

NESC REPORT NO. 55

**URBANISATION: PROBLEMS OF GROWTH
AND DECAY IN DUBLIN**

**NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL
CONSTITUTION AND TERMS OF REFERENCE**

1. The main task of the National Economic and Social Council shall be to provide a forum for discussion of the principles relating to the efficient development of the national economy and the achievement of social justice, and to advise the Government, through the Taoiseach on their application. The Council shall have regard, *inter alia*, to:

- (i) the realisation of the highest possible levels of employment at adequate reward
- (ii) the attainment of the highest sustainable rate of economic growth.
- (iii) the fair and equitable distribution of the income and wealth of the nation.
- (iv) reasonable price stability and long-term equilibrium in the balance of payments.
- (v) the balanced development of all regions in the country, and
- (vi) the social implications of economic growth, including the need to protect the environment.

2. The Council may consider such matters either on its own initiative or at the request of the Government.

3. Members of the Government shall be entitled to attend the Council's meetings. The Council may at any time present its views to the Government, on matters within its terms of reference. Any reports which the Council may produce shall be submitted to the Government and, together with any comments which the Government may then make thereon, shall be laid before each House of the Oireachtas and published.

4. The membership of the Council shall comprise a Chairman appointed by the Government in consultation with the interests represented on the Council.

Ten persons nominated by agricultural organisations.

Ten persons nominated by the Confederation of Irish Industry and the Irish Employers' Confederation.

Ten persons nominated by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

Ten other persons appointed by the Government, and

Six persons representing Government Departments comprising one representative each from the Departments of Finance, Agriculture, Industry, Commerce and Tourism, Labour and Environment and one person representing the Departments of Health and Social Welfare.

Any other Government Department shall have the right of audience at Council meetings if warranted by the Council's agenda, subject to the right of the Chairman to regulate the numbers attending.

5. The term of office of members shall be for three years renewable. Casual vacancies shall be filled by the Government or by the nominating body as appropriate. Members filling casual vacancies may hold office until the expiry of the other members' current term of office and their membership shall then be renewable on the same basis as that of other members.

6. The Council shall have its own Secretariat subject to the approval of the Taoiseach in regard to numbers, remuneration and conditions of service.

7. The Council shall regulate its own procedure.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Urbanisation: Problems of Growth and Decay in Dublin

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NO. 55

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PROBLEMS OF GROWTH AND DECAY IN DUBLIN**

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DUBLIN**

By

**M. J. Bannon, J. G. Eustace
and M. O'Neill**

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PART I

**THE COUNCIL'S COMMENTS ON URBANISATION:
PROBLEMS OF GROWTH AND DECAY IN DUBLIN**

INTRODUCTION

1. The Council's reason for commissioning this study arose out of its concern with the problems of the decay of inner Dublin on the one hand, and of the rapid growth of the Dublin suburbs on the other. The purpose of the study was to examine the existing situation in the Dublin inner city and suburbs giving an overview of demographic trends, employment and land use; to examine the scope, aims and efficacy of planning by Government agencies in the Dublin area and to make suggestions for improvements where necessary in the planning and development process.

2. In commissioning the study the Council was not, by implication, accepting that continued population growth in the Dublin area was desirable. In a previous report the Council noted with concern the growing concentration of population and employment, particularly service-type employment, in the Eastern region. As a means of achieving a regionally balanced growth of employment and population in the long-term, the Council favoured a policy of "accelerating the development of one or two counter-magnet cities to offset the attraction of the East region, together with the continuing development of a number of smaller regional growth centres"¹. In this study the Council is concerned with the problems which currently exist in the Dublin area, problems which require resolution irrespective of the long-term strategy devised to stabilise population.

3. The consultant appointed was Dr. Michael Bannon and the study was carried out by Dr. Bannon, Mr. James Eustace and Mr. Michael O'Neill of the Department of Regional and Urban Planning, University College, Dublin. The study is published in full in Part II of this report.

¹NESC Report No. 45, *Urbanisation and Regional Development in Ireland*, 1979, p. 20.

THE CONSULTANTS' STUDY

4. The consultants examined the growth and development of Dublin as part of the Irish urban system. Dublin has grown rapidly over the past fifty years and all the indications are that its rapid growth will continue. In spatial terms, Dublin is similar to the American and British urban model with its rapidly declining core and its mushrooming suburbs. The contrast with European cities is highlighted by the fact that the inner city of Dublin is virtually devoid of high income residents. The inner city area in Dublin is also characterised by high levels of unemployment, poor housing, derelict sites and buildings, high levels of vehicular traffic and vandalism of property.

5. Conventional analytical procedures were employed to identify different parts of the city with contrasting economic, socio-demographic and environmental characteristics. This enabled the description and analysis of areas in terms of their salient social and economic characteristics. Having examined various methods of social area analysis the consultants decided to use 42 variables from the 1971 Census of Population for each of the 193 wards of the Dublin Metropolitan Area² to produce a two-tier hierarchy of social areas (see Section II). These areas comprise six Social Areas (the inner city, the twilight area, flatland, old middle-class suburbs, local authority suburbs and new owner occupied suburbs) and twenty sub-areas.

6. This analysis indicated two Social Areas which are almost totally dominated by indices of relative but multi-dimensional deprivation, i.e., the inner city and the local authority estates. The consultants point out, however, that social, economic or physical problems are not confined solely to these areas but are far more intensively concentrated there. In order to obtain more recent data a questionnaire survey of households in the inner city and local authority suburban estates was undertaken in 1979.

7. Analysis of the 1971 Census results indicated that a

²Defined as the contiguous built-up area of Dublin, which includes the Dublin County Borough, Dun Laoghaire Borough and the suburban areas of both boroughs as defined in the 1971 Census of Population.

considerable proportion of the residents in the inner city were deprived in a number of respects. The survey of households carried out in 1979 indicated that these problems had persisted. During the 1970s population continued to decline in the inner city. By comparison with the Dublin sub region³ the housing stock is old, is not well served with basic facilities and there is considerable evidence of overcrowding. A majority of householders had made no attempt to leave the area; many wished to improve their accommodation within the area and the acquisition of more suitable accommodation was given as a major reason by those who wished to leave the area. Employment prospects have not improved for inner city residents in the 1970s. The majority work in less-skilled, blue-collar jobs in both manufacturing and other activities. The high level of unemployment in the inner city can be directly related to the contracting job opportunities for the less skilled in or near the inner city. These problems are further compounded by the area's geographic location on the perimeter of a rapidly developing business area where, according to the consultants, "high land values tend to require high value uses and leave little room for the less efficient . . . uses of land".

8. The survey carried out in 1979 in some of the local authority suburban areas⁴ showed that households in those areas were "considerably disadvantaged relative to the middle-class areas of the Dublin sub-region generally". The consultants state that the household deprivation indicated in these suburban local authority estates bears a close resemblance to that of households in the inner city, despite the structural contrasts in their populations. These areas had more young people and fewer old people than either the inner city or the sub-region as a whole. While family size was large (relative to either the inner city or the Dublin sub-region), few dwellings had more than three bedrooms, giving rise to a serious mismatch between size of dwelling and household size. Despite this mismatch, most people wished to remain in their area. While most areas appear to be well provided for

³Defined as Dublin County Borough, Dun Laoghaire Borough and the remainder of County Dublin.

⁴The areas included in the survey were those which emerged from the social area analysis as being the most seriously disadvantaged together with new estates at Darndale, Coolock and Tallaght.

with facilities and services, with the exception of safe play areas for children, three-quarters of respondents expressed some degree of dissatisfaction with the area, principally with problems of vandalism, lack of amenities, untidiness and traffic problems. As in the case of the inner city, a predominance of less-skilled occupations (with emphasis on transport activities) and a high level of unemployment (20.9% among male heads of households) were recorded. While suburban local authority estates do not experience the type of land use conflict so evident in the inner city they are, according to the consultants, "frequently characterised by monotonous housing developments . . . and an unattractive visual environment".

9. The consultants also briefly examined the outer suburbs and they highlight some of the problems associated with rapid growth in these areas. They concluded that, "there is a real need to ensure that Central Government and local authority offices, semi-state and other commercial interests pool their resources to ensure proper phasing of all facilities . . . Planning at the fringe requires a comprehensive approach, where both physical and social planning goals are augmented. Such an approach may require a much greater degree of public ownership of urban land".

POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

10. The consultants' report has highlighted serious problems associated with urban growth and decay in the Dublin area. They have also made a number of recommendations designed to improve the situation. While the Council does not wish to be associated with all the specific conclusions and recommendations of the consultants it does agree that they all deserve further consideration. The Council wishes to draw attention to what it considers to be the main policy issues arising from the consultants study, and to make recommendations on these.

Local Government Framework

11. The consultants have argued that one of the main problems in the Dublin area is that the division of responsibility for the development

of the area between three local authorities constitutes an impediment to the area's orderly development. They also refer to the fact that it is possible to identify a hierarchy of concerns ranging from a Government department to local groups but often with overlapping remits and little co-ordination. The 1971 White Paper on local government also referred to the fact that as long as three main bodies in the Dublin area existed as separate entities, services could not be integrated: that the legal boundaries between the city and the county and between Dún Laoghaire and the rest of the county had become increasingly irrelevant in every sphere. The White Paper argued that planning and development, the problems of roads and road traffic, many aspects of housing and sanitary services and miscellaneous services must be handled on a uniform basis. The White Paper recommended that the most effective arrangement for the provision of local government services in Dublin would be the establishment of a single authority with jurisdiction throughout the area.⁵

12. The consultants have recommended the establishment of a Greater Dublin Council having control over all development within the Dublin sub-region and adjacent urban areas in north and east Wicklow, east Kildare, south Meath and perhaps south Louth.⁶ The boundary could be defined scientifically and should be subject to regular review and revision. A Greater Dublin Council, according to the consultants, could be expected to carry out most of the normal range of local authority functions for its area and to delegate functions where necessary to district councils.

⁵Local Government Reorganisation, Stationery Office, Dublin, 1971, pp. 32-3.

⁶A study group set up by the Institute of Public Administration in response to a request by the Minister for Local Government for comments on the White Paper on reorganisation of local government stated that it was shortsighted to see the problems of Dublin as contained by the limits of Dublin city and county and that they should be considered in a wider context. The study group suggested that the obvious territorial setting was the Dublin planning region comprising Dublin City and the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, Kildare and Meath. They did not recommend the absorption of all local authorities in the city and surrounding counties into a regional super-authority but suggested that "certain functions which require a wider base than the county borough or county council should be assigned to a statutory regional body and dealt with by specialist staff with regional terms of reference". *More Local Government: A Programme for Development*, Institute of Public Administration, Dublin, 1971, page 33.

13. The consultants also recommend that a two-tier planning system of strategic and local plans be instituted in the Dublin area. The strategic plan would lay down broad guidelines for the overall development of the Dublin area and would be prepared by a Greater Dublin Council under the direction of a planning committee representative of all major public investors (e.g. Government Departments, State-sponsored Bodies) in the area. Public involvement could be achieved by involving elected representatives and the public generally in the drafting of the plan and through the submission of local plans. The strategic plan should be approved by the Minister for the Environment following an enquiry in public at which all the participants in the plan-making process, including the public, would have an opportunity to express their views.

14. The past decade has witnessed the growth of community organisations which seek a meaningful role in the planning process. The consultants argue that the public, through community organisations, can make a positive contribution to planning and that a strong system of local planning can both encourage and facilitate meaningful public involvement. They point to the success of public involvement in the preparation of local plans in European countries, notably the Netherlands. Within the context of the approved strategic plan for the Greater Dublin Area the consultants recommend that local plans should be prepared within the area concerned by the residents and their planning advisers with the help of local authority staff.

15. The Council recognises that there are considerable advantages to be gained from a greater rationalisation of the local government structure in the Dublin area and that the consultants' recommendations merit careful consideration. The Minister for the Environment has stated that the examination of the local government system which he is having carried out would take account of all earlier proposals for re-organisation and of developments which have occurred in the meantime.⁷ The Council considers that the report prepared by the consultants should prove to be a valuable input into this re-appraisal. The Council also considers that the case for reform has been argued so cogently and so frequently that the matter requires urgent attention.

⁷Dáil Debates, Vol. 301 (1977), Col. 25.

The Council recognises that the implementation of these recommendations would involve fundamental changes in the present local authority structure. It also recognises that the implementation of strategic and local planning as suggested by the consultants would involve a new approach to planning. Furthermore, any re-organisation of the local authority structure would need to take account of existing services, such as health, which are organised on a regional basis in order to ensure that boundaries coincide to the greatest extent possible. If a large authority along the lines of the Greater Dublin Council were to be established it would have to be of such a nature as to be sensitive to people's needs at a local level. Consequently, the Council would attach considerable importance to the role of elected representatives at both the Greater Dublin Council and District Council levels to ensure that local democracy is not only preserved but revitalised.

