, openly facilitative state processes, limited resistance and geographical expansion into new neighbourhoods (Hackworth, 2002 & 2007). Davidson and Lees (2005) acknowledge the differences between traditional gentrification and new-build development as new-build residential developments are profoundly different from the renovated Victorian and Georgian landscapes of classic gentrification texts. Based on their study of riverside development in London, however, they argue that:

"despite the different character of new-build developments there are striking parallels between those developments and previous waves of gentrification, such that new-build developments can, and should, be identified as landscapes or as forms of gentrification" (2005, pg 1166-1167).

According Davidson and lees (2005) four principal aspects characterise new-build gentrification. The first of these is the reinvestment of capital into the area. The second is the social upgrading of a locale by incoming high-income groups. The third is landscape change in the developed site, and the final characteristic is the direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups.

With the case of new build gentrification, increases in employment in the newly developed area are almost guaranteed. This is because with new-build gentrification, development is generally concentrated on land that was previously abandoned or on 'Brownfield' sites thus employment is attracted to the area without the displacement of former industries or residents (Moore, 2002). New build gentrification has evolved into a vehicle for transforming whole areas into a new landscape, which pioneer a comprehensive class-inflected urban remake (Smith, 2002). These new landscape complexes now integrate housing with shopping, restaurants, cultural facilities and open space creating an array of employment opportunities. In some cases however, these new residential developments have been built upon ex-industrial sites, such as power stations, docks, and rail yards, which often acted as the main provider of employment to the surrounding working class communities. This often results in the dramatic shrinking of the manual working class, whilst the professional technical and managerial middle classes grow rapidly (Hamnett, 2003a; 2003b; Ley, 1996;). This change in class structure has been accompanied by an upward shift in the distribution of earnings and incomes with a much larger group of higher earners and greater inequality. Although alternative employment is created within the redeveloped area, it may not always cater for the low skilled workers of the neighbouring communities and to an extent may result in excluding them from gaining access to employment within the area. In simple statistical terms, these deprived neighbourhoods located adjacent to new-build gentrification sites are classified as such partly because they contain large numbers of residents who are unemployed or otherwise outside the labour market. A significant body of literature suggests that the neighbourhood is an important location that profoundly affects employment opportunities as well as outcomes such as education and health (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2001). Nothing is starker than the possibility that someone will die younger by virtue of where they live (Shaw *et al.*, 2000) or that a person's address affects their chances of getting a job. This makes it imperative to understand how new-build gentrification impacts both the perceived and absolute employment opportunities of these neighbouring deprived communities.

2.6 – Conclusion

Gentrification has undergone profound changes over the last number of decades and it is clear that theorists struggle to pin down the exact meaning of the term. This chapter has looked at the overall process of gentrification and how the process has evolved since its conception in the early 1960s. It also dealt with the theories regarding its causation and how the process can impact upon a community. The chapter then shifted to the central theme of this study, new build gentrification. This is a relatively recent phenomenon stretching the original concept to incorporate new build residential developments. It however remains within the realm of gentrification because it not only results in the creation of gentrified landscapes and the in-direct displacement of residents, but the impacts associated with the process largely remain equivalent to gentrification proper. Nevertheless little knowledge exists over how it impacts employment levels, especially in areas surrounding the new build development. The next chapter of this thesis examines the Dublin Docklands, focusing specifically on the neighbouring deprived community of Sheriff Street, an example today of an area affected by new-build gentrification.

Chapter 3 – Case Study

(The Dublin Docklands and the surrounding Sheriff Street Neighbourhood of Lower Sheriff Street, Seville Place and Oriel Street)

3.1 – Introduction

To get an overall picture of the case study chosen for the current study, it is important to give a wider background of the entire Dockland area as well as the processes and institutions which have shaped and formed the neighbourhood as we see it today. Various actors and institutions have both influenced its demise as well as its resurgence and it is important that these are identified to understand the dynamic divisions that exist today. The chapter will start off by tracing the history of the Dublin Docklands and how the area rapidly spiralled into decay. It will then describe the changes which occurred in the area resulting in its resurgence. Attention then shifts to the struggles for inclusion by the indigenous population that existed throughout the development and how the local community ensured they had a voice in decisions regarding their neighbourhood. The next section applies the framework of Davidson and Lees (2005) as a way to prove the Dublin Docklands can be characterised as a site of new-build gentrification and is then followed by a concluding chapter which takes a specific look at the Sheriff Street area as a focus for this study.

3.2 – Containerisation and the Decay of the Dublin Docklands.

The origins of the earliest settlement in Dublin are to be found in the existence of the river we know as the Liffey, its estuary and bay. The growth of settlement in the latter Middle Ages was assisted by the development of facilities, however primitive, for ships engaged in the settlement's trade with Britain, the near Continent and with Mediterranean ports (Gilligan, 1989). The relevant history of this dockland area in

Dublin dates from the late 18th century, when the area along the north and south shores of the Liffey, east of the city centre, developed into a thriving port industry. Following abundant employment opportunities on the docks, an increasing number of workers moved into this area (Gilligan 1989). Churches were built and became the focal point of each neighbourhood, with the parish boundaries becoming, for the most part, the defining community boundaries.

Located east of the Central Business District on both sides of the River Liffey, the physical and socio-economic character of the Docklands area today is a product of waterfront retreat and the increased marginality of former port cities. As the traditional employment route in the Docklands was manual labour, there was a history of low educational attainment (Williams and O'Connor, 2000) with most employees in the Docklands working on a casual basis as labourers, involved in the loading and unloading of cargo ships (Dublin Docklands Development Authority, 2008). Chronic skill shortages within the local population for non-manual positions became apparent resulting in high levels of unemployment. As the economy and employment base of Dublin's maritime district declined sharply from the early 1960s, the already widespread negative perception and marginalisation of the district increased.

As well as this decline, the area was also being affected by the process of globalisation and the growth of the knowledge economy. This was having widespread affects across the western world as heavy and manufacturing industries relocated to sites in Asia and other areas of the developing world where overhead costs were considerably lower. The movement towards service industries coupled with the growth in air travel over passenger ships further led to the disappearance of traditional employment opportunities in the Dublin's Docklands. During the 1970s, global recessionary trends directly influenced the evolution of Dublin, disproportionately affecting the inner-city when compared with its hinterland. The docklands rapidly became the most deprived district within the urban core. Although, significant pockets of residential activity remained in the docklands in the mid-1980s, inner city population decline, particularly among the young and economically active, had accelerated rapidly in the 1970s and 1980s, in contrast to the population increases occurring in Dublin County during the same period.

The growth of suburbanisation from the 1960s onwards also had a significant effect on the areas decline. The outward migration of Dubliners to the suburbs, with their accompanying facilities and factories, led to the rapid physical, social and economic decay of the inner city. In contrast to the emerging leafy suburbs with individual dwellings, the local authority housing in the Docklands area was characterised by a lack of open spaces and recreational amenities as well as being surrounded by heavy industrial sites. Although, significant pockets of residential activity remained in the Docklands in the mid-1980s, inner city population decline, particularly among the young and economically active, had accelerated rapidly in the 1970s and 1980s in contrast to the population increases occurring in Dublin County during the same period. The majority of housing in the area was built between 1930 and 1952 for dock employees. After that occupation declined, a large number of families moved out. The local authority placed ‘at risk’ families from other areas of the city into these vacant apartments. This resulted in an unbalanced social profile of residents in the area. Indeed, by the early 1980s, more than half of the housing in the area was over 70 years old and of poor quality. All these factors resulted in the Docklands area becoming characterised by poverty and dereliction on a much larger scale than other parts of the city (Moore, 2008).



Image 3.1: Degradation within the Sheriff Street neighbourhood circa

Within the Docklands area industrial zoning was particularly extensive on the north side of the river, while the southern quays were reserved for mixed-use development. On both sides of the river, heavy industrial zonings surrounded the residential areas; with the ‘gasometers’ being the most significant feature of the landscape south of the river and the railway sidings and container yards encircling homes on the north side. These economic activities are characteristic of Brownfield sites, where extensive areas of land were taken up with activities that became obsolete, following the move to a service-based economy. While ‘global’ centres become increasingly interconnected and the level of trade between and within them intensifies (Moore, 2002), those at the margins of society suffer increased social and financial exclusion which rapidly became the case in Dublin’s inner city.

This resulted in economic, physical and social decay, which was further exacerbated by government urban policy advocating the abandonment of the inner city and the development of new towns in the outer suburbs (Bannon, 1989). In the nine-year period between 1975 and 1984, employment at Dublin Port (the largest employer in the area) was reduced from 7403 to 5200. From 1981 to 1986, unemployment in Dublin County Borough increased by 91.6% (Dublin Corporation, 1986). This

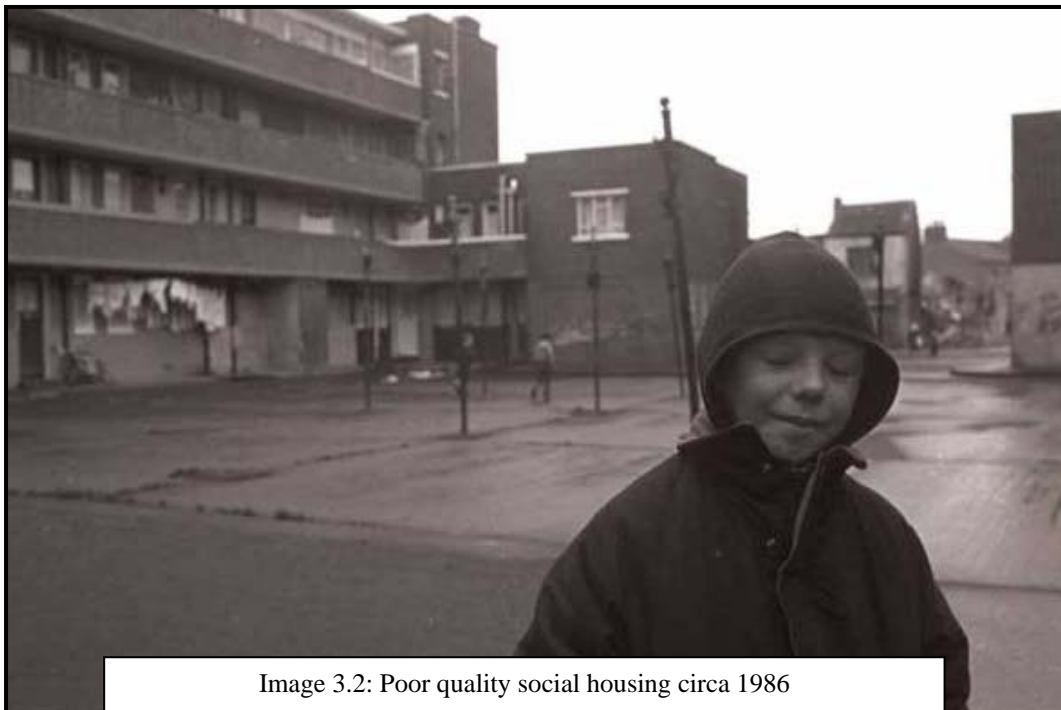


Image 3.2: Poor quality social housing circa 1986

resulted in the Docklands becoming the most deprived district within the urban core

resulting in the emergence of a doughnut-shaped city, an inner-city Docklands area characterised by physical dereliction and social deprivation on a scale unimaginable in other parts of Dublin. This decay continued until the early 1990s when Central Government promoted the International Financial Services Centre (IFSC) as its ‘flagship project’ designed to entice associated activities to the designated area, while private entrepreneurs encouraged its development as a tax haven within the Custom House Docks Area (Moore, 2001). The radical physical and social changes that can be seen in the Dublin Docklands today were a result of government rejuvenation policies that encouraged private developers to venture into a previously high-risk location.

3.3 – State Policy and the Re-Imagining of the Dublin

Docklands

The regeneration of the Docklands area can be seen within the wider context of the renaissance and revitalisation of cities at the end of the twentieth century (Silverman, Lupton and Fenton, 2005). In 1986 the Fianna Fail Government introduced the Urban Renewal Act in an effort to stimulate urban renewal and development in the city. One of the first things to develop from this act was the creation of the Docklands Urban Development Plan (UDP) area, known as the Custom House Docks Area (CHDA), which comprised of eleven hectares of land. This expanded to twenty nine in 1987, when the site was also designated by central government as the primary location for an IFSC. 1987 saw the first evidence of private sector interest in the Docklands district. This was due to new legislation passed designating the Custom House Docks as an area for special tax incentives and rates remission. Frank Benson, the chairman of the Custom House Docks Development Authority (CHDDA) at the time, described the development as;

‘the first instance of formalised comprehensive partnership between the public and private sectors – a partnership in which the Government incentives provide the catalyst to trigger private enterprise and harness the entrepreneurial skills and capital necessary to secure the renewal of a great part of our city’ (Hasse, 2008 pg. 5).

The CHDDA were a single-focus development agency aspired to the amelioration of long term economic, physical and social problems, through the implementation of targeted regeneration strategies. The authority's *raison d'être* was to rejuvenate this historically significant, yet decaying part of the urban core through the encouragement of local businesses which would contribute to the diversification of employment opportunity within the city-region and mobilise local skills (Moore, 1999).

Private developers began to examine the development potential of nearby areas, recognising that Dublin would rapidly become immersed in the Docklands boom affecting other cities, such as Baltimore, London and Rotterdam. Intensive marketing strategies and fiscal incentives succeeded in transforming the Docklands from a relatively undesirable area into a highly attractive residential location. Profound changes also occurred in the commercial and economic spheres and extensive tertiary activities located in new developments at George's Quay and the IFSC. Central Government promoted the IFSC as a way to entice associated activities to the designated area, while private entrepreneurs encouraged its development as a tax haven within the CHDA (Moore, 2008). It was argued that the IFSC could compete successfully with other off-shore havens like the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands because of the benefits of the comparatively easy access to European Union markets denied to these other states. In addition, competitiveness with Luxembourg (also an EU member) was assured through the provision of a low corporate tax rate of 10% (Murphy, 1998).

The original development generated much interest, yet by January 1989, development had stalled, due in large part to the stock market crash of 1987. However, once the economy stabilised and began to grow, substantial and dramatic progress was made. The first glimpse of this could be seen in the summer of 1996 when four small retail units and a bar/ restaurant were opened at Mayor Street Bridge and shortly afterwards, Jury's Custom House Inn was opened along the quayside. Since 1997, the Clarion Quay hotel and twelve new self-contained retail units of varying sizes have been completed. As the area expands and develops today, there are a growing number of restaurants, as well as specialist food and wine outlets to cater for the increasingly gentrified population. The radical physical and social changes that emerged in Dublin Docklands in the mid-1990s were a result of government rejuvenation policies that encouraged private developers to venture into a previously high-risk location. The

successful netting of international capital investment to the area became crucial in the rhetoric of the 'Celtic Tiger' economic adventure, associated with turn-of-the-millennium Ireland (Moore, 2002).

Development in the Docklands has been continual since the early 1990s and still continues today but not at the rapid rate that was seen at the start of this decade. The €800 million Point Village development is still currently on site. It will feature a shopping centre, a cinema complex, museum, offices and a hotel plus a five-story underground car park. Its signature building will be the Watchtower, which will rise to 100 metres over the North side of the Quays. It will include luxury apartments, office space, a mini TV and radio studio as well as rooftop bar and restaurant with views over Dublin Bay and the City. The Point Village aims to be a world class business and cultural hub with the Capital's premier entertainment venue, the O2 at the heart of this new iconic city-centre development. The O2 is Europe's first venue, of its size, which is custom designed for live music. The O2 opened its doors to the public in December 2008 after an €80 million investment. It is a development of the Point Exhibition Company, made up of Live Nation and Harry Crosbie. One of the more recent developments within the Docklands is Spencer Dock where its distinctive offices and high-end apartments are located in the heart of Dublin's new central business district, creating over 300,000 square meters of office space. Pricewaterhouse Coopers was the first major tenant to have relocated there in 2007, where they occupy a seven storey office block which is a landmark building along Dublin's Liffey Quays and employs 2,100 workers. Along with leisure and shopping amenities, Spencer Dock includes 2.5 acres of open green space known as Central Square which is the centrepiece of the entire scheme. Another large scale development within the Docklands is the National Conference Centre designed by architect Kevin Roche which accommodates over 2,000 people and includes a new Shay Cleary architect designed 5 star hotel. Conceived as part of the overall Spencer Dock Development, located on a site adjacent to the Royal Canal between North Wall Quay and Mayor Street, it embodies a well considered program of conference facilities designed to attract the international conference and associated exhibitions market to Dublin. The building is 45,921 square metres in size and is capable of accommodating many events, from international conferences and meetings to product shows, multi-media presentations, orchestra performances, musical theatre, and opera.

The emergence of a new legal quarter in the district has brought about large scale development within the Docklands area. McCann Fitzgerald is one of several law firms to have located to the south Docklands area. It moved from its building in the IFSC to a state-of-the-art 118,360 square foot office building on Sir John Rogerson's Quay where 475 staff are employed. Leading Irish corporate law firm Matheson Ormsby Prentice have also made the move and are now located at their new offices at 70 Sir John Rogerson's Quay along Dublin's Docklands. With over 133,000 square foot of office space, they will now occupy the largest law firm offices in Ireland. Other multi-national companies located within the Docklands include Google, which has its European headquarters at Barrow Street. The company is planning to expand its base in Ireland further and it is planning to lease an additional 100,000 sq ft of Docklands office space to facilitate this. Other companies such as Belgian financial services company Fortis also took up residency in their new building incorporating 100,000 square foot in space at Spencer Dock in 2007, and Accenture's move into Grand Canal Square has succeeded in bringing further employment into the heart of the IFSC.