Development Land Policy

16. The availability and price of land are key factors in the planning and development of Dublin. It is generally accepted that some restrictions be imposed on land prices in order to ensure that the benefits of public investment revert to the community. Various proposals were examined by a Committee established in 1971. The Committee's report (the Kenny Report) was published in 1974.⁸ The Committee examined various options including outright land nationalisation, the imposition of leases or taxes and price control. The majority recommendation of the Committee was that a "designated area" scheme be introduced. Under this scheme, local authorities would be obliged to apply to the High Court to designate areas likely to be developed within a ten-year period, and which had enjoyed or were likely to enjoy "benefits" through the provision of local authority expenditure on services such as roads, water supply and sewerage. Within a designated area the local authority would be empowered to buy land, by compulsory purchase if necessary, at existing use value plus one-quarter.⁹

⁸Report of Committee on the Price of Building Land, Stationery Office, Dublin, 1974.

⁹A minority report disagreed with these recommendations and suggested an alternative scheme whereby areas required for urban expansion would be designated by local authorities. In these areas the local authority would have first option to

17. The Kenny Report is still under consideration by the Government. The Council recognises that there are considerable difficulties involved in resolving this controversial issue. It has been suggested, for example, that unless very large areas were designated so as to include virtually all land within reach of expanding towns and cities, fresh anomalies could arise between landowners within and outside the designated areas.¹⁰ The consultants have recommended that if the proposals in the Kenny Report are not to be implemented then the Greater Dublin Council should play a much more active role in helping to assemble commercial and residential sites for private sector clients. Since so many other policy considerations depend upon the implementation of some form of price control of development land, the Council regards the speedy resolution of this issue to be of the utmost importance. The Council believes that there has been more than sufficient time for a consideration of the recommendations in the Kenny Report and that decisions should now be taken as a matter of urgency.

Housing Policies

18. The consultants indicate that "there is a prevalence of overcrowding throughout the local authority housing estates". This, they suggest, arises from the fact that the standard dwellings (usually with three bedrooms) provided by the local authority relates only to the needs of the family at the date they are housed. The consultants recommend the provision of a range of house sizes related to people's needs. The Council has already addressed itself to this problem and indicated that, in principle, overcrowding could be attacked in different ways, viz. the construction of a greater variety of new dwelling sizes, the extension of existing dwellings and a redistribution of households among existing dwellings to achieve a better match between dwelling size and household size.¹¹ The Council acknowledged, however, that "it

purchase, at market price, land put up for sale. Subject to certain exemptions, a levy of 30% of the sale price would be payable by the vendor on the disposal of land required for urban expansion.

¹⁰Baker, T. J. and O'Brien, L. M. *The Irish Housing System: A Critical Overview*, Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin, 1979, p. 174.

¹¹NESC Report, No. 14, *Population Projections 1971-1986: The Implications for Social Planning Dwelling Needs*, 1975, pp. 27-8.

would be difficult to reduce significantly the mismatch between dwelling size and household size, in the absence of a radical change in the institutional framework which would give more explicit incentives to increase mobility and to encourage a more effective use of the existing housing stock".¹² The Council reiterates its view that the brunt of the re-housing of overcrowded households must be achieved through new construction. While recognising that the provision of a wider range of house size by local authorities could prove more costly it is recommended that a greater mix in dwelling sizes be seriously considered. This should be coupled with active encouragement of tenants to transfer within the local authority sector so that, over time, family needs are catered for to the greatest extent possible.

19. The consultants have indicated that the increase in Dublin's population coupled with a slight decline in the number of new local authority dwellings erected since 1975 has led to increased pressure for public housing provision. The Council agrees with the consultants' recommendation that there is a clear need for an accelerated pace of housing provision by the local authorities in Dublin.

20. The consultants have argued that tenant purchase tends both to immobilise tenants and reduce the stock of local authority housing for letting. They therefore recommend that the sale of dwellings to tenants be terminated and that incentives be introduced to facilitate tenants in entering the private sector. The Council recognises that the cost of maintaining local authority dwellings is high and that this factor coupled with the desire to stimulate owner-occupation are the principal considerations in facilitating the purchase of such dwellings. In a previous report¹³ the Council indicated that the sale of local authority dwellings at the rate then being undertaken reduced the number of houses available for meeting the principal aims of local authority housing policy, i.e., the provision of dwellings for persons living in unfit or overcrowded dwellings, for persons who cannot afford to provide adequate accommodation for themselves and for special classes. The Council referred to the danger that local authorities would be left

¹²*Ibid*, p. 28.

¹³NESC, Report No. 23, *Report on Housing Subsidies*, 1976, pp. 21-22.

managing the most unattractive portion of the dwelling stock if sales continued at that rate.¹⁴ While recognising that the aim of a purchase scheme is the stimulation of owner-occupation, the Council has already recommended that consideration should be given to other means of achieving this aim, e.g. through additional incentives for local authority tenants to move into the private sector.¹⁵ In this context the Council welcomes the introduction in 1976 of the "low-rise" mortgage scheme under which a loan is made available for the purchase of a private house to certain categories, principally tenants and tenant-purchasers of local authority dwellings, who surrender their dwellings to the local authority.¹⁶ A constraint on the take-up of this scheme would appear to be the size of deposit required, particularly in the case of first time purchasers.

21. The consultants point out that the problems of many areas have been rendered more acute through the policy of concentrating the most needy and refractory tenants in "open areas".¹⁷ The Council agrees that this policy can accelerate area obsolescence and welcomes the indication from the Department of the Environment that the "open areas" policy has now been discontinued.

22. The "reputation" of an area and the additional problems for residents arising from the perpetuation of that "reputation" may be intensified in some instances by large scale developments of single class housing. The Council agrees with the consultants' recommendations that:

¹⁴In the period 1975-1978 a total of 29,349 local authority dwellings were purchased while 28,463 new dwellings were built. Over the same period the estimated number of local authority rented dwellings declined from 105,000 to 100,000.

¹⁵NESC Report No. 23, *op. cit.* p. 22.

¹⁶Under the terms of the "low-rise" mortgage scheme, mortgage repayments are subsidised on a diminishing scale over a nine-year period. In addition to the categories mentioned above the following are also eligible to avail of the scheme—persons allocated a new local authority house who wish to purchase that house and, subject to certain conditions, families of three or more persons and two person families consisting of one parent and one child in need of rehousing. In 1978, 718 loans were provided to tenants or tenant-purchasers who purchased a private house under the scheme.

¹⁷A euphemism used by Dublin Corporation to describe a housing area which is not in popular demand.

- (a) local authority housing be provided in smaller estates and
- (b) to the greatest extent possible, all areas should contain a mix of housing types and social groups.

Since the local authority is a major land purchaser on the urban periphery, such an approach should be feasible.

23. By contrast with other European cities, Dublin is characterised by a small and declining share of housing in the private rented sector.¹⁸ This decline has resulted from a number of factors such as slum clearance and rent control policies. The consultants have indicated that "in the inner city there is an urgent need for house improvement if buildings are not to be demolished, dwellings lost and familiar environments destroyed". They point out that if the rented unfurnished sector is to make a contribution to the alleviation of the housing problem and the improvement of the environment, policy changes are required. Two options are outlined, i.e., public ownership of private unfurnished stock or the provision of incentives for new investment, improvement and modernisation. The Council has already stated that the provision of accommodation in the private rented sector could be assisted through the tax system, including the way in which depreciation is treated, through improvement grants, or through a relaxation of the existing rent controls. These policies if implemented could take some of the pressure off the existing stock of local authority dwellings.¹⁹ The Council recognises that special problems arise in the rent-controlled sector. On the one hand, landlords may receive only a nominal income from their property and may be either unable through lack of capital or insufficient incentive to maintain the property in reasonable repair. On the other hand the termination of rent control could mean that tenants, many of whom are elderly, would be faced with excessive rent increases. The Council recognises that the complexity of the situation in the rent-controlled sector requires that in any relaxation of existing rent-controls due cognisance is taken of the interests of both landlord and tenant.

¹⁸This overall decline conceals an increase in absolute terms in private furnished accommodation. The decline has been confined to unfurnished accommodation.

¹⁹NESC, Report No. 23, *op. cit.* p. 23.

24. The consultants refer to the problem of obsolete and dilapidated dwellings and the inadequacy of assistance to bring them up to standards comparable to those in new houses. They recommend that greater attention should be devoted to the question of housing rehabilitation in preference to re-development. The consultants also recommend that, within the context of local planning and area improvement, the Greater Dublin Council should explore the possibility of rehabilitating vacant blocks of flats which could be sold to the private sector or to institutions for residential use and as a means of encouraging the social mix of population. In this general context the Inter-Departmental Committee on Dublin Inner City recommend the introduction of some form of penal taxation on derelict property and buildings and the establishment of a series of small "improvement neighbourhoods" in order to improve the appearance and attractiveness of areas.²⁰ The Council believes that these recommendations should be implemented.

25. While the general scheme of home improvement grants was terminated in January 1980,²¹ the Council recommends that special consideration should be given to the introduction of appropriate incentives to maintain the fabric of existing communities and improve old streetscapes. Unless some such measures are introduced it seems likely that the whole communal character and architectural quality of central Dublin will soon disappear. Given the relatively high proportion of elderly persons in some areas (as clearly shown in the consultants' report), especially the inner city which has undergone considerable demographic change, the Council recommends that attention be paid to their special housing needs.

Employment

26. The administrative, planning and housing proposals already outlined need to be complemented by a programme of economic and social action if the problems identified in the consultants' study are to be solved. Many of the problems relate to unemployment or the

²⁰Inter-Departmental Committee in Dublin Inner City, *Summary of Recommendations*, 1979, pp. 8, 13-15.

²¹Home improvement grants are still available for handicapped persons and local authority loans for home improvement are also available subject to a means test.

absence of relevant employment opportunities. The Council recognises that, in general, a growing national economy provides the best basis for a solution to regional unemployment problems either through autonomous growth or the greater buoyancy of revenue which enables the Government to finance special development programmes in certain areas. Since the economic growth of the 1960s and early 1970s coincided with a worsening of the unemployment situation in certain parts of Dublin, aggregate economic improvement is not necessarily reflected in increased employment in areas of multiple deprivation. The concentration of problems in the Dublin inner and local authority estates is such that special measures are required.

27. The consultants' study has indicated a continuing contraction in employment opportunities for the unskilled and less skilled. In many areas of Dublin employment opportunities appear to be closely related to educational achievement. Studies have indicated the considerable disparity in educational provision and achievement which exists between different districts of the city and suburbs. Those districts with lowest levels of educational achievement also tend to be those with relatively high levels of unemployment and whose residents have the least opportunity of attaining the better-paid occupations.²²

28. In some parts of the city difficulties in securing employment due to lack of education or training may be further exacerbated by discrimination based on the applicant's address. The Council favours the notion of discrimination in favour of certain areas suggested by the consultants.²³ An additional employment premium, for example, could be paid where jobs are provided for job applicants from designated areas as measured by persistently high rates of unemployment.²⁴ In

²²MacGreil M., *Educational Opportunity in Dublin*, Catholic Communications Institute of Ireland, Dublin, 1974, pp. 29-33; Ereathnach, A., "Towards the Identification of Educational Priority Areas in Dublin", *Economic and Social Review*, Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1976; Clancy, P., and Benson C., *Higher Education in Dublin: A study of some Emerging Needs*, Higher Education Authority, Dublin, 1979, pp. 17-21.

²³The Inter-Departmental Committee on Dublin's Inner City also recommend that more generous assistance be given to firms employing workers from the area under a special incentive employment scheme. *Inter-Departmental Committee on Dublin Inner City*, *op. cit.* p. 28.

²⁴From January 1980 a supplement to the Employment Incentive Scheme is payable to employers in respect of each additional employed worker who has been on the live register for at least 26 weeks.

particular, the Council recommends that the National Manpower Service be enabled to make a concerted effort in relation to education and training in the inner city area so that a better match can be established between employees/potential employees resident in the area and the jobs available there.

29. The consultants' study has highlighted the concentration of serious social problems in the inner city and some of the local authority housing estates. The Council recommends the establishment of priority areas in education, training and employment in order to deal with these multiple-problem areas. The problems involved are of such a magnitude as to require special measures over and above those provided under existing institutional arrangements. Given the wide dispersal of power over the relevant institutions, a specific agency (along the lines of the Inner City Group established by the Government) should be given responsibility to develop effective programmes and to channel resources to these areas.

30. The Council welcomes the increased attention by the Industrial Development Authority to indigenous industry in its job creation programmes. Since such firms, in general, have most potential as intensive users of local services and labour they are likely to be more adaptable and suitable to the needs of the deprived areas of Dublin. Within the context of local plans already referred to, the creation and provision of employment which is adaptable to the resources, skills and opportunities of the locality should be seen as the integral element in these plans.

The Inner City

31. It is in the inner city that the most serious economic and social problems are to be found. The consultants point out that:

"Because of its multiplicity of roles, complexity of functions and its historical investments in buildings and structures, the central area and its adjacent parts of the inner city represent the most complex and intractable planning problems requiring a comprehensive and balanced approach."

The scale and intensity of problems in the inner city are such that the consultants recommend special measures additional to but within the context of the general policies outlined. They present a package of proposals aimed at facilitating the operation of a more pleasant and efficient business centre in harmony with the development of community life for the residents of the area. This package is designed to counter the demographic, social and economic decline characteristic of much of the area at present.