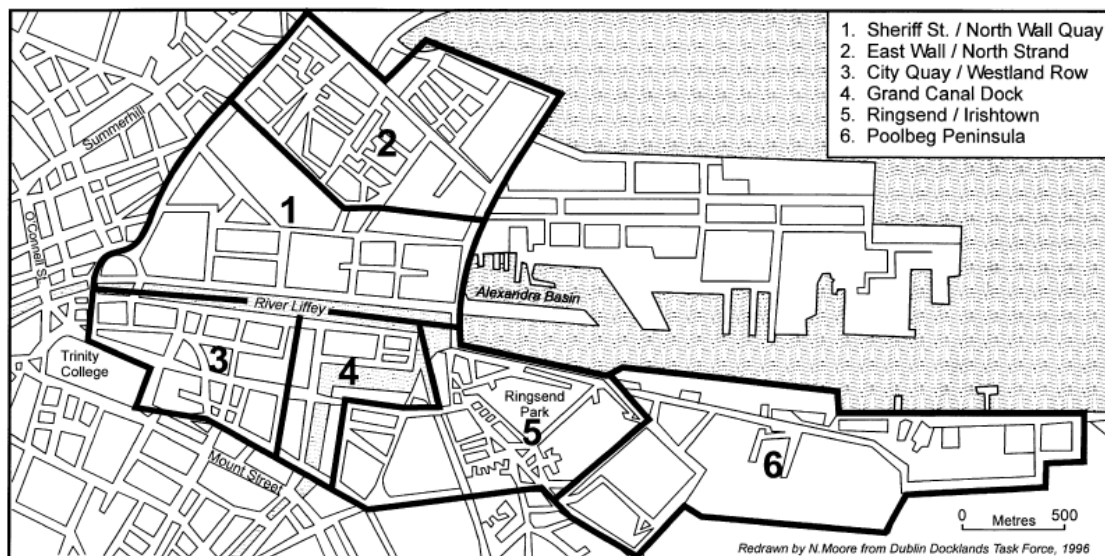


Image 3.3: The Dublin Docklands development area, 1996.

Although the Dublin Docklands area has been transformed and succeeded in attracting private investment, it has not been done in accordance with the original plan set out by the CHDDA and has come under heavy criticism (Murphy, 1998). The

focus of establishing an IFSC at the site led to a predominance of office activities at the cost of a vibrant mix of uses as well as a limited amount of residential development on site. The resulting mono-functional landscape of the UDP site ended up isolating it from surrounding communities and Dublin city as a whole.

The re-imagining of the Docklands by a business elite has produced new locational factors whereby the rich and poor live in close geographical proximity to each other but may be worlds apart on social and economic levels (Hogan, 2006. pg 29.).

The issue of social exclusion in the Docklands can be said to have taken an alternative path. Exclusion from the urban landscape which was once highly visible between localities is currently not as obvious due to techniques being employed to eradicate such segregation. As

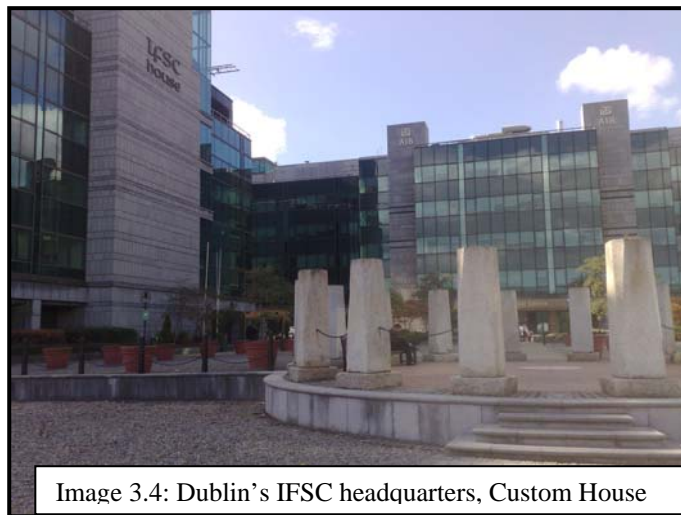


Image 3.4: Dublin's IFSC headquarters, Custom House

local communities in the Docklands undergo gentrification, new apartment complexes have emerged. Property prices soared in the Docklands as a result of a desire of the middle class to be close to the city. In order to cater for the demand, old derelict sites, factories and warehouses have been transformed into private apartments. These hi-spec apartment complexes have been built alongside existing dwellings that have traditionally catered for the working classes. In his article 'Class Structure of the Advanced Societies', Giddens (1973) notes how spatial segregation occurred between classes because different classes occupied separate spaces. However, in this age of postmodernism or late modernity as Giddens (2002) prefers to describe it, the structural division of class is not as obvious because the osmosis of class occurs on a spatial level. What emerges is a blurring of class as working and middle classes now inhabit the same geographical spaces.

Such 'communities within communities' take two forms. The first is the highly visible exclusion. This form was most observable in phase one of Docklands regeneration under the CHDDA Master Plan, established as a result of the 1986 Urban Renewal Act, as the new apartment complexes on the site were physically separate from the indigenous community (CHDDA, 1986). This isolation is reinforced by the presence

of security guards and by the continual monitoring of the area by closed circuit television (CCTV). Electronic security gates, a moat, and a wall several meters in height, known locally as the 'Berlin wall' segregate the indigenous communities from the 'new communities established after the CHDA regeneration (Bartley and Treadwell Shine 2003). The second form of 'micro polarisation' takes place within the apartment complexes itself. Under Part V of the Planning and Development Act, 2002, up to 20 per cent of development in Ireland must be given over to social and affordable housing. If not, under changes introduced in 2002, land or cash must be handed over in lieu. In the case of the Dublin Docklands, those that occupy the twenty per cent social and affordable housing units within the complexes are concentrated within the same blocks and are thus separated from the privately-owned apartments.

3.4 – A Struggle for Inclusion.

In order to be able to carry out the proposed research on the Sheriff Street neighbourhood it is essential to look at the struggles that have existed throughout the development stage of Docklands regeneration. Although it is evident that vast improvements have been made in the Dublin Docklands, it is often the case that the regeneration of many inner city neighbourhoods can come at the expense of indigenous communities. This is most evident in phase one of the regeneration process, resulting in the demolition of local authority flats in Sheriff Street. Moore (2002: pg. 330) observes,

“Local authority tenants were forced to burden an unfair share of the costs of redevelopment, while new private sector tenants benefited from fiscal initiatives and high-grade facilities.”

The lack of trickle down benefits for the local indigenous communities is another area that has been criticised. Although they have gained a number of lower-paid service jobs, it was believed that the residents of the local communities have not benefited as much from the new middle and high grade jobs provided within the site (Moore, 2008). The development also had a profound impact on the property markets, both within the CHDA and the surrounding neighbourhoods. There is a growing shortfall in the availability of social and affordable housing to local people in the Docklands

area. Residential development accounted for a mere five per cent of total development on site whilst office space accounted for eighty three per cent in 1996 (DOELG, 1996a: 88). In the inner-city regeneration areas local communities that traditionally would have been at the bottom of the housing market now find themselves with diminishing levels of housing provision and increased competition from incoming residents for the limited supply of private residential units. Local residents in the Docklands area are unable to compete with investors or owner-occupancy purchasers for the limited supply of private residential units available in the areas. This has led to the gentrification of the initial UDC site resulting in the exclusion of many of the latest generation of the indigenous population.

One of the main issues of concern when development commenced was the fact that the local authority, Dublin Corporation (now known as Dublin City Council (DCC)) was locked out of the planning process for this site as the CHDDA was established effectively as a planning authority in its own right. There was no mechanism open for interaction with the local community who were effectively bypassed (Hogan, 2005). The CHDDA established under the Urban Renewal Act 1986, was exempt from the usual planning procedures including the standard planning obligation to provide for community participation. The Authority was answerable only to the Minister for the Environment. Exemption from the normal planning process meant that the CHDDA was effectively placed outside the local government accountability structures (Bartley, 1998)

Throughout the early stages of the redevelopment the interests and concerns of local communities were not as visible as they should have been due to the fact they were initially excluded from political involvement in the UDP. However a coalition of local communities and organisations were established to combat the exclusion of local issues and people from the UDP. This coalition succeeded in raising the profile of the local communities in the national media and successfully lobbied government and other agencies for support during major confrontations with the UDP (Bartley & Treadwell, 2005). In the early 1990s the European Union (EU) also set up funding for new pilot programmes, aimed at addressing issues such as social inclusion, poverty, and local development issues, with social inclusion as its *raison d'être* (Turnbull, 1999). The most significant of these was the development of the Area Development Management (ADM) Ltd, which was an independent partnership company established

by the EU in conjunction with the Irish government to co-ordinate and support the activities of thirty eight 'local area partnership' companies in Ireland. These local partnership companies prepared action plans to address issues of unemployment, training, enterprise, community development, and the environment in the partnerships areas. The goal of these partnership companies is to produce local development plans that 'bend urban development towards social inclusion' (Turnbull, 1999), targeting the potentially negative impacts for local communities of competitive economic and urban policies. These area partnerships have demonstrated a new way of working, providing important networking links between statutory agencies, local businesses, and local communities.

While there was a stated commitment to integrated development by all actors involved in the potential regeneration of the area, there were nevertheless serious problems that needed to be addressed. The most relevant of these was how to balance the deployment of competitive economic policies with the social concerns and needs of local communities.

On the 1st of May 1997, the Dublin Docklands Development Authority (DDDA) was established by the then Minister for the Environment, Mr. Brendan Howlin as a replacement for the CHDDA. The geographical area of the DDDA was much larger than that of the CHDDA as it is comprised of 526 hectares. The DDDA is governed by a 15 year Master Plan, which outlines its remit to the year 2012. The local community from the start was provided with an opportunity, through the process of consultation in drawing up the Master Plan, to have a major input into how the Docklands should be developed. This policy is reflected in the 1997 Act.

"The inclusive approach set out in the Act provides for a more democratic process, inviting communities to participate in and contribute to the development of their areas" (Dublin Docklands Area, Master Plan 2003, P.6.).

Hence this was the first formal step with regards to the inclusion of the community into the development of the area as it incorporated the views of the indigenous community into its Master Plan. Reviews of the Master Plan take place every 5 years thus providing an opportunity for local people and other stakeholders to have a say in any changes that should be made to the Master Plan. The remit of the DDDA includes the social, physical and economic development of the area. This is in stark contrast to its predecessor, the CHDDA whose main aim was primarily economic development.

The DDDA is made up of an executive board and council. The inclusion of the community in the DDDA is further highlighted by the fact that the DDDA council consists of twenty five people, seven of whom are community representatives. This provides an opportunity for local communities to have an input into decisions made by the DDDA.

3.5 – New-Build Gentrification in the Dublin Docklands

From examining the Dublin Docklands it is clear that the development constitutes an example of new-build gentrification when applying the same requirements as identified by Davidson and Lees (2005) in their study of the London Docklands.

The first requirement concerns a ‘reinvestment of capital’ which is clearly evident within the entire Docklands area. Reinvestment is visually apparent throughout the whole development where brown-field sites have been turned into legal and financial centres. Examples include the Point Village along with Spencer Dock which all represent a major investment of capital, both by the developers themselves and by the buyers of the properties. According to Davidson and Lees (2005) such a process of economic capital reinvestment in a pocket of devalorised land, which transforms the area into a prime piece of real estate, mirrors patterns of economic reinvestment in classical gentrification which falls in line with Smiths (1982) Rent Gap theory.

The second requirement refers to ‘social upgrading by an incoming new middle class’. Prior to the areas redevelopment, employment within the area was concentrated within the manual sector with the majority of residents working in the dock yards. Thousands of jobs came on stream as a result of the development of the IFSC and in order to cater for these new employees, residential development throughout the Docklands was a necessity. The influx of residents working within the tertiary and finance sector of the IFSC resulted in an almost complete shift in the socio-demographic profile of the area with larger numbers working in the professional and managerial sector.

Another requirement set out by Davidson and Lees (2005) was the process of ‘Landscape change and the new-build gentrifier’. Supplementary to the reinvestment of economic capital throughout the Docklands was a reinvestment of cultural capital

which is evident in the built form and in the marketing material of new-build developments. The landscape change is from brown-field, vacant and/or abandoned land to a particular aesthetic of residential housing. The new landscape is a mixture of new-build style gentrification and the conversion of ex industrial structures into residential and commercial premises. Culture is brought to the fore within the Dublin Docklands with numerous cultural events held each year including an ‘Oktoberfest’, a Christmas market and various other festivals which promote culture and various aspects of the arts.

The final requirement in order to be characterised as an area of new-build gentrification is the resulting displacement which can be caused. Displacement is a difficult aspect to measure but it has been a process that has taken place within the Dublin Docklands. Direct displacement first occurred in the early stages of development with the demolition of the Sheriff Street flats resulting in residents being forced to move to other areas of the city to make way for the new apartment complexes being developed (Moore, 2002). It is also a possibility that exclusionary displacement has and will continue to occur within the developed area as high rents in the new residential areas may act as a barrier for lower income families entering the housing market.

3.6 – The Sheriff Street Neighbourhood (Lower Sheriff Street, Seville Place, Oriel Street).

The focus of this study is the majority of the North Dock electoral division taking in the streets of Lower Sheriff Street, Seville Place and Oriel Street. It is arguably one of

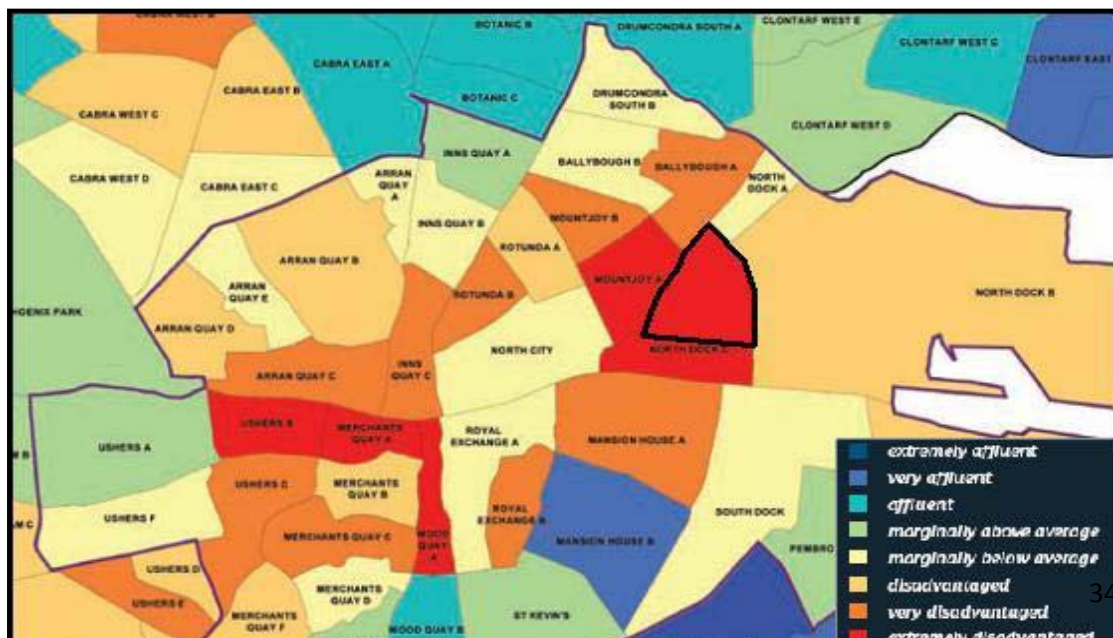


Image 3.5: Affluence and Deprivation at the Level of Enumerative Areas, 1991

the most segregated of all inner city areas in Dublin, largely on account of it bordering one of the most affluent and also one of the most deprived population groups. This specific area of the Docklands has been scrutinised because not only was it the first area of the development to be affected in the regeneration's first phase, but also due to the stark physical contrasts that exist today between the two areas which encompass this single electoral area. This, coupled with a high unemployment rate, a dependency on social housing along with a negative image in the press, makes it ideal to examine how 'new build' gentrification on its doorstep affected the area's employment prospects.

Prior to the redevelopment of the Docklands, the Sheriff Street flats, one of the city's most renowned social housing complexes, stood in the place where now stand two and three bedroom modern apartments to cater for the newly arrived employees of the tertiary sector employed in Dublin's IFSC. When the Sheriff Street Flats were vacated towards the late 1980s, some of the tenants were forced moved to new suburban social housing estates, such as Finglas, Coolock-Darndale and Ballymun. However, those inhabitants who wanted to stay within the area were largely re-housed along Seville Place and its side streets, including Lower Oriel Street. Together with Larkin House and the Shamrock Cottages these streets now stand out as being amongst the most disadvantaged in the entire inner city.

During the early stages of the Docklands' regeneration, the development of the IFSC was mooted as the economic saviour of the area. However, the much talked about job opportunities never materialised on the scale politicians had promised, despite its prime location within the heart of a rejuvenated area. One resident of the area, who feels they were promised much by way of social and economic regeneration, believes "they were abandoned while shiny docklands developments sprouted up on all sides" (Ingle, 2010). Crime is a major issue in the area today and police forces maintain a 24-hour presence in Sheriff Street because of tensions between the feuding criminal gangs.

A previous study on affluence in Dublin's inner city carried out by the Dublin Inner City Partnership (DICP) recorded a significant increase in employment, higher education and greater prosperity within the overall North Dock area but these results are inconclusive. This study encompasses the entire North Dock area and did not take

into consideration the segregation and divide which exists within the two communities.

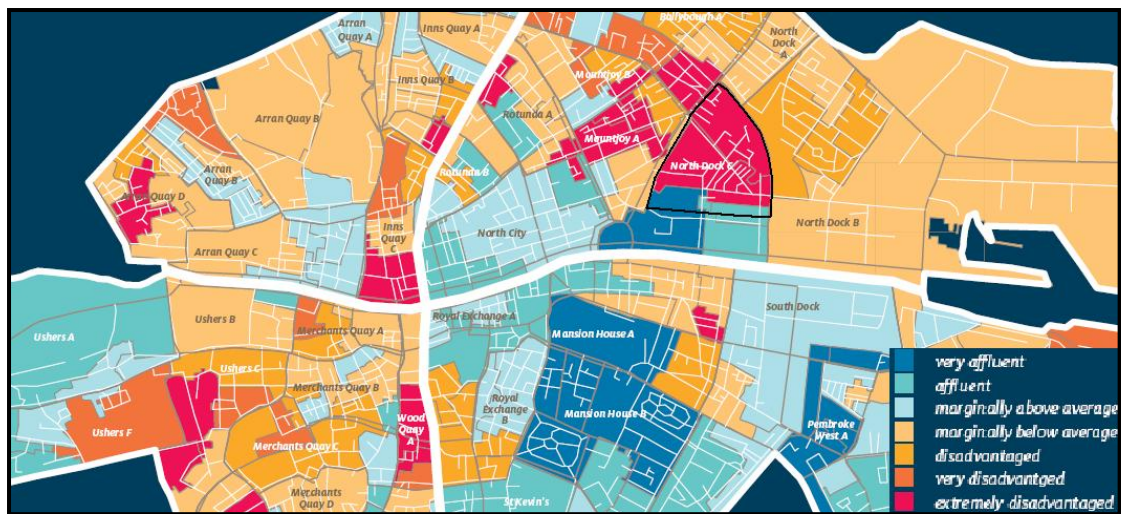


Image 3.6: Affluence and Deprivation at the Level of Enumerative Areas, 2006

The combined number of about 240 households in this disadvantaged location dwindles against the massive number of over 1,000 new apartments in and adjacent to the IFSC area. The latter are concentrated in five major gated communities at Custom House Harbour, Lower Mayor Street and North Wall Quay, which are amongst the most secluded gated complexes in the city, and occupied by tenants from the upper end of the affluence spectrum (Hasse, 2008). Not only are these complexes completely shielded from the wider area surrounding them, but they are literally segregated from their neighbouring constituencies. Increases in affluence within the area were guaranteed due to the influx of new residents from a higher social spectrum working within the IFSC which may have gone in some way to hide the problems that actually exist within the Sheriff Street neighbourhood. Image 3.5 shows the Relative Affluence and Deprivation in the enumerative Area in 1991 compared with image 3.6 in 2006 evidently showing a huge divide existing today in the affluence of the residents. Carrying out research in this specific area is vital to ascertain how the neighbouring residents are impacted with relation to employment opportunities by this ‘new build’ gentrification which gripped its neighbouring locality. The research is also essential to discover what is being done and what needs to be done in the future by both the local population as well as the institutions of power to change this.

3.7 – Conclusion

This chapter began by tracing the history of the Dublin Docklands, describing how it went from one of Ireland's major ports to one of the most disadvantaged areas in the entire country. For a number of different reasons the area rapidly went into decline from the 1960s onwards and this continued until the late 1980s when government policy aimed at economic restructuring brought about huge changes within the area. The area with its new economic base was thriving once again but away from the eye of the general public little attention was paid to the neighbouring indigenous population, who were being adversely affected by the redevelopment. The majority of this population were low skilled and un-educated residents with no voice in policy decision making. With a new structure of authority in place today, the indigenous population have a say in what is being done in their local area but it still remains unclear whether or not this redevelopment has been beneficial for them and their area. Focussing specifically on the perceived and absolute employment opportunities in the disadvantaged community, the following research examines how this case of new-build gentrification has actually impacted the local population, and in this way seeks to discover what needs to be done so that all parties involved in the development can benefit.

Chapter 4 – Research Design and Methodology

4.1 – Research Questions and Objectives

This focus of this thesis is the impact of new-build gentrification developments on the perceived and absolute employment opportunities of neighbouring deprived communities. With a specific focus on the Dublin Docklands' regeneration, the research will consider whether development acts as a provider of employment and career opportunities for the frequently un-skilled workers in the disadvantaged hinterland, or whether it further marginalizes inhabitants, acting as a barrier to their entry into the workforce.

4.1.1 – Research Questions:

- How has the redevelopment of the Dublin Docklands impacted the perceived and absolute employment opportunities of its neighbouring deprived community?
- What must to be done to ensure neighbouring residents are not adversely affected by new-build residential developments and what mechanisms must be put in place to ensure these residents take advantage of the employment opportunities that come on stream as a result of the development?

4.1.2 – Research Objectives

Focusing specifically on the Sheriff Street neighbourhood, situated adjacent to Phase One of the Docklands' redevelopment, research objectives include;

- A comparative analysis of the SAPS for the Sheriff Street neighbourhood for the years 1986, 1996 and 2006, which will allow an assessment of changes in

- Interviews with residents of the Sheriff Street neighbourhood who have resided in the area throughout the redevelopment of the Docklands, to examine how the regeneration has directly impacted upon their lives and their community.
- Interviews with members of DCC, the DDDA and other institutions involved in the development and management of the area to probe the policies that they have implemented.

4.2 – Scope of the Study

The following research will examine the views and opinions of both the residents living within the Sheriff Street area and also the officials responsible for the redevelopment and sustainable management of the Docklands area. This will be achieved through semi-structured interviews. The questions included in the interviews will be explored in detail and the reasoning behind their inclusion will be clarified.

4.2.1 – Statement of the Research Aim

The aim of this research is to discover what impacts new-build gentrification developments have on the perceived and absolute employment opportunities in neighbouring deprived communities. Taking the case study of Sheriff Street in North inner city Dublin, this research examines how the redevelopment of the Dublin Docklands has impacted the employment profile of the area and whether or not the development has been beneficial for the community.

The research is focusing on a specific case study which entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case. As Stake (1995) observes, case study research is concerned with the complexity and particular nature of the case in question. Although the results and recommendations from the present research will be specific to Sheriff

Street and the Dublin Docklands, they should also facilitate general observations and conclusions, applicable to other cases where new-build gentrification developments have taken place.

4.3 – Research Methods

Once the research aims and objectives were clarified, it was necessary to identify the most suitable and appropriate methods for investigating and collecting data on this topic.

“The approach to be adopted for conducting the research depends on the nature of the investigation and the type of data and information that are required and available” (Naoum, 2007)

A mixed method approach incorporating both qualitative and quantitative techniques was chosen for carrying out the proposed research. Mixed method studies attempt to bring together research methods from different paradigms. Qualitative research was necessary to gain insight into the perspective of both those affected by and those responsible for the development of the Dublin Docklands. Quantitative research was necessary to establish actual patterns of change in the area – thus, it was essential to examine census information relevant to the community to examine changes in the socio-economic and employment profile of the area since the neighbouring redevelopment. Interpretation of the statistical results may be difficult and may not take every aspect into consideration, adding qualitative flesh to the quantitative bones is a good strategy to reinforce the findings and establish how exactly the development has impacted upon the local community with regards to employment.

4.3.1 – Qualitative approach.

After carrying out preliminary secondary research on the topic by reviewing the existing literature, the data collection process involved a qualitative approach. To this end key figures responsible for the development and management of the Docklands area, were interviewed, along with a substantial number of inhabitants from the

selected neighbourhood who have resided in the community throughout the areas redevelopment. Using a qualitative approach ensures a commitment to viewing events and the social world through the eyes of the people studied.

“The social world must be interpreted from the perspective of the people being studied rather than as through those subjects were incapable of their own reflections on the social world.” (Bryman, 2008)

This qualitative approach was necessary to partly answer the main research question along with the sub question of this thesis. Interviewing members of the community was vital in order to be able to interpret the perceptions of the Sheriff Street community with regards to employment opportunities as it was they who were directly affected by the development. In answering the second research question, establishing what happened in this community throughout the development by interviewing residents and those responsible for the development of the area will enable us to understand what measures are required to ensure residents are not adversely affected by these new-build developments in the future and in similar cases.

It was essential that the interviewees chosen were residing in the area prior to the Docklands redevelopment, as they had witnessed the changes that had taken place within their community. Generic interviews were used for each resident. Interviews consisted of seven questions and took approximately twenty minutes to undertake. The questions focused on the main topic of employment, pertaining to their opinions on how the development has impacted employment generation within their neighbourhood and their personal experiences. Other issues such as access to services and empowerment were also touched on to give a clearer picture of the situation within the community. The interviews were all semi structured in nature which allowed the researcher to focus on different topics as they arose.

The research also involved a number of more in depth interviews with a different focus than those carried out with the local residents. This involved interviewing those responsible for both the development and continued management of the developed area. These interviews were vital to establish what, if any, measures had been put in place to ensure that neighbouring communities were not adversely affected by the development, and what measures are in place now to ensure that the area is sustainable. These interviews also included resident representatives on the Docklands

council who have resided within the community throughout the development process and will further highlight the developments impact on employment within the community.

One of the most basic considerations when carrying out this research is the absolute size of a sample that is going to be used. Increasing the size of a sample increases the likely precision of a sample, so as the sample size increases, sampling error decreases. Due to the limited time frame available for field work and potential challenges in accessing willing participants, a purposive sampling approach was adopted in the sampling process. Most writers on sampling in qualitative research based on interviews recommend that purposive sampling is conducted (Bryman, 2008). Such sampling is essentially strategic and entails an attempt to establish a good correspondence between research questions and sampling. In other words the researcher samples with the intention of targeting people to whom the research questions are relevant. In the context of this research it was important that the respondents resided within the general area prior to the Docklands' redevelopment as they would be aware of the changes that have occurred.

Contact was established with residents by approaching members of the public on the street within the area. Contact was also made with residents through the local primary school, St Laurence O'Toole Girls' School; the local community resource centre; and from the contacts established within the resident council who put me in touch with residents within the case study area. In total, residents from 10 households in the Sheriff Street neighbourhood were interviewed in order to develop a clear understanding of the situation in the community. Interviewing these long term residents was necessary to gauge their opinions on how they feel the redevelopment has impacted their employment opportunities. It was also vital to determine how they feel their neighbourhood has changed with regards to other aspects such as access to services and educational attainment, since the process of gentrification has taken hold.

In the context of the more in depth interviews with those involved in the continual regeneration and management of the area, numerous emails were sent, phone calls made and offices visits were required to secure the interviews. This was a difficult process as the people involved, although extremely helpful, were difficult to get a hold off due to their busy schedules. Each interviewee was chosen on the basis of

their important role in both the management and regeneration of the Docklands and the Sheriff Street community. Gerry Kelly, the chief executive of the DDDA and former Director of Social Regeneration, is responsible for all issues regarding development and management of the Docklands and its community. As the DDDA is a separate planning authority from DCC it was also necessary to interview Assistant City Manager of DCC, Michael Stubbs, to ascertain his views on development and the social and economic regeneration strategies within the Docklands area. Interviewing Betty Ashe, chairperson of the Dublin Docklands Business Forum (DDBF) and member of the DDDA council, was essential to investigate what is being done to ensure the indigenous population are gaining access to employment opportunities within the Docklands. Another member of the DDDA council was also interviewed - lifelong Sheriff Street resident and representative on the council of the DDDA, Gerry Faye. This interview was vital as he has direct interaction with the residents of Sheriff Street on an on-going basis and is aware of the issues that the residents have with the DDDA regarding their local community.

All interviews were carried out in a semi-structured manner. Using this approach, the questions were frequently somewhat more general in their frame of reference from that typically found in a structured interview schedule. Also, a semi-structured interview allowed some latitude to ask further questions in response to what are seen as significant replies. In semi-structured interviews the interviewer follows a script to a certain extent. If the researcher is beginning the investigation with a fairly clear focus, rather than a very general notion of wanting to do research on a topic, it is likely that the interviews will be semi-structured ones, so that the more specific issues can be addressed. By and large, the majority of the questions for the interviews with those responsible for the development and management of the area overlap, however there were some questions which varied depending on who was being interviewed. The interview process is flexible, also the emphasis must be on how the interview frames and understands issues and events – that is, what the interviewee views as important in explaining and understanding events, patterns and forms of behaviour. With regard to these more in-depth interviews, all questions were emailed to the respondents one week prior to the date of the interview in order to allow for the respondent to be fully prepared and to facilitate any questions they might have

concerning the research. Permission was sought in advance to record the interview to allow for transcription.

4.3.2 – Quantitative approach

The second element of the research required a quantitative approach and involved the comparative analysis of detailed census data for the case study area. This form of research is concerned with numbers and data that can be easily quantified. A quantitative study is an inquiry into a research problem, composed of variables, measured with numbers, and analysed with statistical procedures (Bryman, 2008). Results of quantitative research are easy to summarise and analyse. Comparisons between groups, locations and times can be measured for difference. With quantitative research, examining small groups can give a reliable indication of the views of a larger population.

The quantitative approach adopted here was also necessary to answer the main research question of this thesis to identify the absolute impacts of new-build gentrification on the Sheriff Street neighbourhood. In order to see how the employment and socio-demographic profile of the area has changed throughout the redevelopment of the Docklands, it was necessary to carry out a comparative analysis of the SAPS for the Sheriff Street area. In Ireland, the Census of Population is undertaken every five years. The most recently available data for the area relates to 2006. This data was compared to census material published prior to the area's redevelopment in 1986, which facilitates an insight into the changes which have taken place in the profile of residents in the areas over the period. 2006 data for the area was available online but it was necessary to acquire any information prior to that from Census Ireland. The specific research focus is on employment levels in the area, but other issues such as educational attainment (a social regeneration policy aim of the DDDA) was also considered to establish the overall effect of the redevelopment on its neighbouring area. This offers a concrete benchmark against which to assess changes that occurred since the redevelopment of the Docklands.

As there were two different development agencies responsible for the regeneration of the area throughout the redevelopments history, the 1996 census data for the area will also be examined in detail as the DDDA was not established until 1997. This is necessary as it is important to see the changes that have occurred since the DDDA have taken charge over the CHDA and whether or not they have been successful in the policies they have implemented.

4.4 – Conclusion

To properly undertake the research and fully answer the proposed research questions, it was necessary to adopt a mixed method approach, incorporating both qualitative and quantitative methods. A purposive sampling approach was utilised to establish a good correlation between research questions and sampling. Interviewing residents of the case study area was crucial to obtain firsthand accounts of how the neighbouring redevelopment has impacted upon their lives. Conducting interviews with figures responsible for the development and continual management of the Docklands was also imperative as it was necessary to hear the other side of the story, i.e. from those representing the public interest and those responsible for the management of the Docklands where economic sustainability would be their primary goal. As well as focusing on the views and opinions of both the residents and the administration, detailed analysis of census information was required to compare the employment and socio-demographic profile of the community, thus offering a concrete picture of how the areas has changed over the twenty year period. This information along with the results of the semi-structured interviews will give a clear account of how new-build gentrification within the docklands has affected its neighbouring deprived community's employment opportunities.

Chapter 5 – Research Results

5.1 – Introduction.

The following chapter presents a clear analysis of the census information for the Sheriff Street neighbourhood, placing the findings in the comparative context of broader national trends. It also considers the outcomes of personal interviews with both community residents and those responsible for the development and management of the Docklands areas, who were identified in the previous chapter. The census results, which are displayed in charts and diagrams, provide the foundation for analysing and interpreting the findings in this chapter. The methods and techniques for designing and conducting the interviews discussed in the previous chapter had to be considered with great care and precision. Equally, the manner in which the results were analysed and measured needed to be just as precise to achieve an honest and accurate outcome for the study. This chapter concentrates on the methods of measurement used to analyse the data, the reasoning behind measuring the data and the results and responses of the research.

As discussed earlier in the methodology chapter?, the qualitative research plays a very important role in the study and although the results cannot be displayed or illustrated as easily or in as clear cut a manner as the quantitative results in the figures and charts below, the results from both the qualitative and quantitative approaches retrieved were equally significant in achieving an accurate and up to date outcome for the study.

5.2 – Comparative analysis of the SAPS for the Sheriff Street Neighbourhood.

This first section of this chapter involves a comparative analysis of the SAPS for the Sheriff Street neighbourhood which will enable us to discover the absolute changes in employment within the community. For the purpose of this research three specific periods throughout the life of the redeveloped Docklands have been chosen. The

starting point for the first period is the year 1986, selected because it was just before the commencement of development. Measuring the statistics at this year will give us a clear picture of the situation prior to the regeneration. The second period chosen begins in 1996. This was an important year as it was just before the DDDA was established as a replacement for the CHDDA. Examining this year will allow us to establish what influence the DDDA had on the development and whether or not its policies have been successful. The third period commences with the year 2006, on the basis that the most recent census data for the area dates from then. This will enable us to see the changes in the area of employment opportunities that have occurred in Sheriff Street over the last two decades.