32. The establishment by the Government in 1979 of the Inner City Group under the aegis of the former Department of Economic Planning and Development is a recognition of the serious problems in the inner city. The main functions of this Group were to further the work of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Dublin Inner City whose recommendations were published in 1979 and to co-ordinate and develop a programme of action by the various Government Departments and State agencies operating in the inner city areas. The Government made £1 million available to the Group towards developing a programme of action by the various Departments and State agencies and towards accelerating the pace of action in dealing with inner city problems. In February 1980 responsibility for the Group was transferred to the Minister for the Environment and the Group was reconstituted. The new Group is under the chairmanship of an officer of the Department of the Environment and consists of representatives of the Departments of Finance, Labour and Industry, Commerce and Tourism, and an assistant city manager. The latter's inclusion was to ensure closer liaison with Dublin Corporation, the main agency involved in the inner city area.

33. The Minister for the Environment has stated that the special funds allocated to the Inner City Group should be used to assist projects which would be seen as contributing to the rehabilitation of the area. The Group is to give priority to the examination of proposals in the employment and youth training fields.²⁵ The Minister has pointed out that the Group will not have executive functions in connection with the implementation of the programme but that such functions will be

²⁵A subsidy of £67,000 from the Inner City Fund was paid to the IDA for the purchase of sites for the provision of small factories for lease to private industrialists.

discharged by the appropriate Departments and other agencies including Dublin Corporation.²⁶ The Council welcomes the establishment of the Inner City Group as a step towards a comprehensive approach to planning in the inner city area.

34. The Council considers that only a comprehensive approach can halt the decay of the inner city. It believes that the package of inter-related policies proposed by the consultants includes the following which merit special consideration:

(a) A compact city centre. This could be achieved by allowing greater development densities within the area and would release adjoining areas from the threat of commercial invasion, social disruption and population displacement arising from conflicts of land uses, high land values and property speculation.

(b) Strict land zoning. A rigid zoning policy prohibiting commercial encroachment would lay the basis for the maintenance of settled residential areas.

(c) Public land ownership. Public ownership of land along the commercial-residential interface would facilitate the containment of the business area to a given location and the development of settled adjacent residential areas. Public ownership of land is closely bound up with the implementation of some scheme to control land prices. If the recommendations in the Kenny Report and the recommendations already made were implemented and if a land zoning policy were strictly adhered to many of these problems would not arise. The Council believes that at the very least its recommendations on the penal taxation of derelict property should be introduced immediately and that this be coupled with a requirement that such property be developed within a specified period.

(d) Transport. A major shift in favour of public passenger transport modes is essential for the survival of the central business district and the orderly social and physical development of adjacent residential districts. The Council also considers that adequate infrastructural investment, especially in roads, is needed in order

²⁶Dáil Debates, Vol. 320 (1980), Cols. 1915-6.

to ensure the maintenance and development of industry in the area.

(e) Attractive City Centre. The future of the inner city area depends in no small way upon the creation of an attractive living, shopping, working and cultural environment. It is in this respect that the contrast between Dublin and other European cities is most marked, and the Council consequently attaches considerable importance to the development of an attractive centre in the national capital. As a step in this direction, the work of the Community and Environment Department of Dublin Corporation should be intensified, especially in the centre, and complemented by an environment improvement programme run by business and community associations.

(f) Population diversification. This could be achieved by enabling some local authority tenants to transfer back into the inner city, by giving greater incentive to the private rented housing sector and by making sites available for both low and high income private housing. The Council also believes that if the right type of accommodation is provided, population diversification will occur.

(g) Community Development. The fostering of a community development approach to the problems of the inner city would encourage the local people themselves to become actively involved in tackling the problems of the area and in developing their own and their community's potential in a positive manner.

(h) Employment. Further land should be acquired and leased as sites for small industries and small firms generally.²⁷ As already noted, the Council believes that the National Manpower Service has a central role to play in developing education and training programmes in the inner city.

(i) Education and training. While the Inter-Departmental Committee has made very specific recommendations regarding education in the inner city, the Council believes that the area

²⁷Many of the recommendations of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Dublin Inner City deal with job creation and include the purchase and renovation of industrial buildings by the IDA, the provision of site subsidies and the penal taxation of derelict property. *op. cit.* pp. 4-9.

needs to be designated an education priority area and receive appropriate recognition in resource allocation. However, given the dispersal of responsibility for primary and post-primary education in these areas, some agency with executive responsibility should ensure that such developments actually occur. The role of AnCO in the inner city in the provision of a training centre, the establishment of workshops and the promotion of community youth projects should be strengthened particularly in relation to the youth projects. This could be done in conjunction with local groups which are already involved in this type of activity.

35. The Council believes that no single isolated policy measure will be sufficient to counter the serious problems which arise in the inner city. It is only by a concerted and comprehensive programme dealing with housing, employment, education, community development, land utilisation and transport as outlined above that the process of decline can be reversed.

The Urban Periphery

36. Whatever revitalisation of the inner city takes place, most of Dublin's expanding population will have to find homes in the outer suburbs or beyond in the immediate future. Many of the recommendations already made have particular relevance to the urban periphery, e.g. planning, housing, employment proposals.

37. Within the framework of the two-tier planning system, already outlined, the strategic plan would establish broad guidelines regarding land policy, land use planning, transportation and policies for the development of employment and social provision. The preparation of local plans would enable both incoming and established residents to have a greater say and involvement in the development and maintenance of their areas.

38. The consultants have referred to the inadequacies of the visual environment in the suburbs and the lack of co-ordination in the phasing of facilities. It is important that in suburban development the community approach be adopted. This implies the allocation of suitable

sites for educational and social needs, the provision of a hierarchy of roads, the elimination of through traffic, the provision of sites for employment, the generous provision of open spaces and the retention, where possible, of the dominant features of the landscape prior to development.

39. In regard to area improvement and the provision of community facilities the Council considers the work presently being carried out by the Community and Environment Department of Dublin Corporation in conjunction with many community associations to be of the utmost importance. It recommends that the role of this Department be further developed and expanded.

Conclusion

40. This study has examined the overall patterns of growth and decline and the spatial distribution of social and economic deprivation in Dublin. The most serious deprivation occurs in the inner city area and to a lesser extent in some of the local authority suburban housing estates. The Council believes that the problems highlighted in the study can only be solved by substantial changes in policy and that a comprehensive rather than a piecemeal approach is essential. It is in this context that a package of policy recommendations are made. This package offers a broad framework within which Dublin may develop in a more orderly manner, with greater opportunities for economic and social development.

41. There are two major institutional problems raised in the report—local government reform and land policy—which have been recognised, officially reported on and on which recommendations have been forwarded to the Government over the past decade. The problems isolated in these reports still remain as serious as ever. Indeed, with the rapid expansion of Dublin in the 1970s they have become more serious. The Council believes that it is time that decisions were taken on these two vital issues. Solutions, even if only partially successful, are preferable to the present situation. The recent decision favouring the establishment of a Dublin Transportation Authority should help solve some of the problems relating to transport. The other problems

isolated in the report, such as planning, housing, provision of community services, land acquisition and servicing, that can only be tackled at a regional or at least an inter-authority level, equally require inter-organisational solutions. Whether these are provided through the amalgamation of local authority structures, as proposed by the consultants or by some other means, some statutory arrangements seem to be essential if solutions are to be found.

42. It is not possible to estimate the total net cost involved in implementing the recommendations but the Council recognises that the resources needed would be substantial. It also recognises that the failure to take initiatives in the past was often due to lack of resources and that there is competition for limited resources. Latest available figures, for example, indicate that the all-in unit cost of dwellings for larger families in the inner city area is over £30,000 per unit. The Council also recognises, however, that some of the recommendations would lead to a certain saving, especially the recommendations regarding development land policy and the introduction of penal taxation on derelict property. The long-term benefits of effective educational, training, employment and community rehabilitation policies are equally difficult to estimate but are likely to be substantial. The concentration of problems in certain parts of the Dublin area is so great, however, that a failure to implement the recommendations will not only exacerbate the situation but will also mean that solutions will ultimately be even more costly.

PART II

URBANISATION: PROBLEMS OF GROWTH AND DECAY IN DUBLIN

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SUMMARY

Introduction

1. This report is concerned with problems of urban growth and change with particular reference to the Dublin agglomeration. The report is largely concerned with the physical and social consequences of rapid urban change and has implications for the development of cities and larger towns apart from Dublin. Sections one through five of the report deal with the summary and analysis of the major problems, especially those which are intensified through the spatial concentration of various aspects of deprivation. Section six examines the existing Frameworks and policies which have allowed the various problems to come into existence or to persist and goes on to develop an integrated set of proposals designed to counter the major physical and social problems identified in the study.

AN OVER-VIEW OF DUBLIN'S GROWTH AND EXPANSION

2. **Section One** provides an over-view of the extent of the population growth of the Dublin agglomeration—growth which appears likely to continue for the rest of this century. The report shows that this growth has been accompanied by a massive spread of the agglomeration into neighbouring municipalities as well as a redistribution of population within the built-up area. Continuous rapid growth of suburban areas has been accompanied by persistent population loss from the older areas. The rapid growth of the agglomeration also masks the serious social dichotomy and class divisions within the population which are spatially evident in major tracts of one class housing. Many of the social problems encountered in Dublin have their roots in centuries of deprivation and the legacy of such deprivation is manifest today in the multi-dimensional problems evident in the Inner City and the Local Authority housing districts. The problems of the Inner City are further exacerbated by the intense

competition for land use and the conflicting demands between nation-serving and local uses. Finally the section relates the form of Dublin's growth to models of urban development.

DUBLIN'S SOCIAL AREAS

3. **Section Two** seeks to divide the Dublin agglomeration into broadly homogeneous areas on the basis of a range of socio-economic and housing variables, thereby yielding broad areas with clearly identified characteristics amenable to policy prescription where necessary. Using 1971 Census material, the 193 urban wards were aggregated into six broad Social Areas, and twenty social Sub-Areas. Social Area One, "the Inner City", was shown to be an area of multidimensional deprivation while Social Area Two, "The Twilight Area", consisted mostly of early 20th century housing and had high proportions of old and widowed populations. This area is in a state of transition and could evolve as part of an even wider Inner City or it could become part of Social Area Three, "Flatland". Social Area Four consisted of the mature "Middle-class Suburbs" while Social Area Six identified the "New Middle Class Areas". Social Area Five, "the Local Authority Estates", mostly erected to house people from Social Area One also displayed in many wards considerable evidence of multiple deprivation. Each Social Area was further analysed in terms of component Sub-Areas.

This analysis pointed to the major concentration of problems in the Inner City and in many of the Local Authority housing areas while a visual survey showed that most of the new suburbs were deprived in terms of their poor physical environment. These three issues are examined in depth in Sections Three to Five.

DUBLIN'S INNER CITY IN THE 1970s

4. In **Section Three** the economic, social and physical problems of the Inner City are further analysed using detailed returns from the 1971 census and the results of a survey of households carried out in 1979. Both the 1971 and 1979 results indicated that the Inner City population had all the characteristics of a multifaceted deprivation problem and that the area had to be seen as a major problem area.

Population loss continued during the 1970s and the employed members of the population were increasingly dependent upon low income occupations, often in contracting industries. In many industries unemployment and/or retirement were commonplace, especially in the case of heads of households. Most of the Inner City households resided in rented accommodation—usually from the Local Authority—in multifamily dwellings that were seldom in "good" condition. The results show a population dominated by both the old and the young with a substantial degree of overcrowding, especially in the case of larger families. While the survey respondents had many grounds for dissatisfaction with their house and with their area, 70% had made no attempt to move elsewhere. Most praised the centrality and convenience of their location and the easy access it offered to a range of social and kinship ties; of the Corporation tenants wishing to leave the area, the primary motive was to obtain more suitable accommodation, while owner occupiers seeking to leave the Inner City were strongly motivated by its poor environmental quality. In the case of Corporation tenants especially, there was a desire for short distance relocations if at all. Residents of the Inner City expressed dislike of their area primarily because of vandalism, traffic noise, lack of amenities for children and the run-down appearance of the area.

Competition for land uses in the area was seen to be intense and in the absence of controls on land values, the provision of land for housing or social needs was both difficult and expensive. The problems of residents were further compounded by the effects of large scale commuter traffic creating as it did traffic hazards and generating widespread environmental blight.

The Dublin inner city represents a complex and intractable multidimensional problem whose roots lie in the nature of the wider national economic and social systems but whose consequences are felt intensely by the residents of the area.

THE LOCAL AUTHORITY ESTATES IN THE 1970s

5. **Section Four** deals in some depth with the social and physical problems of selected Local Authority estates. The survey of conditions in these areas shows that little had changed since 1971. Almost all of these areas manifested a large youthful population living in

overcrowded conditions and having a relatively low level of participation in higher education. Unemployment rates are high and most of the working population are dependent upon less remunerative occupations—a situation resembling that in the Inner City.