5.2.1 – Principal Status of Sheriff Street Residents.

The first area of the SAPS to be examined was the principal status of the residents. This information shows us the percentage of the community who were unemployed, at work, retired, etc. Examining the three different time periods offers a clear indication of shifting employment patterns within the locality.

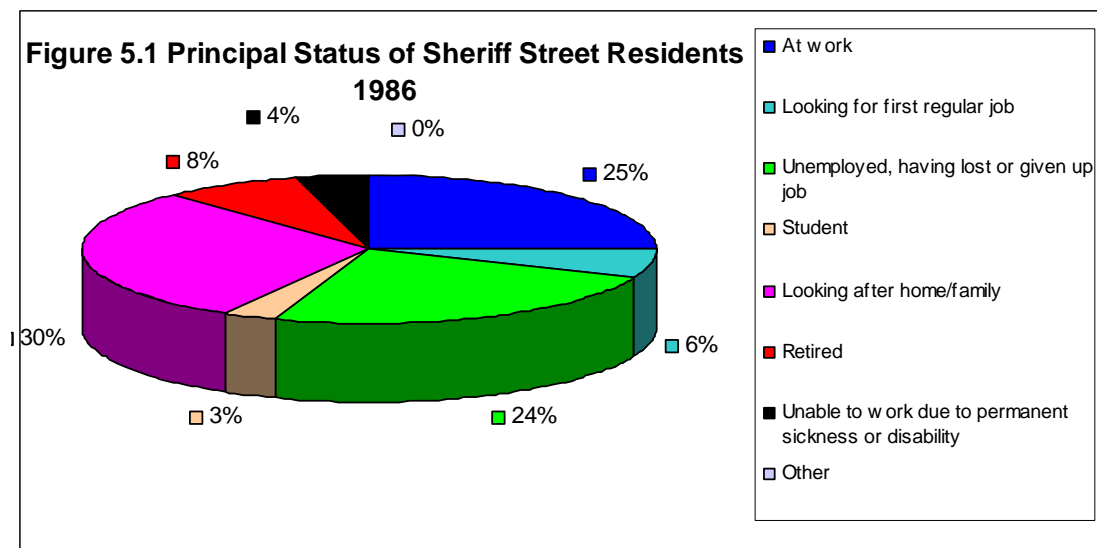
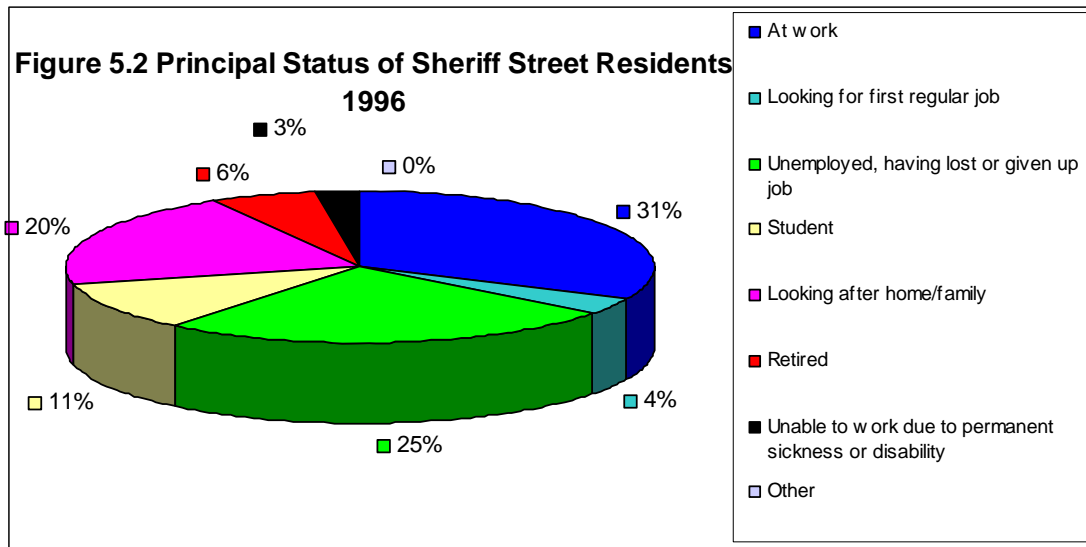
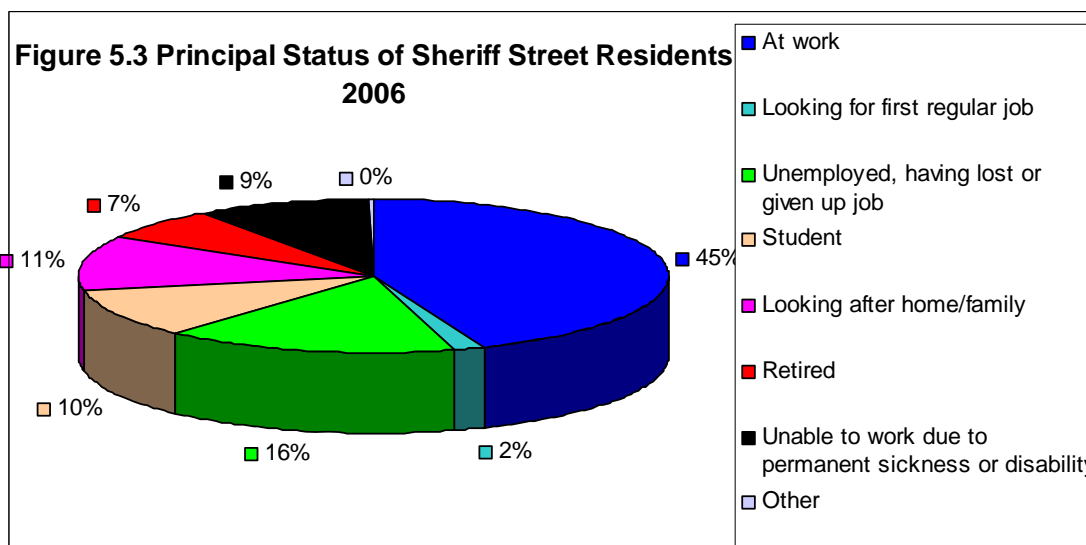


Figure 5.1 shows that in 1986 unemployment was rife within the community, with 25% of the population relying on social welfare. This, coupled with the high percentage of people looking after the home or family, left only 24% of the residents in employment. The fact that the unemployment rate in Ireland stood at 17% in that period (OECD, 1997) indicates that while unemployment was a widespread issue

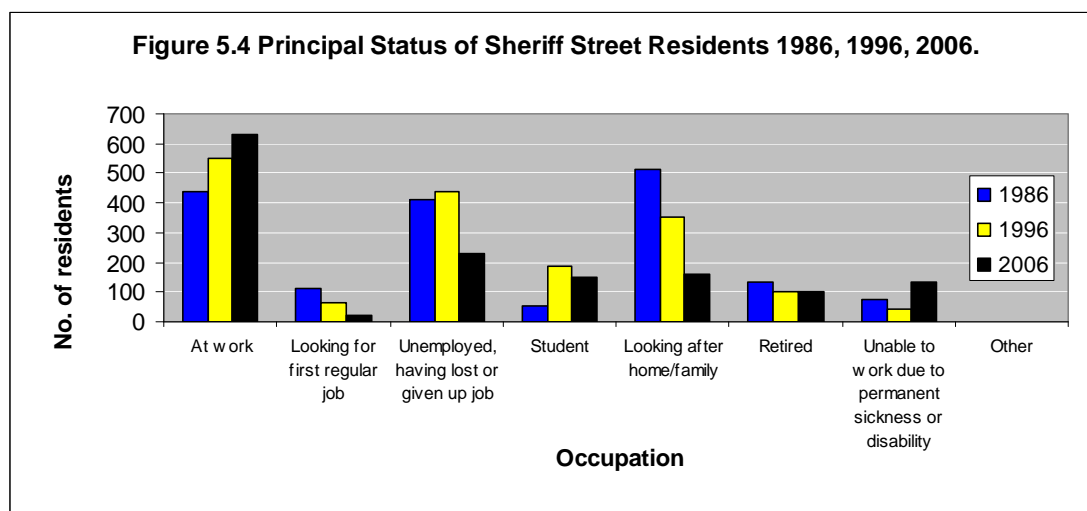
throughout the country, the situation in Sheriff Street was significantly worse.



Ten years later, in 1996, the situation in Sheriff Street largely remains the same as indicated in figure 5.2 above. The CHDDA had been in control of development within the Docklands for seven years at this stage. Unemployment within the area largely remains the same, however, there is a greater percentage of residents at work. This could be due to a drop in the number of people looking after the home or family, or as result of the construction jobs which came on stream in the initial phases of the development. When we compare this to national trends, with unemployment undergoing a significant decrease to 12.2% (OECD, 1997), it is apparent that the initial upturn in the country's economic fortune was not reflected within the Sheriff Street community.

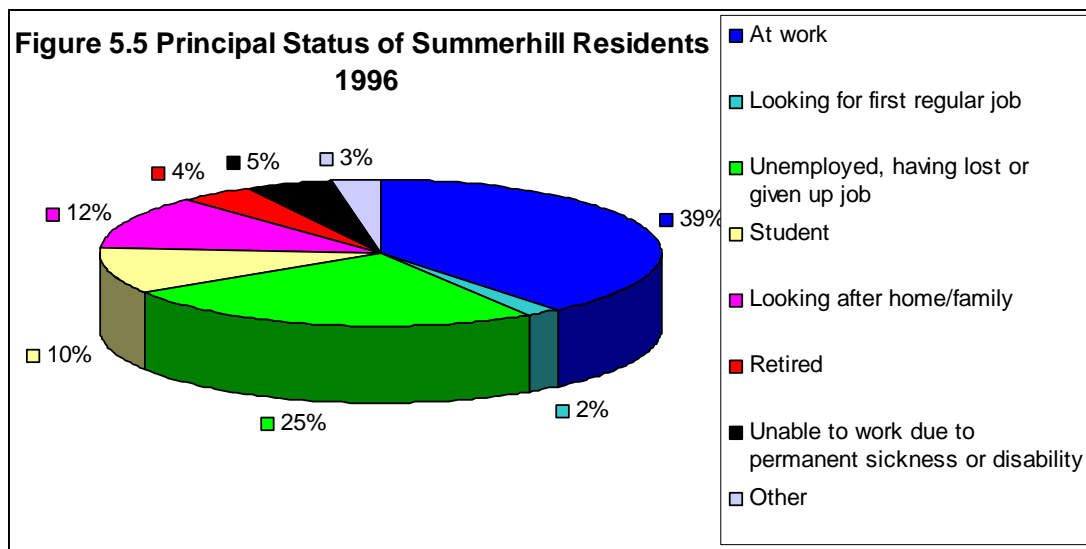


The Census information for 2006 shows some interesting findings. Unemployment within the area has dropped by almost 10%, and 45% of the Sheriff Street population is in employment, whether it be full or part-time. This decrease is in line with national trends as the country's unemployment rate stood at 4.3% in 2006. Ireland had the third lowest unemployment rate in the EU in 2006, at just over half of the EU average of 7.9%. The long-term unemployment rate in Ireland was 1.4% in 2005, which was lower than the EU average of 4% (CSO). A significant decrease in the number of people looking after the family or home can be recognised over the twenty year period, which may be accredited to the increased participation of women in the workforce.

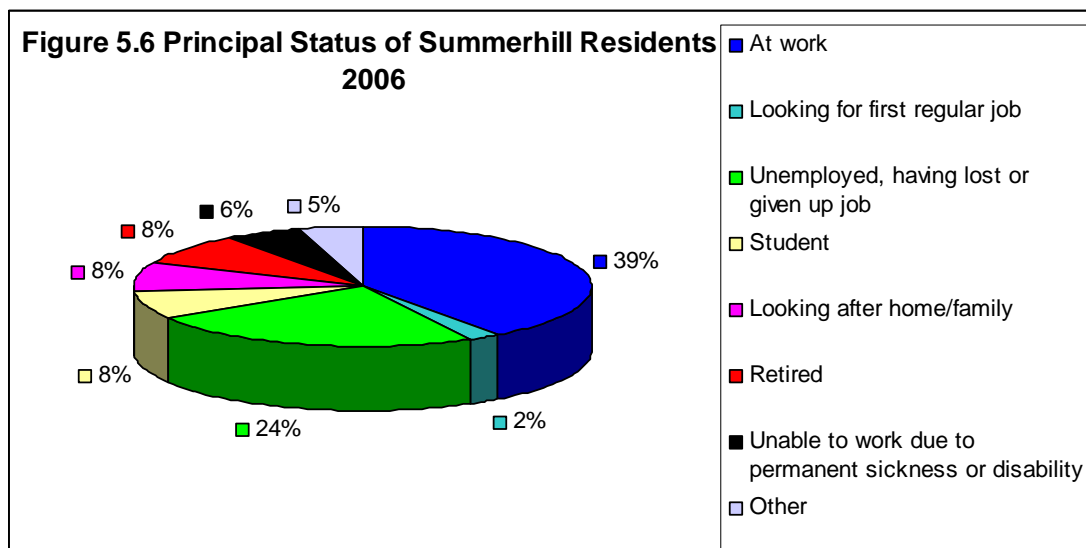


When comparing the three time periods throughout the development of the Dublin Docklands it is clear that significant changes occurred in the Sheriff Street Community. Unemployment levels decreased inline with an increase in the number of residents at work. The information in Figure 5.4 shows that the decrease in unemployment is in line with the general up-turn in the Irish economy and so it could be argued that the development of the Dublin Docklands had no bearing on improvements within the Sheriff Street community. However when trends in the comparable neighbourhood of Summerhill, also located in inner city Dublin, it appears increasingly apparent that the improvements in Sheriff Street would not have

materialised without the development of the IFSC.



Unemployment was at a rate of 25% percent in Summerhill in 1996 (Figure 5.5), which was also the case in Sheriff Street at that time. However, over the next ten years very little changed in the Summerhill community. Unemployment in 2006 stood at 24% (Figure 5.6) with a mere 1% drop documented over the ten year period. The Summerhill neighbourhood, although very similar in character to the Sheriff Street area, saw none of the benefits of the economy's 'Celtic Tiger'. It is not too great a leap to suggest that Sheriff Street could have remained in the same position as it had been during the 1980s, but for the redevelopment of the Dublin Docklands.



When looking at employment trends in the Sheriff Street community, the decrease in the number of residents looking after the home or family is an interesting pattern that

can be detected. It is not clear whether the increase in those working is due to the jobs that came on stream as a result of the Docklands development, or whether it is attributable to the more general trend of increased female participation in the workforce. Notwithstanding this, the following sections will go some way in explaining the influence of the development on employment opportunities for the residents of Sheriff Street.

5.2.2 – Socio-Economic Status of Sheriff Street Residents.

Socio-economic status has been developed as a mechanism to measure social class, based on the assumption that class groupings are not real groups. Socio-economic status is developed by combining the position or score of persons against criteria such as income, level of education, type of occupation held, or neighbourhood of residence. It is most often determined by analyzing family income and assets. Socio-economic status is one of the key indicators when looking at a number of different community issues, including school performance, crime and housing (Contoyannis & Andrew, 2004). This next section examines the socio-economic status of the Sheriff Street residents, probing for any shifts in the residents' status throughout the development of the Dublin Docklands.

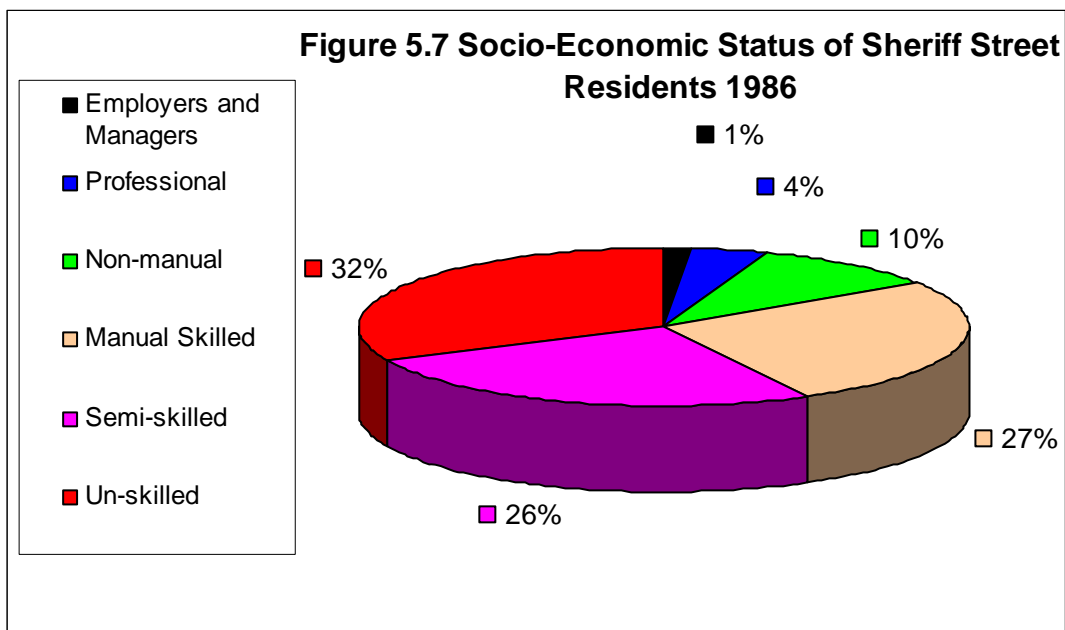
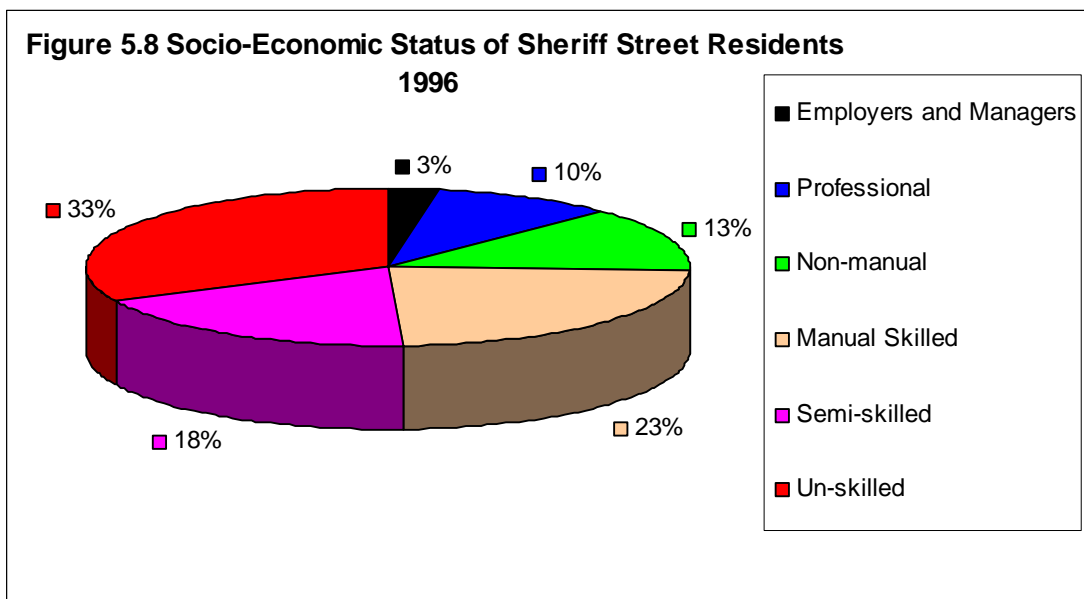


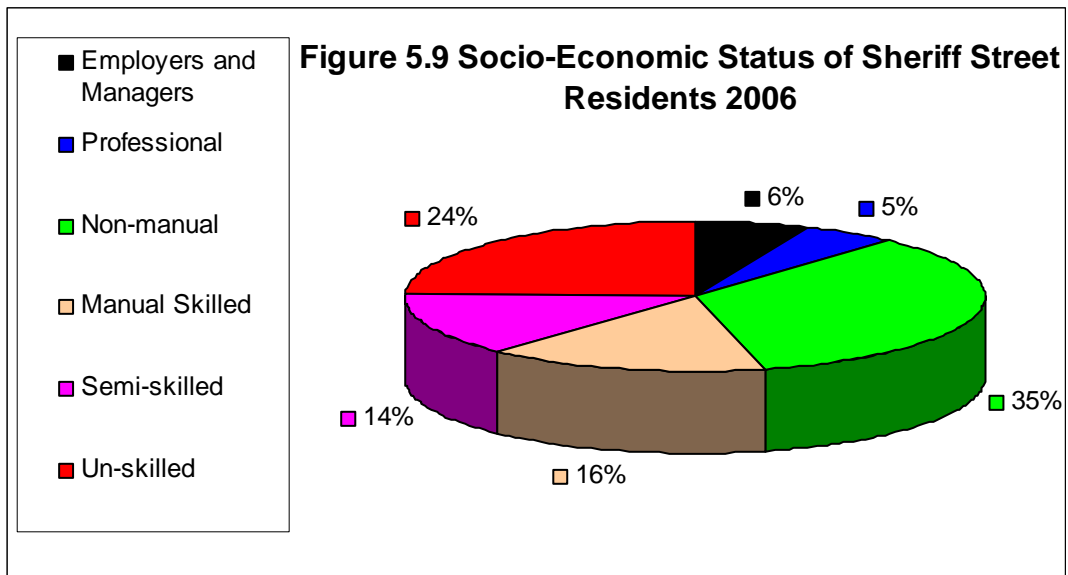
Figure 5.7 shows the socio-economic status of the Sheriff Street residents prior to the development of the Docklands. The most striking pattern that can be detected is the

fact that 85% of the residents were manual workers, who were un-skilled, semi-skilled or skilled in nature. This shows that a high percentage of residents from the neighbourhood may have been either lacking formal training or have dropped out of school at a young age and did not receive the necessary qualifications. Historically, many of these workers would have been employed as labourers in the dockyards. But with the containerisation of the port they became surplus to requirements, and thus were no longer in employment, which in turn had a harmful effect on the neighbourhood at the time.

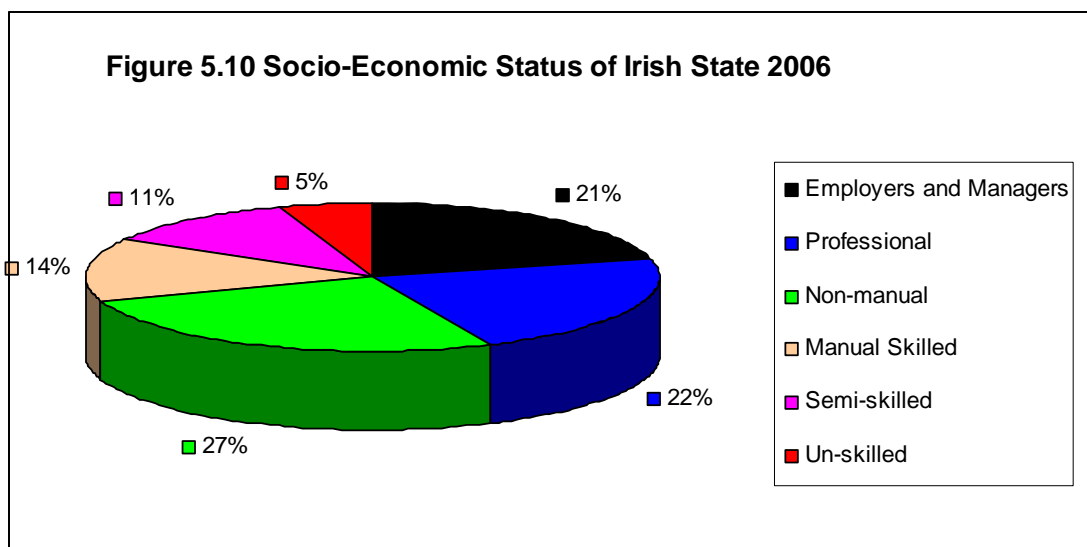


The results of the 1996 SAPS show a small increase in the non-manual, professional and employer and manager categories, which can be seen in figure 5.8. A significant percentage of the population remain within the manual labour categories and the increase in employment levels at that time could reflect those working in the construction of the Docklands' development.

Figure 5.9 shows the socio-economic status of the residents in 2006. Much has changed within the community in twenty years and a clear shift from manual to non manual professions is evident. This could be due to the increased amount of people who are going on to third level education, but also as a result of the jobs which came on stream from the development of the IFSC. The shrinking of the manual labour class could be explained by the Docklands' shift from a manual labour hub to an environment based on finance and economics.

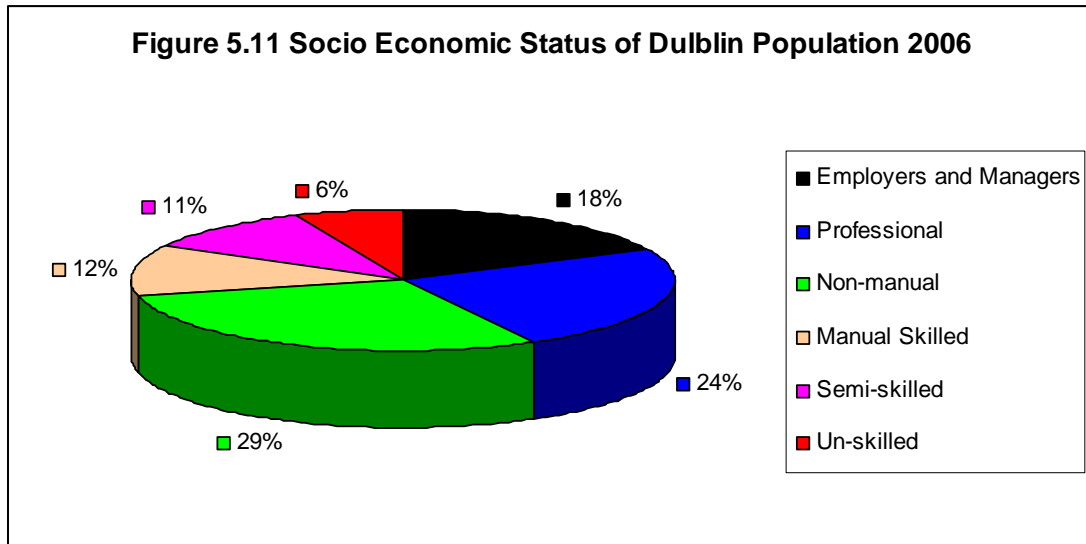


This transition forced the community's residents to adapt in order to remain sustainable. It is also important to take into consideration the decrease in the proportion of residents looking after the home or family. The majority of these were female, and it is likely that as they returned to employment they chose non-manual professions.



When looking at the figures for Dublin City (Figure 5.11) and Ireland (Figure 5.10) as a whole, it is clear that the Sheriff Street area lags behind in relation to the number of those working in managerial, professional and skilled positions (CSO, 2008). Contemporary figures for the state show that over 20% of the population work as employers and managers, while 22% are employed in professional positions. Similarly high statistics are documented in Dublin city, with 18% of the population

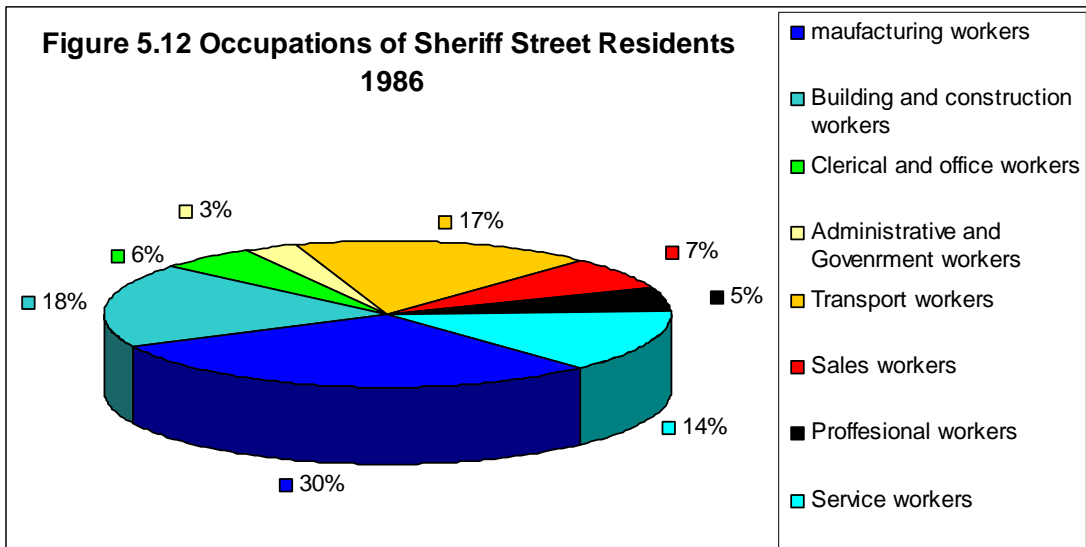
in the employer or manager role and 24% employed in professional positions. Both at city and national level, the percentage of those employed in un-skilled labour stands at just over 5%. When compared with the figures of 24% for Sheriff Street in 2006, the divisions in terms of skill sets and education are apparent.



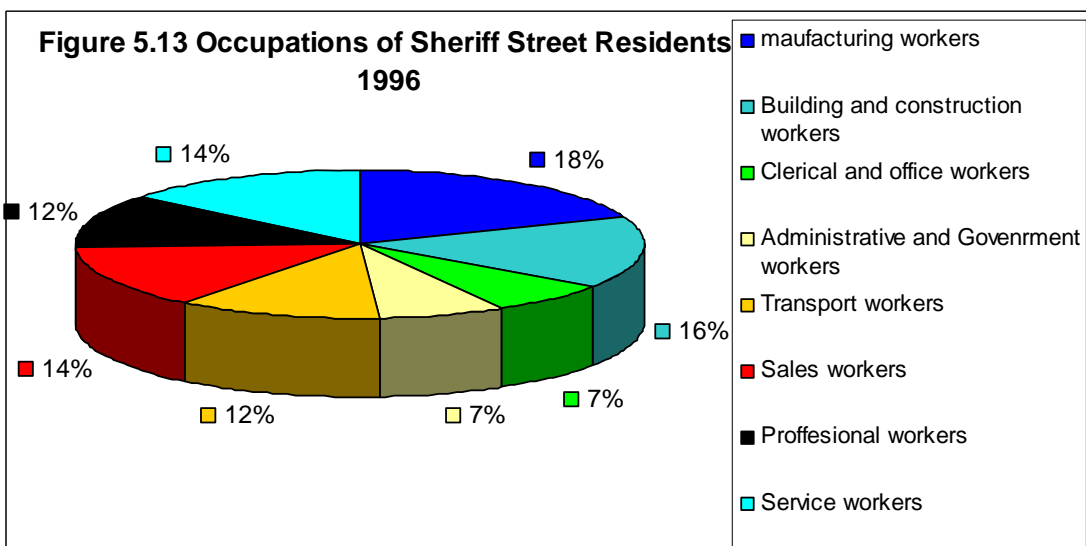
From carrying out this research it is clear that the employment base of the Docklands shifted from a district based on manual work to an area dominated by non-manual employment. Although in comparison to national and city trends there is a notable lack of residents employed in higher wage bracket positions, it is apparent that the increase in those working in non-manual posts can be accredited to the jobs that came on stream as a result of the development of the IFSC and its related industries.

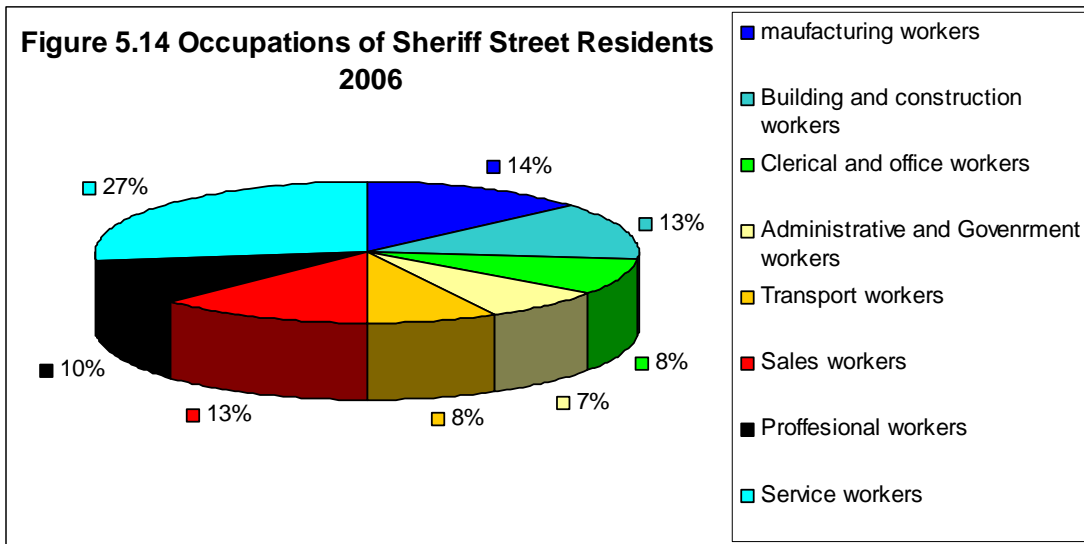
5.2.3 – Occupations of Sheriff Street Residents.

The following section takes a look at the specific occupations of the residents of Sheriff Street and how they have changed over the last twenty years, from the time prior to the re-development up to the point for which most recent data is available. The occupations are examined to identify patterns or changes in the skills of the residents and we consider whether or not the trends can be accredited to the development of the Dublin Docklands.