The household survey showed that despite dissatisfaction with their house and complaints about their area, most respondents wished to remain in their area and had an extensive network of social contacts there; nevertheless they wish to see the area improved and most desired more adequate housing which better matched their family size and needs. The survey results do show that older estates have "settled" but the housing problem is most acute in such areas due to the presence of teenage populations. Newer areas are less settled, less complete, show a high desire for housing turnover and present little evidence of consumer satisfaction. They also exhibit additional social problems such as a high incidence of one-parent families. Like the inhabitants of the Inner City, the suburban residents covered by this investigation are seen to have a quite separate existence from the more affluent middle classes. Income sources seem to be both inadequate and often irregular and many would appear to live within or near the poverty line.

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY IN THE SUBURBS

6. **Section Five** examines some theoretical aspects of the socio-psychological consequences of environmental quality; the Section also examines the results of surveys of new Dublin suburban parishes in terms of scale and speed of development, variety of housing tenures and house types, arrangement of layout, provision of facilities and, in particular, the provision and development of open space and recreational facilities.

The results of the surveys, and supplementary material, show that while Local Authority estates have little variety in house types they are better laid out in relation to existing or future land use provisions than many private developments. Many of the private developments exhibit evidence of a lack of co-ordination. In both new public and private developments the results show particular problems with the phasing of facilities provided by the private sector (e.g. shops) or of facilities outside the control of the Local Authorities (e.g. public transport). In

most new estates, public and private, the available open space has been inadequately developed and little geared to the recreational requirements of the residents. One hopeful sign for Dublin was the contrast between the structure planning—and follow up local planning—evident in Corduff (Blanchardstown) and so evidently lacking in the majority of suburban developments, particularly on the North side. At the present time many of these areas present a severe landscape and a bleak environment in which to rear families.

POLICIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Policy Context

7. As a prelude to policy formulation, **Section Six** of the report examines three inter related aspects of deprivation—physical, economic and social. Policies to alleviate or remove physical deprivation are broadly in the planning and housing arenas while policies to solve the economic aspects of deprivation have usually been concerned with employment expansion, job training and work experience programmes. The social aspects of deprivation relate to education, health, welfare and associated policies. Recommendations and policy proposals are formulated with respect of each of these three dimensions of deprivation within an economic context that allows for the possibility of increased levels of unemployment, increased leisure time needs and the need to redistribute wealth by means other than employment. The context within which proposals are developed places considerable attention on building rehabilitation, preservation of community ties and neighbourhood protection. Having formulated policies to cope with the various aspects of deprivation, the report sets out a balanced set of proposals to counter the decline of inner city areas and create more satisfying and stimulating suburban environments.

Administrative Frameworks

8. The existing fragmentation of local authorities in the Dublin agglomeration makes it difficult to promote the orderly development of the area. At the same time, existing frameworks suffer the double disadvantage of being too large to be sensitive to people's needs and yet too small to counter the centralising tendencies which increasingly

lead to decisions being taken by Central Government rather than the Local Authorities. The report therefore recommends that a Greater Dublin Council should be established with control over all development within the Dublin sub-region and the adjacent urbanising areas in North Wicklow, East Kildare, South Meath and, perhaps, South Louth.

Such a Greater Dublin Council could be expected to carry out the normal range of Local Authority functions for its area and even to delegate functions to District or Local Councils where desirable. Strategic Planning would be a major function of the Council.

Planning Policy: Strategic Plans

9. In order that there be a closer connection between plan-making and implementation and also a greater level of public involvement in the process, this report recommends that the Greater Dublin Council should operate a two-tier planning procedure—Strategic and Local Planning. It is proposed that the strategic plan for the Greater Dublin Area should be prepared under the direction of a Planning Committee representative of all major investors in the area, including the Departments of Finance, Posts and Telegraphs and Environment, CIE, the IDA, the ESB, the Port and Docks Board, the Greater Dublin Authority itself as well as other relevant agencies. It is envisaged that the Strategic Planning process which would lay out the broad context for development, would involve the maximum possible level of citizen participation and that the plan would be approved by the Minister for the Environment after a full "enquiry in public". It is envisaged that this process of plan-making would be ongoing and continuous.

Planning Policy: Local Plans

10. Within the context of an approved strategic plan, the report recommends that local plans be prepared for community and neighbourhood areas. Such plans should be prepared within the area concerned by the residents themselves, their advisers and with the help of Local Authority staff. It is envisaged that the local plan-making process would entail the full participation of the people at every level and draw heavily upon the resources of local areas. While it is outside the scope of this report to define Local Districts, it is suggested that they might be related to the territory served by a Community Council or a group of Community Councils.

The new framework of strategic and local plans is viewed as a prerequisite for the solution of housing and economic or social problems.

Accelerated Housing Programme

11. Many of the problems uncovered in this report arise either from the inadequate supply of housing or the unsuitability of the existing stock to meet the needs of the population. An accelerated housing programme is called for to cope with problems of obsolescence and existing over-crowding as well as future demand.

In addition to the need for more dwelling units, there is also evidence that dwellings are not being made available where they are needed, thus further reducing the choice of housing available. In order to overcome the mis-match between housing location and the pattern of demand, the report recommends that the individual dwelling focus of housing policy be complemented by a spatial focus that has greater regard for where people wish to live and provide them with a range of house sizes related to their needs.

Wider Range of Housing for the Deprived

12. In addition to an increased volume of public housing construction, the report encourages the Government and housing agencies to promote the use of the widest possible range of sources of finance for housing construction, including those of the community and housing co-operatives and the fostering of housing associations.

The number of dwellings and the range of available locations for low-income housing would be greatly increased if the Government were to cease the current policy of selling off Local Authority housing, whereby the number of public authority dwellings is being rapidly depleted and rented accommodation left available only in flats or in the new peripheral developments. It is recommended that rather than selling off the public housing stock, policies should be more effectively directed towards attracting more Local Authority tenants into the private sector housing market.

Allied to these policies the report calls for the termination of the "open areas" policy on both physical and social grounds. It also recommends that Local Authority housing should be provided in smaller estates, having greater inter-mixture with private developments and conforming to Local Planning requirements.

The Private Rented Sector

13. The report notes the importance of the private rented unfurnished housing sector and discusses the dilemma of ensuring a fair return to owners while ensuring the tenants fixity of tenure at fair rents. The report sees a need for incentive schemes to foster the improvement of buildings in the rented sector and favours a policy of decontrol with incentives for the owners and protection for tenants through minimum period leases and the introduction of rent allowance schemes. However, the whole issue of the private rented sector is of wider importance and in need of further in-depth investigation having regard to the legal issues involved, the social needs of residents and the need to improve the physical fabric of the buildings in question.

Housing Rehabilitation

14. This report documents the inadequate nature of grants for dwelling repair and rehabilitation, in consequence of which too much emphasis has been placed upon site redevelopment, including as it does social and community disruption. On economic, social and environmental grounds the report calls for greater attention to be devoted to the question of housing rehabilitation in preference to redevelopment. Greater measures should be allocated for rehabilitation which should be carried out within a framework of Local Plans.

Where buildings have proved socially unsuitable but are still in sound physical condition (e.g. many blocks of flats in Inner City) the report proposes that within the context of Local plans and Area Improvements the Greater Dublin Council should explore the possibility of rehabilitation followed by sale to the private sector as a means of increasing the social mix of population.

Employment and Related Policies

15. The report welcomes the increased attention being given to the Dublin area by the Industrial Development Authority and expresses the hope that this attention will be sustained in the future. However, the report cautions against undue optimism on job-creation having regard to longer term external conditions and trends. The report sees a need to invest heavily in retraining programmes designed to help both young and middle aged people to meet the challenge of technological change.

The report makes a number of specific proposals for creating a more efficient labour market.

As well as employment expansion programmes, the report considers the possibility that policy-makers may have to take steps to reduce the numbers in the labour-force since the prospect of high rates of unemployment in the long term are a possibility.

Both in terms of its employment potential and its multiplier effects, the Report welcomes the growing attention to small industries and small firms in general.

Redirection of Social Policies

16. In the areas of social policy—education, health, policing and welfare, this report favours a Community Development approach in which people are encouraged to maximise their potential and to develop institutions, facilities and procedures through which to help themselves and channel assistance from outside agencies. In health and justice, the report sees a need to expand a community care approach. In relation to education the report calls for a comprehensive programme to help alleviate the problems of deprivation. This report encourages the establishment of educational priority areas, designed to discriminate in favour of the disadvantaged areas, and of having an intensive programme of community based education involving more pre-school programmes, vastly improved levels of teaching and pupil/teacher ratios in primary schools, the continued expansion of "literacy" and other basic courses as well as greater priority for deprived areas in the establishment of AnCO workshops and training centres.

Since lack of education is a major cause of deprivation, educational policy needs to receive a greatly increased level of investment in the deprived areas.

The Future Development of the Inner City

17. The policy proposals already outlined are designed to counter the major causes of deprivation throughout the urban area, including the Inner City. However, in view of the intractable nature and persistence of inner city deprivation subsections 6.5.1 to 6.5.15 put forward an integrated package of proposals designed to promote the efficient operation of city centre business while providing a satisfactory

environment for a wide range of inner city residents. The main ingredients of the recommendations on the Inner City include:

Planning for a more compact city centre (6.5.2)

More strict land zoning to counter commercial invasion and greater public ownership of land especially along the commercial-residential interface (6.5.4)

A major shift away from private transport in the centre (6.5.5)

Good quality design, good building materials and good manners in architecture (6.5.6)

The creation of an attractive city centre (6.5.7)

The expansion of the size and social mix of inner city population (6.5.8)

Progressive renewal instead of housing clearance policies (6.5.10)

The provision of a wide range of inner city housing (6.5.9)

Provision of more land for industry (6.5.12)

Reservation of new inner city industrial jobs for local residents (6.5.12)

Priority education policies involving school, home and community (6.5.13)

Increased attention to crime prevention including greater involvement of the police in the community (6.5.10)

The creation of an Inner City Fund supported by local business, the Government and the European Community (6.5.15)

The Peripheral Areas

18. The main ingredients of a comprehensive approach to the development problems on the urban periphery should include:

The implementation of a Local Plan approach (6.6.3)

Greater attention to good design and the creation of a stimulating environment (6.6.3)

Measures to ensure the prompt delivery of economic and social services on a planned basis (6.6.4)

Involvement of Local Authority in the development of neighbourhood shopping (6.6.4)

Creation of more local employment (6.6.5)

Community oriented educational development (6.6.5)

Housing designed in relation to family needs (6.6.6)

Greater intermix of public and private housing (6.6.6)

Increased attention to tree planting and landscaping (6.6.4)

Many aspects of efficient and orderly suburban development, particularly the provision of social facilities, may depend upon more extensive programmes of public land ownership which may require improvements in the procedures for the public acquisition of development land (6.6.7)

CONCLUSION

19. By definition this report has been concerned with the more negative attributes of Dublin's recent development; however, the scale of physical dereliction and human deprivation in Dublin remains a major concern not only to those directly concerned but to the population as a whole. It is hoped that this report will lay the basis for a more orderly and socially desirable type of development in Dublin and elsewhere to the ultimate benefit of the whole population.

INTRODUCTION

This study was commissioned by the Social Policy Committee of NESC in June 1978. Its terms of reference required the Consultants to examine the problems of change in Irish urban areas with particular reference to the problem both of growth and decline in and around Dublin. In practice most of the research, surveys and support material used in the report have been Dublin based but, in almost all cases, it must be stressed that the findings and policy implications have a wider relevance to other Irish cities and even to smaller towns. In general the scope of the research and analysis is limited by the scope and availability of Census variables. The Study consists of six sections.

Section I examines the growth of Dublin, the spatial patterning of its growth, and the relationship to models or statements of urban growth. In particular this Section looks at the perpetuation of the "two Dublins" and its spatial pattern.

Section II of the study reports on an analysis of the social patterning of Dublin's population which groups the 196 wards of the built-up area into six broad Social Areas on the basis of their 1971 social, economic and physical characteristics as determined from Census variables. The six Social Areas are further analysed in terms of component social sub-Areas.

Section III taking the area identified as "inner city" in Section II, reports on a detailed investigation of household and socio-economic circumstances as revealed in an interview survey in early 1979 and compares these findings with 1971 data. This Section also looks at the changing economic base of the central city and the implications of these changes especially for people living in areas of "twilightism".

Section IV provides a profile of Local Authority housing estates as of 1979. The Section deals with family circumstances, housing,

environment and employment and compares the 1979 results with 1971 Census data.

Section V looks at environmental conditions and physical planning achievements in new peripheral estates—both private and Local Authority.

Section VI presents a summary of the findings and the recommendations for future development. These recommendations bear on the future for form of the city as a whole and its constituent parts while other recommendations relate directly to the problem of the relatively deprived population concentrated in the Inner City and the Local Authority housing estates.

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SECTION I

THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF DUBLIN

"The whole world was civilised; the whole world dwelt in cities; the whole world was property".

Wells, 1906.

1.1 Introduction

Though the term urbanisation may be variously defined, throughout this report the term "urbanisation" relates to the proportion of the total population concentrated in urban settlements or else to a rise in that proportion.¹ In the case of Ireland the term "urban" is usually applied to population clusters of 1,500 population or over, while a "census town" refers to any cluster of fifty or more occupied houses.