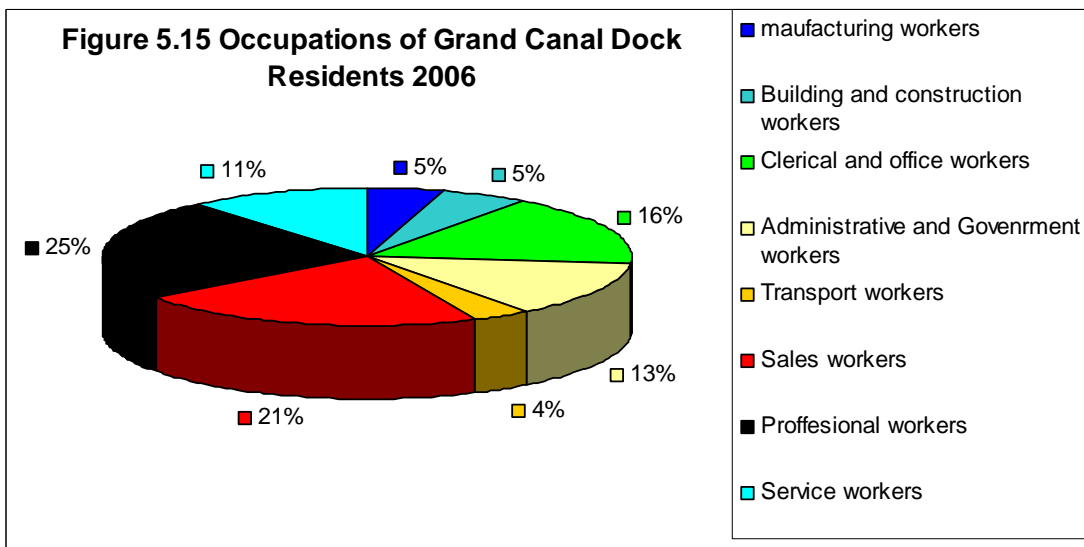


From examining the results in figure 5.12 it is clear that they configure to the findings displayed in figure 5.7. In 1986 the majority of the residents worked in areas such as construction and manufacturing, with only a small percentage employed in administrative or professional positions. Figure 5.13 shows the SAPS results for 1996. The original employment opportunities of the Docklands are being replaced by those working in sales, clerical and other related industries. There is still a significant percentage of the Sheriff Street population employed in construction which could be due to the jobs which came on stream as a result of the development.





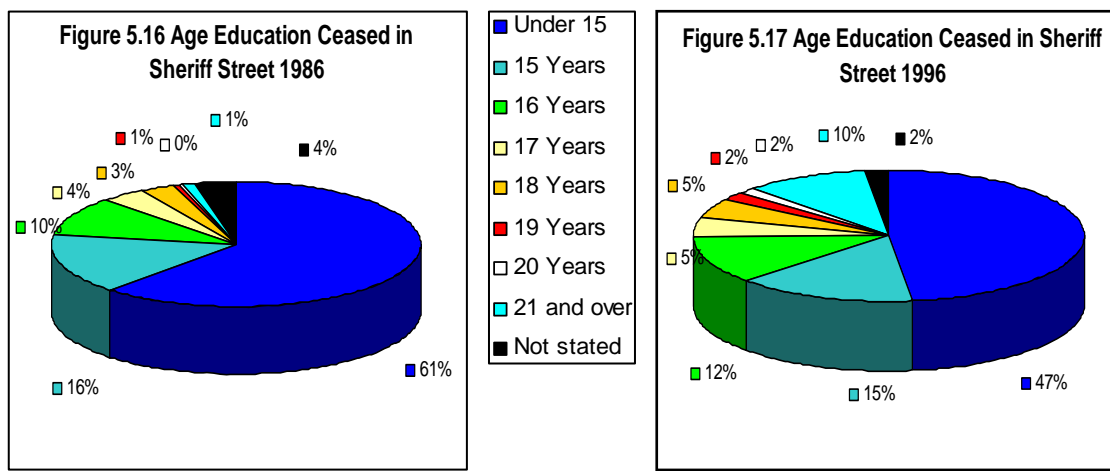
The results in figure 5.14 show how the occupations of those living in Sheriff Street largely remained the same over a ten year period, despite the large scale changes which occurred beside them in the Docklands. Manufacturing and construction jobs account for roughly the same proportion of employment in the community, with the smallest number of residents either trained or working in administrative, office and/or clerical positions.



It is useful to compare those patterns with the trends apparent in figure 5.15, focussing on the Grand Canal Dock neighbourhood situated a mere hundred meters away from Sheriff Street in the IFSC. The figures Show that the majority of occupations are in areas such as professional positions accounting 25% of the population, sales positions accounting for 21% and Clerical and office posts

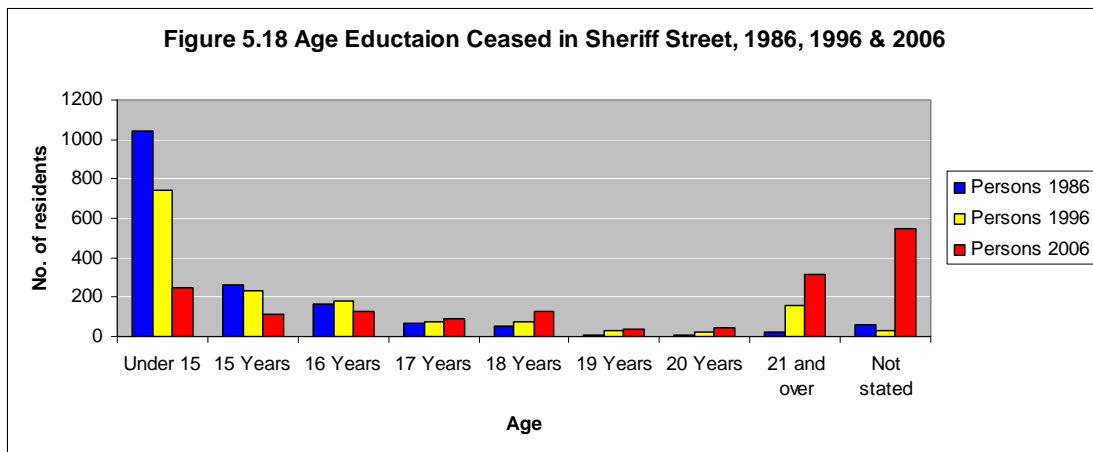
accounting for 16% of the areas total population. This highlights the de-industrialisation that occurred in the Docklands and the vast difference in the employment profile of these two bordering neighbourhoods.

5.2.4 – Education Attainment in the Sheriff Street Neighbourhood.

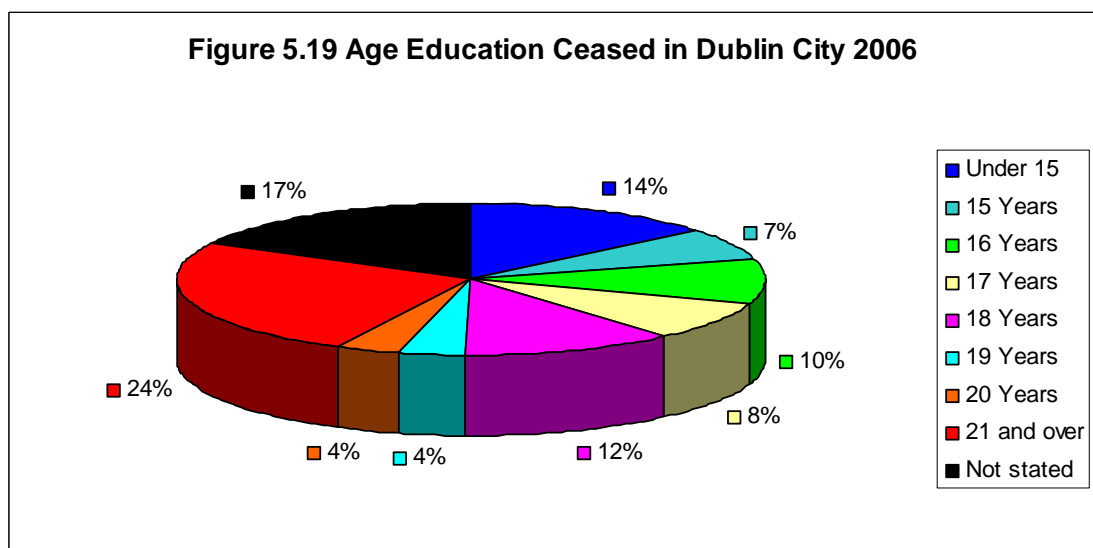


Perhaps one of the most important policy goals of the DDDA was to improve education levels within the entire Dockland district. The DDDA has been working closely with the local Docklands schools and the communities on the ground to establish customised sustainable social regeneration programmes in the area. They are of the belief that investment in education is the foundation of the overall social regeneration programme. To this end over thirty educational development projects have been implemented at primary, post primary and third level. According to the DDDA these are designed to bring fun and passion into school life, encouraging participation and improving future prospects (DDDA, 2008). A lack of education among residents is a major handicap for any community, especially one which is changing so rapidly. Therefore it is crucial to the present study to establish whether

the DDDA were successful in achieving their aims.

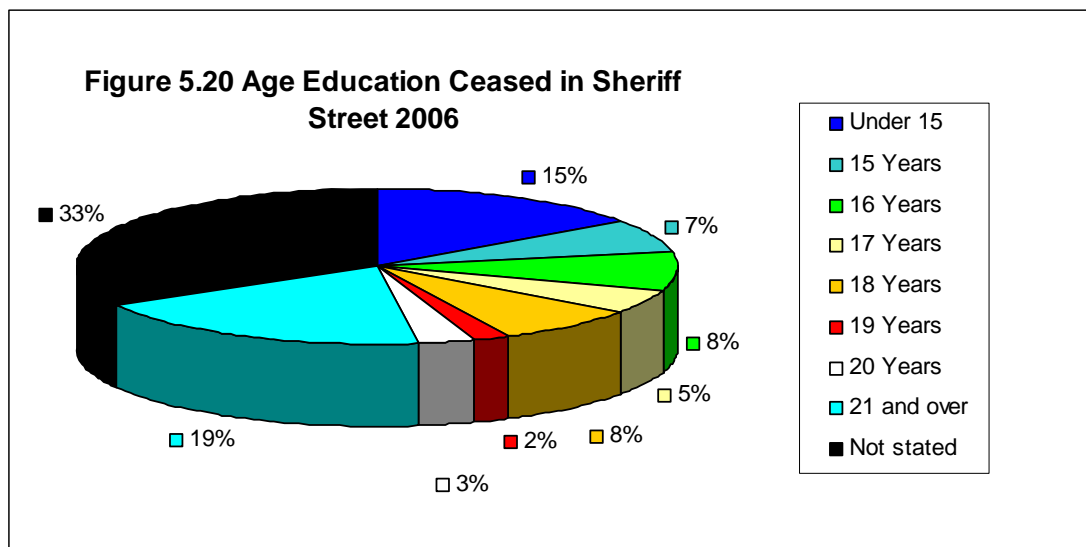


When comparing the Census results for ‘at what age education ceased’ for residents of Sheriff Street it was clear that large changes had occurred within the community over a twenty year period. In 1986 over 1000 children left school before the age of fifteen, accounting for 61% of the population (Figure 5.16). Ten years later this figure dropped to 45% (Figure 5.17), with the number standing at 745. By 2006 this sharply decreased to 248 accounting for 15% of the inhabitants (Figure 5.20). The proportion of residents staying in education beyond the age of twenty one also brought about some striking results as the numbers rose from 1% of the population in 1986 to 10% in 1996. By 2006 19% of Sheriff Street residents were staying in education beyond 21 years of age.



The figure above (Figure 5.19) shows the percentage of the population of Dublin city who ceased education by age in 2006 (CSO, 2008). This can be compared to figure

5.20 below which shows the same statistics for Sheriff Street in the same year. It is evident from the results that educational attainment is still a problem in Sheriff Street compared to the rest of the city. City-wide figures show a much greater percentage of the people staying in education beyond 21 years of age with the vast majority of these accounting for third level students. However the improvements in educational attainment in Sheriff Street since 1996 is significant and the results in figure 5.20 show the success of the DDDA in promoting the importance of education by keeping children in school and providing funds for residents to go on to third level education.



5.3 –Resident Interviews: Reasoning and Resident Feedback

The following section is based on the interviews carried out with residents of the Sheriff Street community. Those interviewed have all lived in the Sheriff Street neighbourhood for at least the last twenty five years and have been witness to the dramatic changes that have taken place in their community since the redevelopment commenced. The results of the interviews have been analysed and separated into three specific themes. The first is how the development impacted on employment opportunities in the area. The second is how the Docklands regeneration impacted on the community as a whole, and the third is what they perceive as the shortcomings of the Authority with responsibility for the development, and what improvements they consider necessary to improve employment opportunities within their community.

Theme 1 – Impact on employment

Reasoning

An integral aim of the research was to obtain the residents' opinions on how they feel the development has impacted on their ability of gaining employment in their locality. To do this, it was vital to understand how they perceived the development and whether they accredited it with having a positive influence on the community or whether they feel it has negatively impacted on the community's employment prospects. Obtaining an insight into the personal experiences of the local indigenous inhabitants will give the reader a clear indication of how the development personally impacted upon their employment prospects and whether it had positive or negative influence on them.

Resident Feedback

The majority of residents interviewed felt that employment opportunities within the area had improved as a result of the Docklands redevelopment. Although a lack of education among residents of the area acted as a major barrier to obtaining employment within the finance and banking sector, the development opened up numerous opportunities in lower paid positions, in areas such as cleaning, maintenance, bar work, etc. However if a member of the community had the relevant qualifications, opportunities to gain employment within the IFSC would be much improved. According to one resident *“If you're from this area and you stay in school or go onto college there's no reason why you couldn't get a good career in the place (IFSC)”* (Interview No. 2). Another resident was of the opinion that *“before the redevelopment there was no jobs so I suppose its improved things because I know a good few people working in maintenance and cleaning and if it wasn't there's a good chance they wouldn't be working”* (Interview No. 4). It was clear from these interviews that the redevelopment of the Docklands was having a significant impact upon the lives of the Sheriff Street community. The majority of residents interviewed either directly benefited or a member of their family benefited with regards to gaining access to employment. Some of the residents gained employment throughout the

construction stage or had members of their family working as cleaners or maintenance workers in some of the large firms within the IFSC. One resident explained how it gave him *“the opportunity to gain employment within the area and it has enabled me to purchase my own house, so for those reasons it definitely has benefited me”* (Interview No. 10). When speaking to another resident of the area about whether the development benefited him, he firmly stated that it gave him *“the opportunity to be employed within the area for the last 15 years whereas before that I had to travel across to the south-side of the city and further a field so it’s much more convenient”* (Interview No. 5).

However, this positive viewpoint was not unanimous. Those who believed opportunities for employment within the area had not improved were of the opinion that the promise of jobs made by the DDDA never materialised on the scale that was pledged, one resident *“..... couldn’t even get work in the place when it was being built”* and he felt he did not *“.....have a hope of getting work in the place now”* (Interview No. 6). Some residents were of the opinion that the development had brought tension into the community mainly due to the fact the DDDA *“.....promised us that loads of jobs would come on stream but it just never happened, so there’s a lot of people aggrieved in the area about that”* (Interview No. 7), another resident felt she had never been *“given the opportunity to earn a living from the area at all so I feel we were abandoned more than anything”* (Interview No. 6)

Theme 2 – Impact on the community

Reasoning

This section relates to how the development impacted on the entire Sheriff Street community. It is integral to this research to understand the knock on effects of the Docklands on its neighbouring area. The first aspect which was considered was the perceived safety of the neighbourhood. Prior to the redevelopment, the Sheriff Street area was renowned for high crime levels and was viewed as a no-go area of the city by many. It was important to acknowledge how people felt with regards to safety in

their own community and to gauge whether the gentrified Docklands affected this in any way.

Along with perceived safety, perceptions of the development's impact on local demography were examined. Due to the large scale residential development within the regeneration area, the Docklands experienced an unprecedented shift in the demographic profile of the area with residents of varying social class, age and nationality moving into the newly developed Docklands. It was important to determine what changes occurred within the Sheriff Street community since the redevelopment of the Docklands took place to see if the original community remains intact or whether the development has led to the displacement of original residents.

The final aspect relates to the concept of social exclusion and whether the Sheriff Street residents felt excluded from the newly developed Docklands. It was imperative to ascertain whether or not the services and facilities within the developed Docklands were beneficial to them or whether they felt cut off from the development without the means to utilise its amenities.

Resident Feedback

From carrying out the interviews with the residents of Sheriff Street it was clear the development of the Docklands impacted the community in a variety of ways. With regards to safety within the area, almost every resident spoken to agreed that their neighbourhood had become a much safer place to live. They felt that the *“areas without a doubt a lot safer than it was before the docklands was regenerated”* (Interview No. 10) and *“ever since the redevelopment our area has been given more attention. There is a greater police presence”* (Interview No. 10). Some were not sure whether this could be directly related to the development of the IFSC, but many attributed an increased police presence in the area, which has resulted in a significant decrease in anti-social behaviour, to the new development and the *“desire of the DDDA to enhance the reputation of the entire area”* (Interview No. 1). Residents are of the belief that problems still exist within this community but *“the bad press the*

area gets in the media has to do with personal feuds between a few families and the development of the Docklands has nothing to do with it” (Interview No. 4).

With regards to the make up of the community most residents recognised a change in the demographic profile of the neighbourhood in the early stages of the redevelopment. Many of their neighbours living in the Sheriff Street flats *“were forced to move to other parts of the city”* (Interview No. 5) when they were demolished. When this occurred some new families moved into the community, the majority of *“people moving in were Dubs (Dubliners) when free houses opened up”* (Interview No. 7), however from speaking to the residents, since the early stages of development, the demographic profile of the area has largely remained the same. The people moving to the Docklands and those employed within the IFSC tended to move into the newly developed apartment complexes and according to one resident *“they’d have no reason to move into this area so the profile of this community hasn’t really changed since the redevelopment took place. It’s very much a Dublin working class community”* (Interview No. 4).

In relation to service provision in Sheriff Street all of the residents interviewed were aware of the range of services and facilities available in the Docklands however overall they believed they were targeted towards the new residents and employees of the IFSC and *“they don’t really cater for the majority of people from this area”* (Interview No. 9). Another resident was of the opinion that if she *“was making the money some of the people make in the IFSC it would be all good and well but it’s just too expensive”* (Interview No. 7). The majority of residents found the shops and bars expensive and the lack of any affordable retail stores or supermarkets was a major problem and *“means we have to go into town to do our shopping”* (Interview No. 8). The overall opinion of the public was that *“they target more the people working within the IFSC itself so you wouldn’t really use them unless you had to”* (Interview No. 8). From undertaking these interviews it was clear there were some grievances towards the DDDA and those responsible for planning the development as they felt their needs had been neglected.

Theme 3 – Role of the Authorities

Reasoning

The following section focuses on the Sheriff Street residents' perception of the role of the authorities responsible for the development and regeneration of the Docklands area. This was a fundamental segment of the research as its aim was to highlight what was lacking in their community. It was essential to discover what more needs to be done to ensure that the local residents have improved chances of gaining employment. It also sought to identify what should have been done differently in the initial phase of the regeneration to include the Sheriff Street community in the regeneration of the Docklands. Finally, it looked at the constructive ways in which the DDDA assisted the community in gaining access to employment, underpinned by desire to determine whether the public felt they had a voice in what occurred in their own community. This relates to the concept of empowerment and whether or not communities feel that they have power in decisions being made regarding their neighbourhood.

Resident Feedback

When speaking to the residents in Sheriff Street each interviewee expressed a similar opinion - that a lot more was needed to improve employment opportunities within their community. Although many of the residents shared similar ideas on what form that action should take, some diverging ideas also emerged. Some respondents believed that investment in a *“good youth centre which focused on sports and keeping kids in education”* (Interview No. 1) could hugely benefit the area. This was on the basis that keeping these children in education will improve their chances of employment in the future. Others felt *“the authority needs to be more visible within the community.....Even if it's just maintenance work or painting houses. If they put more of an effort in it would really uplift the community which will enhance the areas reputation and get rid of the stigma associated with the place which has stopped people I know getting jobs before”* (Interview No. 8). Although the residents interviewed were aware of the investments being made in third level education by the DDDA, they remained of the opinion that more needed to be done to get more people back into education. Only in this way could they obtain the qualifications necessary to access employment within the Dublin Docklands. Other residents were disappointed that training schemes were not in place throughout the development stages, to up skill

residents in areas such as information technology etc. This would have allowed them to access these jobs as they came on stream. One resident felt that *“training programmes ran by the authority would help give locals a great chance of gaining employment within their own community”* (Interview No. 9). Residents identified this as an area that could be focused on as a way of improving employment opportunities within the community, targeting not only the school leavers but also older people who may be lacking the necessary skills and those who may have been dependant on social welfare for extended periods.

Residents’ opinions on the extent to which they felt empowered to make decisions about their own neighbourhood were divided. The majority of residents were aware *“there are council meetings organised where the public can raise issues to our representative”* (Interview No.1). However, some were very sceptical of the council and they questioned its effectiveness *“The council seem to do what they want and they’re not going to let a few people get in their way”* (Interview No. 4). Others believed that *“any development that happens seems to be out of our hands”* (Interview No. 2). Conversely, some perceived themselves as having a voice in their community and believed that they were empowered to make decisions regarding their neighbourhood. They viewed the DDDA council as *“successful, as our local representatives can make sure our opinions and views are heard”* (Interview No. 3).

5.4 – Key Actor Interviews: Reasoning and Key Actor Feedback.

The final section of this chapter focuses on the more in depth interviews with key actors responsible for the development and management of the Dublin Docklands, along with those representing the Sheriff Street community. The questions posed in the interviews varied depending on who was being interviewed and their role in relation to Sheriff Street and the Dublin Docklands. Due to the variance of the questions asked for each interviewee, the results of the interviews have been analysed and separated into three specific themes. The first theme relates to how the development impacted on employment opportunities within the Sheriff Street and whether it benefited the community as a whole. The second theme examines the

measures currently in place to ensure that local residents gain employment and be in the position to take advantage of the employment opportunities within the developed Docklands. The final theme focuses on the measures and mechanisms the key actors felt were required to improve the overall employment opportunities in Sheriff Street, which is vital in ensuring the community's sustainability.

Theme 1 – Impact on Employment

Reasoning:

It was important to establish from both those representing the community, but also those responsible for its regeneration, how the development of the Docklands impacted on employment opportunities within the area, and whether the key actors shared the same opinions regarding the employment situation within the neighbourhood. It was also imperative to establish whether or not those responsible for the running of the area and those representing the community believed the development had been beneficial to the neighbourhood overall. So much was promised by those responsible for the initial development, which made it essential to discover whether those commitments were honoured.

Key Actor Feedback:

Although there was a general consensus that the employment situation in Sheriff Street has improved over the last two decades, not all parties agreed on the extent of its improvement. Speaking to long term Sheriff Street resident and member of the DDDA council, Gerry Faye, it was evident that he felt a lot more needed to be done to improve employment prospects within the community. According to Mr. Faye, extensive promises had been made by the CHDDA and the DDDA, in terms of the numerous jobs throughout the development's construction, as well as the jobs which would come on stream in the IFSC and its related industries. But Faye believes that this did not happen on the scale that was promised. In fact, he was of the opinion that the needs of the residents "*were way behind on the DDDA's list of priorities*"

(Interview, Faye). The assistant city manager of DCC, Michael Stubbs, shares the opinion that unemployment is a significant problem in Sheriff Street. Almost a third of unemployed people are under 25 years of age, which can pose a major threat to social cohesion and the integration of the city. Although the situation has improved in the neighbourhood especially over the last fifteen years, the economic recession is putting financial constraints on the DDDA, which is in turn resulting in certain aspects being *“neglected and it is people like the residents of Sheriff Street who are suffering”* (Interview, Stubbs).

Putting the same question to the Chief Executive of the DDDA, Gerry Kelly, however, brought a different response regarding employment opportunities in the neighbourhood. Although he was aware of the high levels of unemployment in the area, he firmly stated that *“increases in employment were recognised throughout the construction stage as well as going forward throughout the life of the development”* (Interview, Kelly). He spoke about the different DDDA run initiatives solely aimed at improving the employment prospects of the local indigenous communities. They included the DDDA established Local Labour Charter, which provided over 120 construction jobs for local people throughout the second phase of the IFSC, with 90% of those employed taken from the long term unemployment register. Other initiatives highlighted included the creation of the School Job Placement Programme, which involved over 160 students securing placements within the Docklands, a large number of whom were drawn from the Sheriff Street neighbourhood. The true success of the programme was *“illustrated by the fact that the majority of these students were offered full time permanent positions after the original contracts”* (Interview, Kelly). Despite Mr Kelly’s assertions, and while unquestionable improvements have been made in Sheriff Street, it is clear unemployment remains an issue that is of major concern to those living in the community. Despite the attention that it has received from the DDDA to date, it is an area that requires a continued focus.

It was clear from interviewing each party that prior to the redevelopment of the Dublin Docklands, the Sheriff Street area was in an abysmal state. The area was suffering from depopulation and it was evident that it was being neglected, when compared with the rest of the city (Interview, Ashe). As we have seen, unemployment

was a major problem. Arguably, city officials further destabilised the community by moving families who had experienced social order problems elsewhere in the city into Sheriff Street. This resulted in a local perception that the area functioned as a dumping ground, resulting in a culmination of social ills, with crime and drug abuse rife (Interview, Faye).

Education would prove key in beginning to address this trend of decline. Mr Kelly recognised the importance of education within the community and he celebrated the huge improvements in education attainment in Sheriff Street and the entire Docklands area since the DDDA became installed as its Authority. At the time the DDDA took control in 1997, the number of Dockland school leavers going on to third level education was exceptionally low at just 1%. To counteract this problem the DDDA immediately provided a number of scholarships to potential third level students in the area to encourage and assist them with their education and reverse this statistic. *“Since 1998 the Docklands Authority has awarded over 280 scholarships to students from the Docklands area to assist them in proceeding to full time third level education with students pursuing courses in the country’s top universities”* (Interview, Kelly). Although Mr. Kelly declared himself aware that unemployment is still a problem in Sheriff Street he felt that the authority is doing their best to tackle the issue. He wished to make it clear that *“some people within the Sheriff Street neighbourhood are just not willing to take the help offered to them and it is unrealistic to believe that unemployment can be fully eradicated”* (Interview, Kelly). By improving education within the area, positive role models will be generated, according to Kelly, which will have a knock on effect for residents and future generations in Sheriff Street. Mr Kelly also stated that the Authority have been extremely pro-active in Sheriff Street setting up various sport programmes, as well as drama and cultural initiatives, both for the youth and older generations, which combine to create a greater feeling of well being and sense of pride in one’s community.

However, when the same question was put to Sheriff Street representative Gerry Faye, he questioned whether the improvements in his neighbourhood could be accredited to the redevelopment of the Docklands. He was of the opinion that the locals had been

left behind in this development with only “57 of the almost 300 units of social and affordable housing, enshrined as part of the 1997 master-plan for the area, completed in the North Wall so far” (Interview, Faye). He made it clear that having more social and affordable housing within the area will bring life back into the area because at present families within the area are moving out. Thus children are leaving the area, resulting in schools losing teachers which may eventually lead to the closure of schools. He also criticised both the CHDDA and the DDDA for not providing training programmes to give the people the necessary skills to become employed within the IFSC and to take advantage of the numerous opportunities that became available. Despite the fact hundreds of jobs were produced throughout the construction phase “very few of the local residents gained employment as construction companies had their own staff who they brought on to the projects. The local people practically got nothing out of it and jobs in the long term were virtually non-existent” (Interview, Faye). As part of the DDDA’s Master Plan, a new school was promised for the Sheriff Street community, with six million euros set aside for this special fund. Today there still is no sign of this school and it is doubtful whether it will ever be constructed because of the DDDA’s current financial problems (Interview, Stubbs). Ultimately, while all parties interviewed recognised the improvements within the Sheriff Street neighbourhood over the last twenty years, questions arise over whether the development of the Docklands is solely responsible for these improvements and it is clear that tensions exist between the residents and the DDDA in the Sheriff Street community at present.

Theme 2 – Measures in Place.

Reasoning:

Taking the views and opinions of the key actors involved in the Docklands development, this theme focuses on what exactly is being done to ensure that the residents of Sheriff Street are gaining access to the employment opportunities which are available in the IFSC and its related industries and how they are being prepared for these positions.

Key Actor Feedback:

The DDBF was set up to ensure that the community and the business sector in the Docklands work together to create a sustainable environment which can lead to people having a sense of empowerment and ownership in their lives. According to Betty Ashes, Chairperson of the DDBF, their aim is *“to build a neighbourhood that works together to create a sustainable place for everyone to live and work”* and it is their intention to *“develop stronger engagement between businesses and community organizations as well as creating an awareness of corporate responsibility and how people and their organisation can get involved”* (Interview, Ashe). One recent initiative ran by the DDBF was a workshop facilitated by volunteers from the business sector who worked with local unemployed people, giving them the benefit of their expertise in Curriculum Vitae Preparation and Interview Skills. This is a practical way to show support and to help reduce unemployment in the Sheriff Street area during the current economic downturn.

As well as the School Job Placement Programme initiated by the DDDA, Mr. Kelly emphasised that an important method of improving employment levels in the Sheriff Street neighbourhood was a focus on trades and apprenticeships for its residents. The DDDA aspired to *“help those who wish to pursue a trade but in the current economic environment as it can be difficult to secure an apprenticeship. We work with a number of trades people and their representative organisations to place aspiring young tradesmen and tradeswomen from the Docklands in appropriate apprenticeships. Having achieved this important first step the youngsters then go on to learn the necessary skills to develop their chosen trade”* (Interview, Kelly).

Formal mechanisms were also put in place to ensure that the Dockland's development stimulated employment in its hinterland. One of the initial frameworks developed by the DDDA to improve employment opportunities in the disadvantaged Dockland neighbourhoods was the creation of the Local Labour Charter, which guarantees that at least twenty percent of the local population become employed throughout any construction phase of the development. As was described earlier, Gerry Kelly highlighted the importance of this Charter and how beneficial it had been to Sheriff Street. However, Assistant City Manager of DCC, Michael Stubbs made it clear that

with regards to local employment a major problem lies in European legislation and local employment clauses. *“Local, however in a European Union (EU) context means anyone from EU member states, so if a person from Poland applied for a job you legally cannot discriminate against them because they are local in European terms which resulted in a large number of residents missing out on the job opportunities that came on stream”* (Interview, Stubbs).

Mr Stubbs also made it clear that the DDDA faces other challenges particularly in regards to whether it is in touch with the reality of local residents like those living in Sheriff Street. He was of the opinion that having good contact with residents is vital in improving social issues such as employment, crime etc. However, despite there being a Docklands council made up of members of the DDDA, DCC, Government Officials and number of community representatives, he felt that *“the council has become quite political and I’m not sure whether it is representing the community so there needs to be more liaising between docklands and local structures”* (Interview, Stubbs). With regards to the DDDA Council Mr. Faye explained how members of the Council are *“guardians of the master plan and every 5 years we carry out a review. We can bring up issues and make suggestions that would be put forward to the board but apart from that we have no real power”* (Interview, Faye). It is evident that efforts are being made to ensure residents of Sheriff Street have every opportunity of gaining employment but the DDDA are faced with difficult challenges which they must overcome.

Theme 3 – Measures Required

Reasoning:

The following theme looks at what more needs to be done to improve employment opportunities within the Sheriff Street community. It takes into consideration the views of both those representing Sheriff Street and also those responsible for its social regeneration to assess differences that occur in their views and suggestions.

Key Actor Feedback:

A general consensus emerged from the interviews that more needed to be done to improve employment opportunities in the Sheriff Street neighbourhood but opinion differed with regards to the scale of the improvements required. Mr. Kelly believed that it is *“not the case of what more needs to be done but it’s more of a continuation of the policies that we are currently implementing”* (Interview, Kelly). He was adamant that it was imperative to keep the focus on education in order to ensure the sustainability of the neighbourhood so that residents have ownership of their lives. He believed there are opportunities available for neighbouring communities throughout the Docklands, whether it be manual or skilled labour and *“it is vital that when more jobs come on stream as the economy recovers the local residents of Sheriff Street have the necessary qualifications to take advantage of these opportunities”* (Interview, Kelly).

Many of the recommendations being made by Mr. Stubbs for the improvement of employment opportunities were currently being implemented by the DDDA, such as *“internships, executive style job clubs, second chance education, community employment schemes, apprenticeship completion and work-sharing”*. However, he also emphasised the need for a greater focus on local labour initiatives than those currently being carried out by the DDDA. He stated that it is vital that *“local businesses recruit a greater percentage of their staff from within the local community”* (Interview, Stubbs) to the benefit of all parties involved.

When talking to Mr. Faye of Sheriff Street it was clear he had a sense of pride in his community and he felt that his neighbourhood had the potential to be one of the most valuable pieces of land in the country as *“it’s located in heart the city, surrounded by high class public transport, has a number of colleges in its vicinity and has the city’s main waterways surrounding it”*. He does, however, feel there is a lack of commitment to the area and that not enough has been done to ensure that residents are given the best chance possible to succeed. He was extremely critical of the lack of training programmes throughout the construction phases as people were not prepared for the jobs that came on stream as a result of the development of the IFSC. He emphasised the importance of these training programmes and argued that it was not

too late to get people qualified to work in some of the many businesses within the development. He made it clear that lot of the residents in Sheriff Street felt like they are second class citizens compared to those around the corner and he was adamant that this attitude needs to change. If it does *“with both confidence and a qualification behind them, there is no reason why they can’t get careers and take advantage of the large scale development that occurred on their doorstep”* (Interview, Faye).

This sentiment was reiterated by Betty Ashe of the DDBF who expressed her belief that the training of the residents in specific fields was imperative to give them as good as chance as everyone else in taking advantage of the opportunities available in the Docklands.

5.5 – Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the results of both the qualitative and quantitative research carried out on the Sheriff Street neighbourhood. It first looked at a comparative analysis of the SAPS for the area looking at areas such as principal status, socio-economic status, occupations and educational attainment to analyse how the area has changed over a twenty year period. It then moved on to the interviews carried out with the residents of Sheriff Street to gain their opinions on how the redevelopment of the Docklands has affected their lives and employment opportunities within their community. It then finally went through the results of the interviews with those responsible for the development and regeneration of the Docklands as well as those representing the Sheriff Street community at large to establish what affect the Docklands development has had on employment opportunities in the neighbouring deprived community of Sheriff Street and what if anything needs to be done to improve these. The next chapter will bring the research to a close with an overview of the contributions this thesis has made to the existing knowledge on this topic. It will then go through the conclusions, recommendations and limitations of the study along with conveying how this thesis is a starting point for future research in the field.

Chapter 6 – Conclusions

6.1 – Thesis Aim

The aim of this research was to discover how new-build gentrification developments impact on the absolute and perceived employment opportunities of neighbouring deprived communities. The research focused on the disadvantaged community of Sheriff Street, located in inner city Dublin. The area has long been associated with crime and unemployment and this research examined how the redevelopment of the Dublin Docklands, which borders the neighbourhood, impacted its employment opportunities. A sub aim of the research was to determine what needs to be done to ensure that neighbouring residents are not adversely affected by new-build residential developments and what mechanisms must be put in place to ensure that these residents take advantage of the employment opportunities that come on stream as a result of the development.