Over the period 1921-71 there has been a consistent decline in the aggregate rural population while the aggregate urban population has increased continuously. The reasons for these changes in the distribution of population are complex and interactive. Over-population,² low standards of living, limited social opportunities and inadequate sources of non-farm employment in rural areas have traditionally encouraged people to migrate. The search for higher incomes, better standards of living, fulfilment of occupational aspirations, as well as the quest for a diversity of social opportunities, have all combined to attract migrants into large urban areas, already expanding through natural increase.³ These factors led people from the rural areas to large urban centres both in Ireland and abroad. While

¹This definition derives from Kingsley Davis, "The Urbanisation of the Human Population", *Scientific American*, Vol. 213, No. 3, 1965, p. 41.

²Judged in relation to resources rather than absolute density of population.

³The importance of occupational aspirations in the migration decision was borne out in D. Hannan, *Rural Exodus*, Chapman, London, 1970, 348 pages. Several subsequent studies, including the *Labour Availability Reports* of the National Manpower Service, detail the desire for urban occupations, often entailing migration in search of such work.

there was indeed emigration from urban areas in Ireland, these areas did grow in consequence of their ability to retain some of their own natural increase and in-migrating population. Initially jobs in goods production and distribution offered the main source of urban employment; the rapid growth of the "information industry",⁴ with its increasing demands for specialised white-collar employment, provides the major source of urban employment today,⁵ this demand being largely centralised in the Dublin area. The importance of information related employment within most sectors of the Irish economy is clearly demonstrated in Table I for the 1961-71 period. *The trend towards a dominance of white-collar employment has continued since 1971.*⁶ *Not only have those trends led to increased urbanisation—they have tended to concentrate much of the growth in and around Dublin.*

1.2 Urbanisation Trends in Ireland

In 1926 959,000 persons or 32.3% of the total population resided in urban areas. By 1971 the aggregate urban population had increased to 1,556,000 or 52.3% of the total population. By 1971 the urban proportion of the population exceeded the rural component for the first time. However, the process of urbanisation did not uniformly affect all regions nor was it spread evenly across different town size groups. Table 2 implies that between 1956 and 1971 rural areas and towns of under 3,000 population accounted for a declining share of total population.⁷ All groups of towns over 3,000 population grew in

⁴Jobs in the "information industry" are drawn from all economic sectors and include workers in Communications, Insurance, Finance, the Professions, Administration, and clerical occupations.

⁵M. J. Bannon and J. G. Eustace, *The Role of the Tertiary Sector in Regional Policy: Ireland*, EEC, 1978, 96 pages. In this respect Ireland is conforming to a pattern of labour specialisation which is most highly developed in the US—see *The Information Economy, Definition and Measurement*, Dept. of Commerce, Washington, 1977, 2 volumes.

⁶In the period 1971 to 1977 the number of persons gainfully occupied declined, but employment in Professional Services increased by 25,385. Administrative occupations increased by 9,384 and clerical occupations grew by 8,586. Within industry employment growth was largely confined to highly skilled occupations in the electrical and engineering industries; Source: *Census of Population, 1971*, Vol. IV and *EEC Labour Force Survey, 1977*, p. 15. The social consequences of these trends are detailed in respect of the UK in P. Townsend, "Inequality at the Workplace: How The White-Collar Always Wins", *New Society*, 18 September, pp. 120-123.

⁷M. J. Bannon "Processes and Patterns of Urbanisation in Ireland", *Geographia Polonica*, Vol. 39, 1978, pp. 91-107.

TABLE 1
Change of White-Collar Employment by Branch of Economic Activity, 1961-1971

Sectors and Subsectors	Total Employment		Total White-Collar Occs.		White-Collar occupations as percentage of total employment	
	% Change		% Change			
	Number	1971	1961-71	Number	1961-71	
Agriculture	1961	1971	1961-71	1961	1971	1961-71
Industry	379,491	273,079	-31.3	765	1,046	+36.7
Insurance, Banking and Business Services	257,158	322,749	+25.5	35,351	51,049	+44.4
Commerce	16,396	23,992	+46.3	15,250	22,464	+47.3
Transport and Communications	142,695	148,286	+3.9	108,732	109,722	+0.9
Public Administration & Defence	54,167	60,122	+11.0	11,879	14,285	+20.3
Professional Services	40,580	48,869	+20.4	17,437	22,738	+30.4
Recreational Services	85,913	109,078	+27.0	71,079	91,109	+28.2
Personal Services	10,986	10,851	-1.2	6,459	6,333	-2.0
Other Services	63,314	54,441	-14.0	4,256	6,845	+60.8
Tertiary Sector	2,539	3,372	+32.8	1,064	2,007	+88.6
Total All Industries	415,870	459,011	+10.4	236,156	275,503	+16.7
	1,052,539	1,054,839		272,272	327,598	+20.3

Source: *Census of Population* Vol. III, Tables 7A & 7B, Stationery Office, Dublin, 1966 and 1971, adjusted. Figures for white-collar employment include Commerce, Professional, Clerical and Administration workers actually employed.

cumulative population between 1956 and 1971. The growth of urban population from 1956 to 1971 was 283,335; however, the growth of the Dublin area (allowing for Boundary changes) was 202,881 over the same period. Since urban growth was largely confined to Dublin, many regions such as Donegal, the Midlands and the West and North West had less than 30% of their total population urbanised in 1971.⁹ On the other hand the population of the East region has increased consistently from 684,000 in 1926 to 1,254,000 in 1979. *The East region's share of total population has grown from 23.0% in 1926 to 37.3% in 1979; some 83.7% of the increase in the region took place within the Dublin sub-region.* As Ireland became more urbanised, the East region and the Dublin Sub-region accounted for an increasing share of the total urban population, Fig. 1(a) and employment Fig. 1(b).

1.3 The Growth and Spread of Dublin

Though Dublin's origins predate the coming of the Vikings in the 9th century, growth and expansion begins in earnest in the mid-17th century. From a population of only 9,000 in 1659 the city grew to about 80,000 in 1700.⁹ During most of the 18th century the city grew rapidly and took on the elegance and splendour befitting a capital city.¹⁰ Despite the economic vicissitudes of the 19th century, and the disastrous consequences of the Union for Dublin, the city continued to grow and by 1911 it had a population of 398,000 (inclusive of adjacent urban districts).

Up to the mid-19th century the built-up area of the city remained small and compact and largely confined within the area enclosed by the Royal and Grand canals. The advent of the railway, the development of omnibus services and the construction of harbours at Howth and Dún Laoghaire, coupled with the growth of amenity consciousness amongst an emerging middle-class, encouraged and facilitated the outward spread of the city, especially to the South. This process of outward

⁹Walsh suggests that important changes may have occurred in the pattern and size-distribution of urban population since 1971—see B. Walsh, "National and Regional Demographic Trends", *Administration*, Vol. 26, 1978, pp. 162-179—a trend borne out by *Census of Population, 1979*, Prel. Results, Table 2.

¹⁰For a discussion of the reliability of early estimates of Dublin's population see: R. A. Butlin, "The Population of Dublin in the Late Seventeenth Century", *Irish Geography* Vol. v, No. 2, 1965, pp. 51-66.

¹¹Constantia Maxwell, *Dublin under the Georges, 1714-1830*, Hodges Figgis & Co., Dublin, 1946, 331 pages.

TABLE 2

Size of centre	Population by size of urban place												% of total population in groups in 1971
	1956		1961		1966		1971		% change in cumulative population of each group				
	No. of towns	Population	No. of towns	Population	No. of towns	Population	No. of towns	Population					
200-499	261	80,648	255	78,709	256	78,296	199	63,988	-20.7	2.1			
500-1,499	154	129,816	158	131,122	157	131,432	152	129,348	-0.4	4.3			
1,500-2,999	47	104,735	48	104,333	48	107,298	41	89,480	-14.6	3.0			
3,000-4,999	23	90,927	21	84,139	22	88,743	24	91,122	+0.2	3.1			
5,000-9,999	17	105,285	17	106,311	19	122,884	22	139,080	+32.1	4.7			
10,000-150,000	14	340,781	14	336,741	14	365,374	16	419,894	+23.2	14.1			
Dublin area	1	649,338	1	663,389	1	734,967	1	852,219	+31.2	28.7			
Rural areas	—	1,396,708	—	1,309,363	—	1,255,210	—	1,193,357	-14.6	40.0			
Total population	—	2,898,264	—	2,818,341	—	2,884,002	—	2,978,248	+2.8	—			
% Rural	—	48.2%	—	46.6%	—	43.5%	—	40.0%	—	—			
% in towns over 200	—	51.8%	—	53.4%	—	56.6%	—	60.0%	—	—			

Source: *Census of Population*, Dublin Stationery Office 1956-71. Up to 1971 Dublin is inclusive of suburbs and Dún Laoghaire. The total for 1971 is that for the sub-region, including Dublin City, Dún Laoghaire and County Dublin. In this Table the statistics allow both for changes in boundaries and definitional changes by the CSO. All towns size groups appear to have grown since 1971. See H. Harner and S. Deulitrey, "Recent Population Changes in the Republic of Ireland", *Area*, Vol. 12, 1980, p. 133.

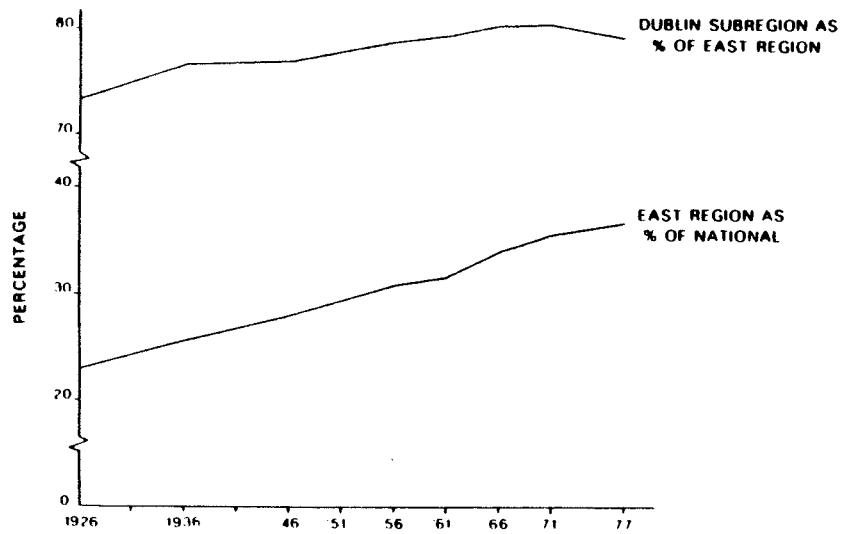


Fig 1 (a) Population Change, 1926-1977

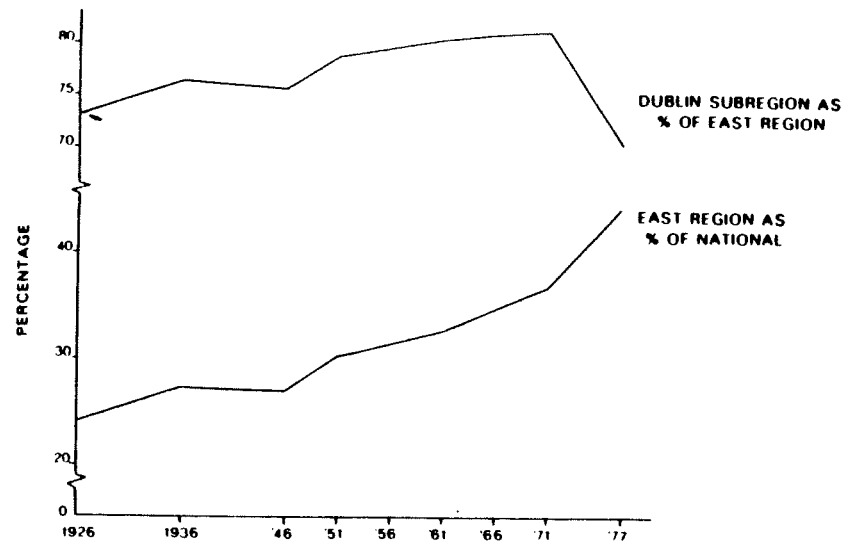


Fig 1 (b) Employment Change, 1926-1977

spread was made all the more easy with the advent of electrified trams in 1896 and major expansions to the Dublin drainage system.

By 1926 the population of the city and suburbs had reached 419,000; by 1961 it was 665,556 and it grew by a further 10.4% to reach 735,000 by 1966. A growth of 5.9% between 1966 and 1971 brought the city and suburbs to 778,000 while the Dublin sub-region reached 852,000.¹¹ By 1979 the population of the sub-Region was 983,000, an increase of 15.3% in the 1971-79 period. The spatial pattern of growth can be seen in Figure 2.