Sheriff Street, situated adjacent to the redeveloped Docklands, was an area that had been in decline from the late 1960s. Port activity and its related employment had all but vanished due to the containerisation of the Docks which sent the neighbourhood into a negative downward spiral. The introduction of the Urban Renewal Act by the Fianna Fail government in 1986 brought about hope for change in the community. This brought the promise of jobs and an opportunity of bringing life back into the community as the large scale rejuvenation of the Dublin Docklands was planned. In the case of the CHDDA and the first phase of re-development in Dublin's Docklands, the prioritisation of capitalist accumulation over and above broader social and economic goals, was most evident. The local indigenous community was totally excluded from the development process as the CHDDA remit was purely concerned with ensuring ever increasing and ever-quicker returns from investment in the built environment. Members of the community were displaced and the jobs outlined in the original guidelines never materialised on the scale that was promised. The development of the IFSC upon the main employment hub for the surrounding working

class communities resulted in the dramatic shrinking of the manual working class, whilst the professional technical and managerial middle classes grew rapidly throughout the developed IFSC, a process which has been identified in previous literature by Hamnett (2003) and Ley (1996).

The redevelopment of new, private apartment dwellings in the Dublin Docklands resulted in the juxtaposition of existing disadvantaged communities with the new gentrifiers. This vividly illustrates the divisions and highlights the inequalities which exist in post-industrial capitalism within Irish society. In this physically and socially transformed district, attempts by the developers to maintain some type of physical distance, in line with social distance, resulted in existing communities and the general public being physically prevented from accessing new developments through the use of CCTV systems and heavily manned security entrances. The residents lacked influence and any voice in the decisions being made regarding their neighbourhood and it was not until the DDDA replaced the CHDDA in 1997 as the main authority responsible for the area that some change occurred. The institutional organisation of the Authority guaranteed the opportunity for more democratic control and participation than had previously existed under the CHDDA. The Authority's ultimate aim was to create a living, breathing and self-sustaining community.

It is clear that the state-led processes of new-build redevelopment as seen in the Dublin Docklands can be classified as a form of third wave gentrification as recognised by Hackworth and Smith (2001). It was not only characterised by major corporate involvement and an openly facilitative state processes, but throughout the first phase of development came up against limited resistance and the development rapidly expanded into new neighbourhoods. Using the criteria identified by Davidson and Lees (2005), the redeveloped Dublin Docklands today show all the hall marks of an area affected by new-build gentrification. The area received large scale reinvestments of capital with the development of the country's IFSC, Spencer Dock and Grand Canal Square. It also experienced social upgrading of the locale due to the incoming high-income groups who gained employment within the development. The area also underwent large scale landscape changes throughout the whole district and as well as this the initial phase of the development resulted in the direct displacement of Sheriff Street residents.

6.2 – Research Objectives

The first element of the research involved examining the SAPS over a twenty year period from prior to the development's commencement up to the most recently available data on the area. This was necessary to determine how the absolute employment opportunities of the case study changed over the studied period and whether this could be accredited to the neighbouring redevelopment. Along with this it was necessary to interview both the residents of Sheriff Street and also those responsible for its development to establish how they perceived the area's employment opportunities and how this new-build gentrified development has impacted these opportunities. In order to establish a link between the results of the interviews and the Census information it was vital to combine these qualitative and quantitative techniques to fully answer the research questions.

Once the comparative analysis of the SAPS for Sheriff Street was completed it became clear the neighbourhood had undergone considerable changes since the redevelopment of the Docklands. Although in comparison to the rest of the city unemployment in the area is still high, employment levels in Sheriff Street have improved significantly. A much greater percentage of the population are at work compared to the mid 1980s, and a considerable decrease in the number of those relying on social welfare was documented. From interviewing the residents of Sheriff Street, we can see that they were also of the opinion that employment had improved significantly from the time prior to the development and most linked this to the regeneration of the Docklands. It was evident that the skill set of the residents had evolved over the studied time period as a shift was recognised from manual labour in areas such as construction and manufacturing, to non-manual employment in areas such as sales and professional positions. This could be due to the change in professions that came on stream as a result of the construction of the IFSC as positions in areas such as sales, marketing, finance etc. saw significant increases whereas manufacturing and other manual employment types that had been the staple

of the area for fell into rapid decline. The residents had no other choice but to adapt to the new circumstances they found themselves in.

One of the most striking results of the comparative analysis was the radical improvements in the area of education. According to the chief executive of the DDDA Gerry Kelly, education was one of their principal policy aims and the single most important mechanism for improving the long term employment opportunities of the residents of Sheriff Street. It was clear that the DDDA had been successful in this area as the results show dramatic increases in educational attainment after the DDDA took control in 1997. More and more students were staying on to an older age in school and a significant increase was measured in the numbers going on to achieve third level education.

The general consensus from interviewing residents from the Sheriff Street neighbourhood was that the Docklands redevelopment has been beneficial to the locality and employment opportunities had improved consequently. Almost every resident interviewed had been either been personally affected or a member of their family had been affected by the redevelopment and the related employment opportunities that came on stream as a result. Residents described how their area had become a much safer place to live and that they have the ability to have a much greater say in what happens in their community. Although the number of Sheriff Street residents working in some of the higher wage bracket positions in the IFSC has been minimal, there have been a significant number of residents who have gained employment in lower paid jobs in the development. The overall opinion of the residents was if they have the required qualifications there is no reason why they cannot take advantage of the opportunities that are available in areas such as finance and banking. They also hold that the investments in education made by the DDDA will go a long way in ensuring this and creating a sustainable community.

It was clear from speaking to those responsible for the regeneration of the area that huge efforts are being made to improve employment opportunities within Sheriff Street and every neighbourhood within the Docklands. The various initiatives ran by the Authority, such as the Jobs Placement Programme and the Apprenticeship Programmes, are helping young and old to gain employment in the troubling current economic climate.

However there are those who have felt left behind by the development. Some feel they are excluded and that the services and facilities of the Docklands are aimed solely at the new residents. Some of the residents were of the opinion that the employment opportunities were not there throughout the construction phase and that they have no way of accessing the positions within the developed area today. They feel they have been abandoned by those responsible for the development and even the area's representative on the DDDA council, Gerry Faye, believed that huge improvements in areas such as social and affordable housing, training programmes and community development were required to bring life back into their community. It is clear however the DDDA are striving to improve every neighbourhood within the Docklands and huge improvements have been made since they took control from the CHDDA in 1997.

6.3 – Recommendations

Although the results of this study are specific to Sheriff Street and the Dublin Docklands, they also facilitate general observations and conclusions which can be applied to other cases where new-build gentrification developments have taken place. The results of this study will enable those responsible for large scale developments to take on board the mistakes that have been made by the CHDDA and the DDDA respectively, so that they will not be repeated again in the future. The positive lessons learned from the Docklands development, such as the investments in education and the emphasis on community employment initiatives, is a framework which other city authorities and development agencies can and should use in their social regeneration policies.

From carrying out this study it is evident that new-build developments affected by gentrification can positively impact on employment opportunities in neighbouring deprived communities. This, however, does not happen organically. It is imperative that there are organisations and structures in place from the outset to assist residents in empowering themselves to take advantage of the opportunities that come on stream. If these structures of power are not in place to assist the indigenous residents, whether

through a lack of training or employment programmes, insufficient investment in education or even the absence of a forum where the residents can have their opinions and grievances heard like the DDDA council, the development can have the opposite impact. Without assistance from these structures, the development can result in the further marginalisation of the disadvantaged community as residents without the relevant training or qualifications have no way of accessing the new jobs and can lead to an atmosphere of bitterness or resentment within a community which was the case throughout the Dublin Dockland's first phase of development.

There is a need for a planning approach aimed at sustaining the everyday lives of residents, in which there is emphasis on public participation, the transfer of skills and knowledge and social justice issues of belonging, including sense of community and sense of place. It is vital that social rejuvenation is stated as a specific legal requirement in line with economic and environmental revitalisation otherwise developers will tend to relinquish social responsibility. If a disadvantaged neighbourhood like Sheriff Street is going to flourish as result of the gentrification of new build developments, community partnerships and consultation needs to be as much a part of the development process as applying to financial institutions for development capital. Unless governments take the lead and clearly state what is expected of a developer, balanced regeneration will not occur.

This thesis shows that new-build gentrification developments have a major impact on the employment opportunities of neighbouring deprived communities and whether these impacts are positive or negative hugely depend on the state of the structures, policies and institutions in place that have responsibility for the regeneration of the area. The study has its limitations, most notably with regards to the availability of Census information as the most recent available data for the area was the year 2006. The country's economy has shrunk since that period but the interviews carried out were sufficient to portray current circumstances and it was apparent the situation in Sheriff Street had undergone little changes in those few years. Another issue was the difficulty in obtaining willing participants for interviews from the Sheriff Street community. It was vital they had resided in the community for the last twenty five years at least so they were aware of the changes that have taken place. Were it possible to interview a larger number of inhabitants, more could have been added to the findings. This thesis, however, is only the start of a larger endeavour and provides

scope for tackling a wider range of issues. Examining how an area's 'social capital' is impacted by neighbouring new-build developments is an area which requires significant attention. New developments have a major influence on their surrounding hinterland, both positive and negative. In this context, the current study has focused on the impact on employment. An in-depth examination of broader socio-economic and cultural effects warrants serious consideration.

Chapter 7 – Bibliography

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Appendix

**Letter & Questions for interview with chief executive of the
DDDA Gerry Kelly 16/12/2012**

Dear Mr. Kelly.

With your position as chief executive of the DDDA, I hope to interview you as part of my research for my master thesis. My thesis aims to examine the impact of new-build gentrification developments on the absolute and perceived employment opportunities of neighbouring deprived communities. The research will consider whether the neighbouring development is a provider of employment and career opportunities for these frequently un-skilled workers or whether it further marginalizes them. By interviewing residents of the area, the research will also aim to discover how they feel the redevelopment of the docklands has impacted on their lives with regards to employment. My research will aim specifically on the area adjacent to the IFSC where phase one of the redevelopment took place looking at the area of Upper Sheriff Street, Seville Place and Oriel Street. I hope you can spare some time to talk with me and the questions I would be asking you are listed below.

Kind regards.

Enda Duignan

Interview Questions

Question 1 – What is the role of the DDDA and how have they controlled development within the Docklands?

Question 2 – What measures are in place to ensure residents from Sheriff Street and other similar neighbourhoods are given access to employment?

Question 3 – How has employment levels changed since the DDDA took control over the Docklands?

Question 4 – Has the residents of Sheriff Street benefited from the development of the Dublin Docklands?

Question 5 – What more needs to be done by the DDDA to improve employment opportunities within the Sheriff Street community or do you feel more attention has been paid to the regeneration site at the expense of the neighbouring disadvantaged communities?

Resident Interview

Section 1 - Personal Information:

Name:

Occupation:

Household Status:

DOB:

Section 2 – Interview Questions & Responses

Question 1 - Do you feel there is a greater opportunity for employment in your neighbourhood since the neighbouring areas redevelopment?

Question 2 - Have you or any of your family directly benefited from the redevelopment of the Docklands in relation to gaining access to employment?

Question 3 - Do you feel safer in your community since the redevelopment of the Dublin Docklands?

Question 4 - How do you feel the demographic profile of your neighbourhood has changed since the Docklands regeneration?

Question 5 - Are the new services and facilities of the neighbouring development easily accessible or do you feel cut off from the developed area?

Question 6 - Do you feel you have a voice in decisions regarding your own neighbourhood?

Question 7 - What more do you feel could be done by the city council or the Dublin Docklands Development Authority (DDDA) to improve employment opportunities in your area?

Example of SAPS used in Sheriff Street Study

Census of Population 1986 - Small Area Population Statistics																				
COUNTY 02 DUBLIN CO. BOROUGH UD/RD DED 078 NORTH DOCK C																				
Socio-economic group	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	Y	Total							
Males -																				
At Work + Unemployed	0	8	5	13	6	2	60	99	145	81	147	47	613							
Other 15+	0	1	0	6	0	0	21	28	34	44	32	53	219							
Other under 15	0	4	0	5	0	0	20	66	85	58	113	132	483							
Total	0	13	5	24	6	2	101	193	264	183	292	232	1315							
Females -																				
At Work + Unemployed	0	0	12	10	1	0	52	34	17	102	2	7	237							
Other 15+	0	2	5	11	3	0	41	93	108	106	106	193	668							
Other under 15	0	3	0	5	2	0	24	63	102	58	93	102	452							
Total	0	5	17	26	6	0	117	190	227	266	201	302	1357							
Family Unit Head -																				
All Heads	0	3	2	10	3	1	38	84	103	103	101	109	557							
Unemployed Heads	0	0	1	1	0	0	8	27	44	27	62	21	191							
Head of Household -																				
No. of Households	0	5	4	17	5	1	62	123	127	138	130	192	804							
No. of Persons	0	18	9	45	11	2	182	423	489	426	506	535	2646							
No. of Cars / Hhld	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.40	1.00	0.08	0.11	0.10	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.06							
No. of Persons / Car	0.00	0.00	4.50	0.00	5.50	2.00	36.40	32.54	37.62	106.50	168.67	267.50	58.80							
Social Class																				
Males - Age 0 - 14	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total				Females - Age 0 - 14								
15 - 24	0	15	20	57	44	49	41	226				15 - 24	1	5	27	31	80	37	55	236
25 - 44	7	14	34	102	56	121	30	364				25 - 44	5	14	27	70	78	81	61	336
45 - 64	3	4	12	35	36	46	25	161				45 - 64	7	8	18	21	56	42	35	187
65+	0	4	11	13	30	19	4	81				65+	6	4	19	12	29	27	49	146
Total	10	46	102	313	232	380	232	1315				Total	20	42	114	258	318	303	302	1357
Age Education Ceased																				
			Still at School	Under 15	15	16	17	18	19	20	21 & Over	Not Stated								
Males			31	480	131	89	31	22	2	4	11	31								
Females			24	561	133	78	35	28	8	0	9	29								
Total			55	1041	264	167	66	50	10	4	20	60								
Means of Travel																				
Miles - Under 1			Foot	Bicycle	Bus	Train	Motor Cycle	Motor Driver	Car Passenger	Other	Not Stated									
1 - 2			33	0	1	0	0	0	1	9	1									
3 - 4			160	29	31	0	1	10	2	1	7									

SAPS for Sheriff Street 1986

Census of Population 1986 - Small Area Population Statistics														
COUNTY 02 DUBLIN CO. BOROUGH UD/RD DED 078 NORTH DOCK C														
Family cycle	Couple - no children					Couple or lone parent with children								
	pre-family	empty nest	retired			pre-school	early-school	pre-adolescent	adolescent	adult				
No. of Families	29	21	21			94	97	77	71	147				
No. of Persons	58	42	42			290	428	419	399	570				
No. of Rooms		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8+	Total (Known)	Not Stated			
No. of Permanent Households	36	51	392	140	133	43	1	8	804	0				
No. of Persons	45	85	1121	458	658	249	5	25	2646	0				
Average No. of Persons / Room	1.25	0.83	0.95	0.82	0.99	0.97	0.71	0.36	0.92	0				
Persons 15+ by Present Status														
Persons - Total	436	110	414	55	513	136	73	0	1737					
Males - Single	127	66	124	31	2	15	11	0	376					
Ever Married	139	0	207	0	0	52	21	0	419					
Widowed	8	0	8	0	0	18	3	0	37					
Total Males	274	66	339	31	2	85	35	0	832					
Females - Single	114	43	58	24	68	27	24	0	358					
Ever Married	41	1	14	0	356	12	9	0	433					
Widowed	7	0	3	0	87	12	5	0	114					
Total Females	162	44	75	24	511	51	38	0	905					
Males - Age														
15 - 24	64	65	65	31	1	0	0	0	226					
25 - 34	92	1	130	0	1	0	3	0	227					
35 - 44	54	0	77	0	0	0	6	0	137					
45 - 54	33	0	40	0	0	1	9	0	83					
55 - 64	28	0	27	0	0	10	13	0	78					
65+	3	0	0	0	0	74	4	0	81					
Females - Age														
15 - 24	60	44	30	24	77	0	1	0	236					
25 - 34	37	0	32	0	153	0	5	0	227					
35 - 44	21	0	5	0	79	0	4	0	109					
45 - 54	18	0	5	0	38	1	5	0	67					
55 - 64	21	0	3	0	74	6	16	0	120					
65+	5	0	0	0	90	44	7	0	146					
At Work by Industry														
			Agriculture	Mining	Manufact. Industries	Building & Construction	Elect. & Gas	Commerce	Transport	Public Admin.	Prof. Services	Other	Total	

SAPS for Sheriff Street 1996

Central Statistics Office Ireland

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Reports Theme 10 - 1 : Persons aged 15 years and over by age education c... Help

Actions

OTHER:

Population		Persons	Males	Females
Geographic Area	Education	↑↓	↑↓	↑↓
Dublin City 02/540	Under 15 years	99	40	59
	15 years	61	26	35
	16 years	58	36	22
	17 years	28	16	12
	18 years	51	17	34
	19 years	9	0	9
	20 years	12	8	4
	21 years and over	20	11	9
	Not stated	151	63	88
	Total whose full-time education has ceased	489	217	272
Dublin City 02/541	Under 15 years	139	62	77
	15 years	46	28	18
	16 years	59	33	26
	17 years	37	18	19
	18 years	42	20	22
	19 years	16	5	11
	20 years	7	4	3
	21 years and over	29	8	21
	Not stated	255	138	117
	Total whose full-time education has ceased	630	316	314

Age education ceased by Enumerative Area 2006

SAPS for Sheriff Street 2006