*The doubling of population in the City and suburbs and in the sub-region resulted in a massive expansion of the land area of the physical city. The extent of the built-up area was approximately 7,000 hectares in 1946; by 1973 it had reached 16,000 hectares and continues to expand by at least 1,000 acres per annum.*¹²

1.4 The Changing Pattern of Dublin's Population

As indicated in Section 1.3, the growth of the city's population has entailed its outward spread. Outward spread has also been required to accommodate population relocating from the overcrowded parts of the city. Up to the mid-19th century Dublin had largely been confined within the canal ring—an area encompassing fourteen city wards which reached its population zenith of 268,851 in 1926. In 1926 these wards of the historic city accounted for 84.9% of the total population of the city. This area began to lose population after 1926 and by 1936 its population had declined marginally. Between 1936 and 1951 the population of these fourteen wards fell by 17.5% and decline in all the wards between 1957 and 1961 further reduced the area's population by 27.4%.¹³ In the 1961-71 decade these wards all suffered population loss with some wards declining by 45.0% during the decade. *The 1971 population of 132,231 was just under half of the area's population in 1926* and by 1971 the population of these historic wards accounted for only 17.9% of the population of the city and suburbs and for only 15.5% of the sub-region's population.

A process of population dislocation, resulting initially in population

¹¹Dublin subregion defined to include Dublin City, Dún Laoghaire and Dublin County.

¹²See M. J. Bannon, "Urban Land", *Land Use and Resources of Ireland*, D. Gilmore (editor), I.P.A., Dublin, 1979, pp. 250-269.

¹³D. Larkin, *The Decline of the Residential Function in the Inner City*, Diploma Dissertation, Dept. of Town Planning, UCD, 1977, 77 pages.

declines in the Mansion House and Royal Exchange wards had quickly spread to all wards inside the Canal ring by 1951. By 1961 the process of displacement and decline had spread beyond the Canal ring to affect the suburban areas of Cabra, Clontarf, Drumcondra, Glasnevin, Phoenix, Kilmainham, Crumlin, Kimmage and Pembroke. Some of these areas included the new suburbs erected in the 1920s to house persons moved out from within the canal ring.¹⁴ While the pattern of population loss was less intense and less widespread in the 1961-66 quinquennium, the results of the Census of Population 1971 show that *between 1966 and 1971, population loss was widespread in both Dublin City and Dún Laoghaire (Figure 3).*¹⁵ Many wards lost in excess of 10% of their population in the five years and only those wards on the perimeter of the built-up area experienced growth in this period. Older suburbs such as Clontarf, Drumcondra, Glasnevin and Crumlin lost population again as did the newer suburbs of Santry, West Cabra, Ballyfermot, Rathfarnham and Terenure. Many of the expanding wards were situated in Dublin County.¹⁶

The results of the 1979 Census of Population show an intensification of past trends. Indications are that, in general, the earlier pattern of decline has persisted. Though it is hazardous to compare the 1971 Census and the Labour Force surveys, the figures in the latter suggest that the population of both the City and Suburbs, as defined in 1971, declined by 0.6% between 1971 and 1975 but that this decline was reversed between 1975 and 1977. The *Census of Population 1979 (Prel.)* shows that the population of the Co. Borough declined. *Population growth is now taking place on the perimeter of the built-up area and in the towns and rural countryside within commuting distance from the city centre.* Personal mobility enables people to reside farther from their work place and at dispersed locations where they can enjoy

¹⁴For an overview of the development of some of these suburbs within the context of housing policy see: Maurice Craft, "The Development of Dublin: The Southern Suburbs", *Studies*, Spring, 1971, pp. 68-80.

¹⁵The loss of population from older parts of the city can be seen also in the case of Limerick, Cork, Waterford and Galway. It may be explained in terms of out migration, stage in family life-cycle or through the contraction of the number of households in an area.

¹⁶Johnson carried out a detailed analysis of population changes in city wards between 1961 and 1966. She divided the city into four zones on the basis of demographic characteristics and each is analysed in detail. See: N. Johnson, "Migration Patterns in Dublin Co. Borough", *Economic and Social Review*, Vol. v, No. 2, 1974, pp. 229-261.

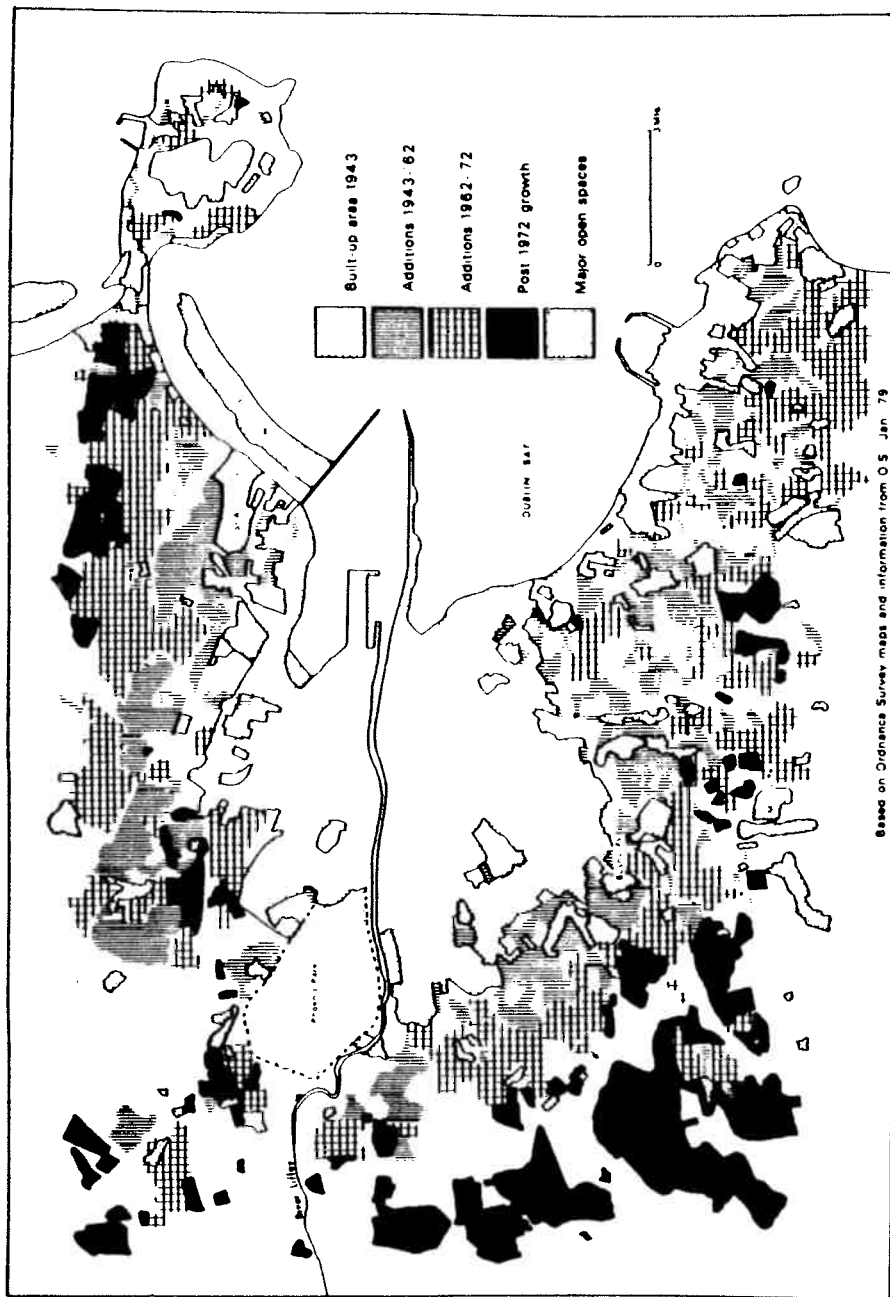


Fig. 2 The Growth of Dublin.

the perceived amenities of essentially rural areas. Figure 4 shows the pattern of population growth throughout the Dublin commuting zone from 1966 to 1971. Apart from the rapidly growing D.E.D.s adjacent to the city, growth extended outwards along the radial routes towards Drogheda, Navan, Trim, Kilcock, Clane, Newbridge, Blessington and Wicklow. This process of dispersal, facilitated by increasing car ownership, has intensified since 1971 both as a result of sizeable developments in the towns and villages and "one off" housing throughout the rural part of the area. A visual survey reveals the prevalence of this type of development on both radial and circumferential routes within the commuting zone.¹⁷ Rather than being viewed as an element in the organised spatial patterning of Dublin, these developments are all too often viewed by Planning Authorities as "extraneous pressures out of all proportion to the capacity or natural scale of growth of small rural centres". Clearly, Dublin's expansion is now of regional concern and must be viewed in regional rather than local terms.

From Figure 4 and some related sources of evidence¹⁸ it is possible to define the Dublin Metropolitan Labour Area¹⁹ (i.e. the commuting or functionally interrelated zone) to include Wicklow, Blessington, Naas, Celbridge, Maynooth, Dunshaughlin, Ashbourne and Drogheda. Thus, if Dublin is viewed not merely as a contiguous built-up area but as a more diffuse and functionally interdependent system, then the population decline of the Core and the growth of the Rings parallels developments observed in British Cities over the same period.²⁰ *The*

¹⁷The aggregate County figures in the *Preliminary Census of Population 1979* imply an intensification of Dublin's outward spread into Kildare, Wicklow and Meath. For an analysis of aspects of the 1979 preliminary results. See B. M. Walsh, "Some Implications of the Preliminary Results of the Census of Population 1979", paper read to Irish Institute of Planners, October 1979, 12 pages.

¹⁸Surveys carried out for project work with Town Planning Dept., UCD and statistics on rail commuting from Drogheda and Wicklow. "City Suburb and rural area are now incorporated within the urban process" says D. Harvey *Social Justice and the City*, London, 1973, p. 308.

¹⁹The Metropolitan Economic Labour Areas of British Cities have been defined on the basis of evidence of commuting by P. Hall, *The Containment of Urban England*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1973, Vol. 1, pp. 127-8.

²⁰R. Drewett, J. B. Goddard and N. Spence, *British Cities: Urban Population and Employment Trends, 1951-71*, Research Paper No. 10, D.O.E., London, 1976, 69 pages. This report documents the process of population and employment decentralisation from the Cores of British cities into the Inner Ring in the 1950s and the Outer Ring in the 1960s—the M.E.L.A.

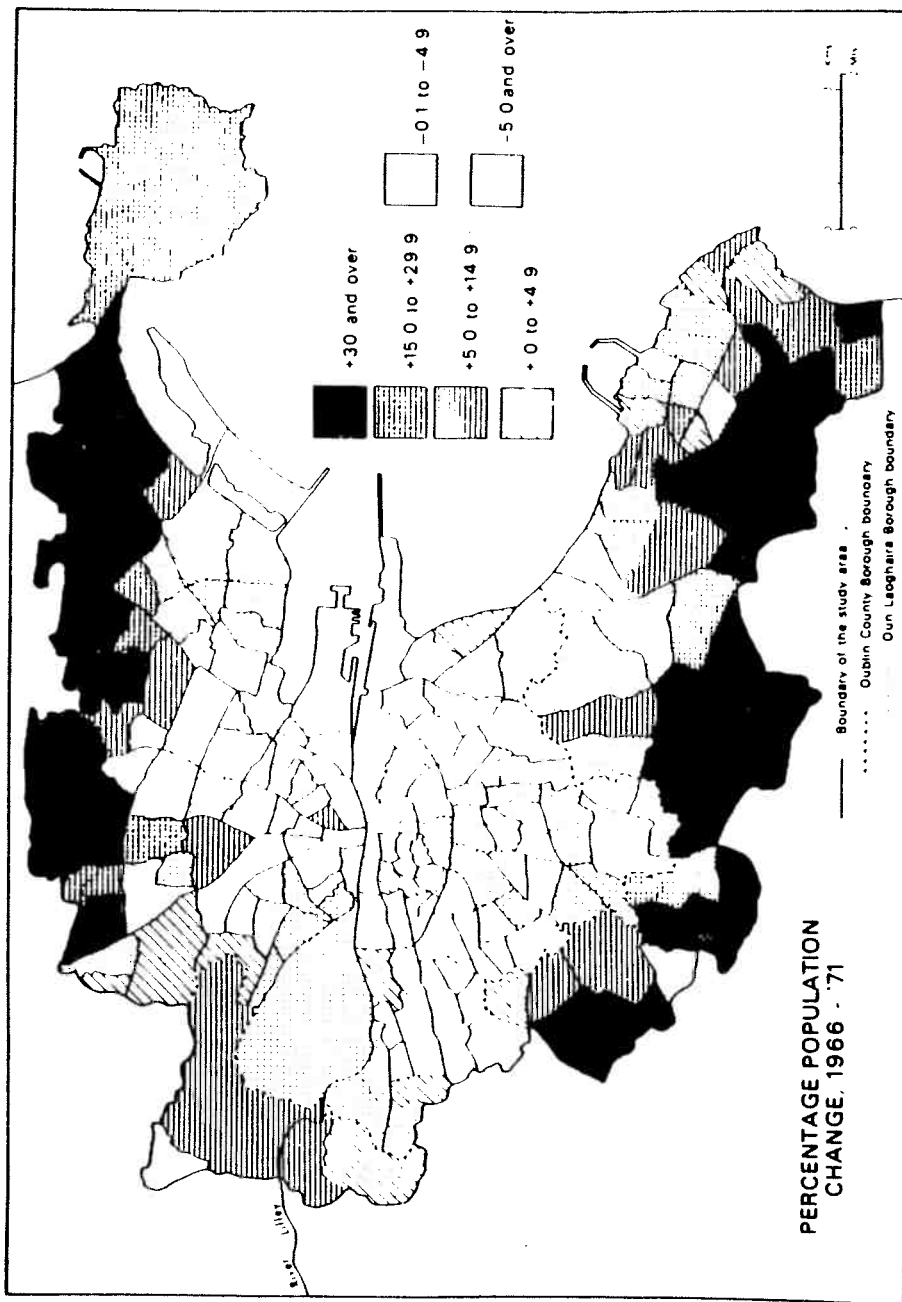


Fig. 3. Population Change in Dublin 1966-1971.

Dublin Metropolitan Labour Area²¹ can be regarded as a functionally interrelated unit in which population displacement at the core has been more than offset by population growth of both a continuous and discontinuous nature, leading towards a hoped-for situation where "beautiful forms of urban life blend almost imperceptibly into beautiful forms of rural life" (Fogelson, 1967).

1.5 Future Population and Employment: Dublin

The common characteristic of most projections for the Dublin Sub-region and the East region lies in their under-estimating the likely scale of future growth²² as well as a failure to clearly identify the causes behind the continued growth of Dublin. In the light of the evidence in Section 1.4 it is also likely that further growth may be less concentrated within the Dublin sub-region than had been anticipated. Fig. 1(a).

Local planning targets and Regional Policy objectives subsequent to the Buchanan Report²³ have sought to plan for the Dublin Sub-Region on the assumption that it would grow by natural increase only. These assumptions were quite unrealistic given that in 1970-71 net immigration to the region was running at 15,000 with 11,400 to the Dublin Sub-Region. The absence of comprehensive measures to implement the declared regional policy of 1972, coupled with the lack of an urban policy have resulted in continued immigration both to the East Region and to Dublin. Table 3 sets out the present population and

²¹O'Farrell used a combination of whole rural districts to make up the Greater Dublin Area. The use of Rural Districts resulted in the inclusion of extensive parts of Co. Wicklow which had been losing population and which are quite inaccessible to Dublin on a daily basis. Likewise overly large tracts of Co. Kildare were included as was the discontinuous settlement of Trim. Parts of Co. Dublin experiencing population loss up to 1971 are included but Drogheda is omitted. See P. N. O'Farrell "Regional Planning Policy—Some Major Issues", *Administration*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1978, footnote 6, p. 161. See also, NESR Report No. 45, p. 31.

²²In the Advisory Regional Plan and Final Report for the Dublin Region (1967) Wright forecast that the region's population would grow by 300,000 to over 1,200,000 by 1985. By 1979 the region has already exceeded that 1985 forecast. The 1979 populations for the Dublin Sub-region and the East region were 983,000 and 1,254,031 respectively (Census of Population, 1979 Prel.)

²³Regional Studies in Ireland, Dublin 1969 which suggested a 1986 population of 1,125,000 for the Dublin sub-region while the 1972 Review of Regional Policy accepted a 1991 figure of 1,125-1,200,000. The 1971 Census data on migration was not published until 1978, however.

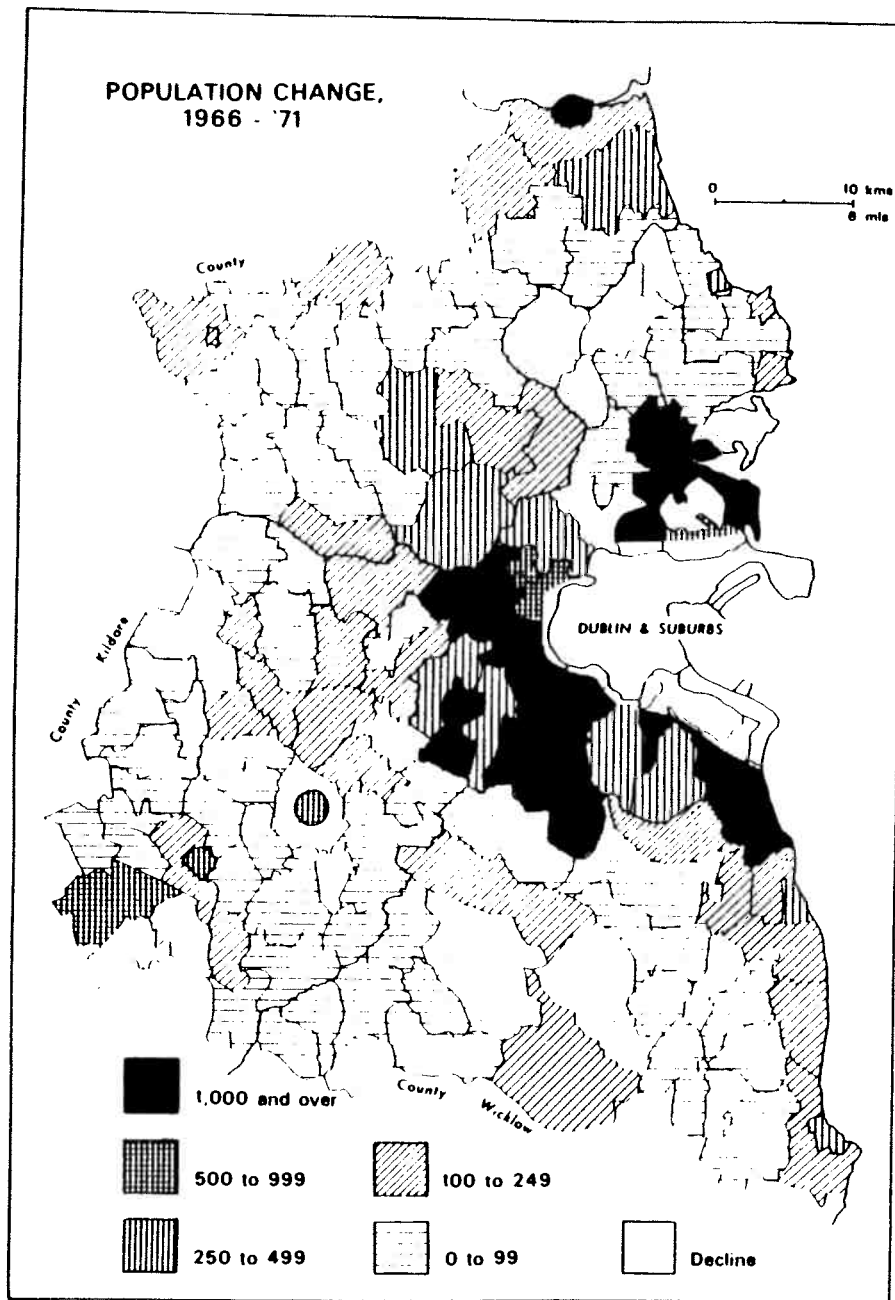


Fig. 4. Population Change in Greater Dublin Area 1966-1971.

TABLE 3

Present and Future Population and Employment/Labour Force

Year	The East Region		The Dublin Sub-Region	
	Population	Employment/ Labour Force	Population	Employment/ Labour Force
1961	906,000	361,100	718,000	289,200
1971	1,062,000	408,600	852,000	330,400
1977	1,178,000	406,200	936,000	327,600
1991(a)	1,444,000	567,000	1,150,000	460,300
1991(b)	1,807,000	688,000	1,510,000	557,000

(a) Assumes no net immigration after 1971.

(b) These projections were based upon high rates on annual average immigration to the Region (26,000) with 99.0% going to the sub-region.

Sources: *Census of Population, EEC Labour-Force Surveys & E.R.D.O. Report on Planning Issues in the East Region.*

labour force situation as well as the future possible range for both. A failure to limit immigration to Dublin through the development of a national urban policy would result in a doubling of the 1961 population by 1991, assuming nil emigration.

Comparison of the EEC Labour Force Survey results (1977) for the region with projected estimates of natural increase population suggests that net immigration to the region has been about 2,250 per annum between 1971 and 1977; in the case of the sub-region the figure would be less than 1,000 per annum suggesting a marked decline in immigration since 1971 and also indicating the growing importance of the periphery within the region. These estimates are in marked contrast to earlier estimates by the Eastern Regional Development Organisation and raise doubts about urban policies formulated to counter immigration to Dublin. However, one of the unknown factors is the scale and pattern of emigration. Estimates given in the Dáil (2/2/1979) indicate a net immigration into Ireland from 1972 to 1976 with emigration in 1977 and 1978 totalling 17,700. The Central Bank Annual Report for 1978 states that "emigration probably came to

11,000 in 1978".²⁴ Unfortunately, we know little about the place of origin, sex, occupation or age of these emigrants. Somewhat surprisingly the Census shows that *net in-migration to the East Region (1971-79) was at the rate of 6.4 per 1,000 population and as high as 18.4 per 1,000 in the Dublin Sub-region.*

To date most of this development has taken place under a fragmentary arrangement of planning authorities who have little control over the delivery of services, implementation of necessary road proposals or the creation of local employment sources. Much of the work of planning is confined to facilitating private sector developments.

1.6 Structure of Employment in Dublin

"Towered cities please us then and the busy hum of men"
(Milton)

Dublin had from its early foundations been predominantly a centre of trade and commerce. The development of an Irish industrial base in the nineteenth century was hampered by monetary policy, lack of natural resources, defects in the Irish social structure and the close relationship of the Irish and British economies.²⁵ In consequence Dublin's principal industries were in Distilling, Brewing, Food and some Cloth industries. It is not surprising to find, as in Table 4, that the majority of Dublin's work-force was employed in service occupations of various types despite the more active industrialisation policy with regard to Dublin in the 1970s.

Despite the expansion of the port and the development of large tracts of suburban industrial estates, Dublin's labour force has become

²⁴*Central Bank of Ireland: Annual Report, 1979, p. 21. See also Economic Review and Outlook 1979, covering estimates of population movement in early 1979. A comparative analysis of the 1975 and 1977 EEC Labour Force Surveys for Ireland suggest considerable out migration from the 15-24 age cohorts—though the Census returns for 1979 point to high rates of net in-migration to the country in the 1970s. An analysis of migration flows for 1961/71 reveals a very low level of inter county migration throughout Ireland except to the East region which had experienced the decentralisation of Dublin within the region and also displayed evidence of migration out of the region. These trends appear to have persisted during the 1970s: See J. G. Hughes and B. Walsh *Internal Migration Flows in Ireland and Their Determinants*, ESRI 1980, Paper No. 98, 88 pages.*

²⁵For a discussion of Irish industry in the 19th century see: E. R. Green, "Industrial Decline in the 19th Century", *The Formation of the Irish Economy*, (ed. L. M. Cullen), the Mercier Press, Cork, 1978, pp. 89-100.

TABLE 4

Occupational Structure of Dublin* Employment 1926-77

Occupation	1926	1946	1961	1971	1977
Producers and Repairers	34.1	27.7	29.8	26.2	24.4
Transport Workers	13.2	9.3	9.3	12.6	9.7
Workers in Commerce	12.3	11.4	12.0	10.8	10.8
Public Administration	5.1	7.2	2.2	2.3	15.9
Professional Occs	5.6	8.8	9.3	10.9	
Service Occupations	13.3	14.1	11.4	10.3	N.A.
Clerical Workers	7.0	9.9	16.7	17.6	18.9
Other**	9.4	11.6	9.3	9.3	20.3
TOTAL:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Data for 1926 relates to Dublin Co. Borough; for 1946-1961—the Co. Borough and Dún Laoghaire while for 1971 and 1977 the boundary now the Dublin sub-region.

**Other includes Service Occupations for 1977.

increasingly dominated by service occupations. However, within service activities there has been a shift away from those involving physical labour, e.g. domestic service and unskilled port occupations, into the skilled and specialist information handling, white-collar jobs.

In consequence of the growth of Dublin's office and service functions there has been an expansion and more intense development of the Central Area of the city. From being a multifunctional place of work and residence in the 19th century, business streets are now almost exclusively devoted to commerce and administration. The business area has grown, shifted location and changed function over time. It now consists of a series of semi-specialised functional areas extending southwards from Bolton Street to Ballsbridge.²⁶ This is an area of increasing specialisation serving the city, the region and the country as a whole and the efficiency of firms in this area directly affects the performance of the national economy.

²⁶M. J. Bannon "Land Use Changes and Combinations in the Central Area: A Case Study", *Application of Geographical Techniques to Physical Planning*, Dublin, 1971, pp. 115-127.

1.7 Land Use Patterns in the Central Area

Though few attempts have been made to define or subdivide the Dublin Central Area,²⁷ it may be useful to compare the structure of the Dublin Central Area with some generalised models of city centre structure.

Dublin has a strong, vibrant and healthy Central Business District²⁸ extending southwards from Moore Street to Baggot Street and Waterloo Road. It is an area of highly specialised retail, office and other services serving the city, the region and the state. It is an area of high intensity use, rapid change of use, continuous renewal and almost exclusively non-residential. It is an area of intensifying commercial investment.

*Surrounding the Central Business District it is possible to identify a broad area of mixed uses which has strong resemblances to the Transition Zone in Burgess's work of 1925 (Figure 5a). The types of uses in this area, which surrounds the Central Business District, include activities requiring semi-intensive use of large tracts of land with ease of access for vehicles servicing the city and the country.²⁹ Within this area there is a great diversity of uses from specialist and regional offices, with their need for easy access, large space consumption and emphasis on a good environment, through to "rooming house" and low quality multi-family residences. The area also includes wholesale areas, warehousing, older industries and commercial ribbons. *The Central Business District and the Transition Zone together comprise the Central Area of the city, an area in a constant state of change and development.**

²⁷One of the few attempts was made by B. McHugh, *A Methodology for Determining a Central Business District: A Case History of Dublin*, Diploma Dissertation, Town Planning Dept., UCD, 1973. Unfortunately data confined this study within the canal ring.

²⁸The reasons for a formal Central Business Area were clearly spelled out by Hurd in *Principles of Land Values* (1903)—"since value depends upon rent and rent upon location and location upon convenience and convenience upon nearness, we may say that value depends upon nearness". A clearly defined, non-residential, Central Business District was the focus of the early ecological models of the city: see E. Burgess, "The Growth of the City" in Park and Burgess (eds.) *The City Chicago*, 1925, pp. 47-62 and Homer Hoyt, "City Growth and Mortgage Risk", *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighbourhoods in American Cities*, F.H.A. 1939.

²⁹E. M. Horwood and R. Boyce, *Studies of the C.B.D. and Urban Freeway Development*, Seattle, 1959, p. 22.

ELEMENTS OF THE CENTRAL AREA

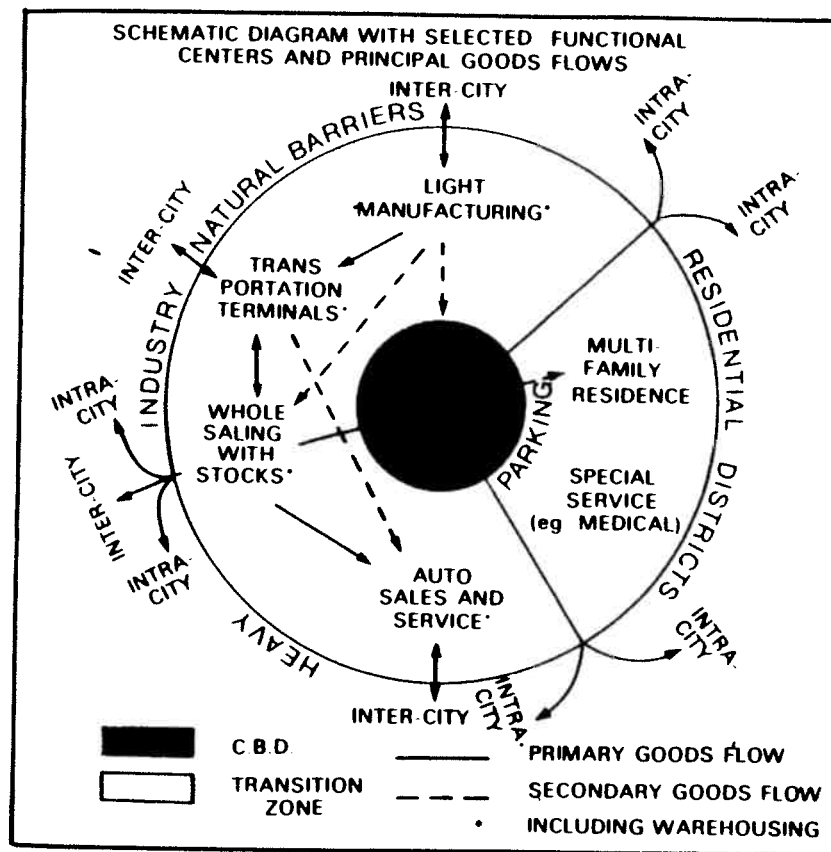


Fig. 5 (a). The Central Area.

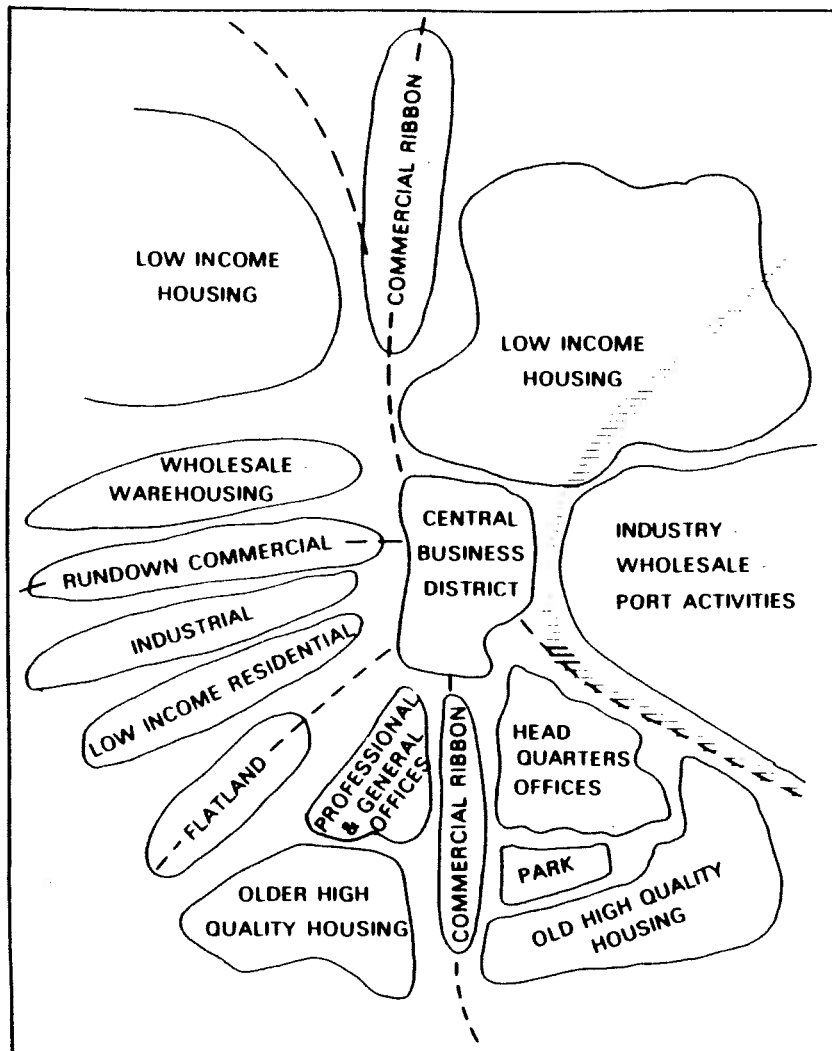


Fig. 5 (b). Schematic Overview of Transition Zone Land Uses.

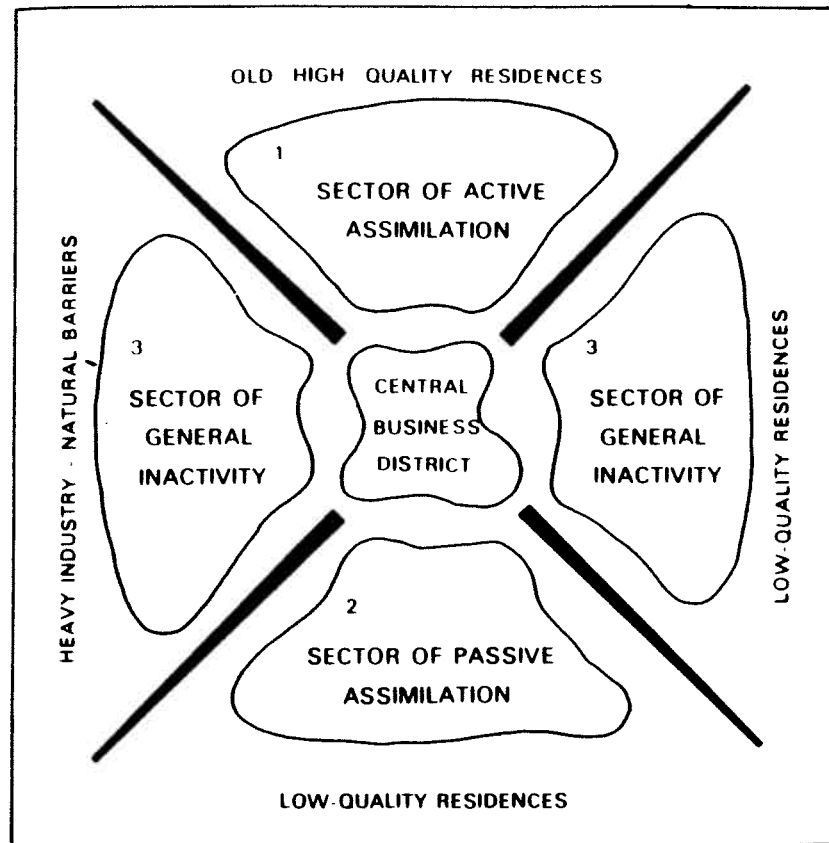


Fig. 5 (c). Sectoral Structure of the Transition Zone (after Preston).

Preston has attempted to identify the spatial consequences of change with special reference to the Transition zone.³⁰ He sees three distinct sectors in a typical urban Transition Zone:

I. The *Zone of Active Assimilation* usually lies ahead of the advancing edge of the business area in a locality of good environment and older high quality residences. The sector of active assimilation is typified by a transition to land uses of higher rent-paying ability. The Ballsbridge area of Central Dublin is typical of a zone of active assimilation as more and more space is converted to office and luxury flat development, changing the area from older residential uses to business uses.³¹ Indeed an advance of the C.B.D. can be seen to follow this advancing edge of the Transition zone.

II. *Sector of General Inactivity* where there is little change in land use or land values. On either side of Dublin's C.B.D. such zones of inactivity can be identified. To the West lies wholesale and vegetable markets extending west to Smithfield while on the East side there are extensive areas of dereliction and under utilisation nearby the north-south rail-lines.

III. The third sector is that of *Passive Assimilation* where uses are being replaced by those of lower rent-paying ability. Such areas are often characterised by disinvestment in property, functional and physical obsolescence and planning blight. In addition as business leaves the area non-business uses may invade, often with the assistance of public housing programmes. The northern edge of Dublin's business area is a prime example of these processes.³² Parnell Street has steadily declined while in Dominick Street almost all uses, including business, were cleared to make room for public housing. This zone contains the rooming house areas, the area of severest housing crisis and in

consequence contains many families and population groups suffering from multiple deprivation.³³

Indeed the circumstances of families in these areas can be further disadvantaged by the conflicting needs of a Business area, especially if planning fails to strike a proper balance between the local and national needs—the needs of business versus those of families, especially low income. Expectations of C.B.D. expansion give rise to inflated land values, attract slum landlords and make residential renewal prohibitively costly. Those who can, leave the area to the poor, the old, the homeless and the single parent families—those least able to cope with the problems of a modern society. Today as the function of the city-centre shifts from a dominance of goods production work to a dominance of information processing, these low income residents have least hope of securing or keeping a job.³⁴ The location of these tenement and municipal housing blocks in juxtaposition to the expanding business areas serves as a visible symbol of the social polarisation of Dublin society.³⁵ This juxtaposition is shown in abstract form in figures 5(b) and 5(c) which illustrate the line of potential conflict.

This polarisation is nothing new and the social history of Dublin is largely one of contrast between the rich and the poor. In Section 1.8 an attempt will be made to trace the origins and pattern of Dublin's social dichotomy in order to show how many of today's problems are, at least in part, the legacy of Dublin's past development.

³⁰Most British "Inner Area Studies" have been most concerned with this particular element of the urban system which is being examined in a spatial and contextual vacuum. These studies were not so much concerned with the poor *per se* but with the poor living in particular areas. In the Irish context the media now equates "the inner city" with the North Central Area. Others such as Dublin Corporation look upon the Canal Ring as enclosing the inner city while to estate agents the inner city is any desirable town house location. In a European context Shankland defines the inner city as the "pre-20th century part of the city surrounding the central area". G. Shankland, *Renewing Europe's Inner Cities*, Council of Europe, European Regional Planning Series, Report 9, 1978, p. 6.

³¹Hutchinson has documented the extent to which many working class Dublin families have failed to advance up the social ladder over time—see B. Hutchinson "First Employment, Social Status and Mobility in Dublin", *Economic & Social Review*, Vol. 2, 1971, pp. 337-348.

³²Leonard cited the proximity of Gresham Hotel as he admitted that "as a nation we do not yet have the resources to feed, clothe, educate and care for our people in a way that would be regarded as normal in the late part of the 20th century", N. Leonard, "The Third Stage of Ireland's Industrial Age", *Prospect*, I.M.I., 1973, p. 32.

³⁰R. E. Preston, "Transition Zone Structure: The Three Sector Hypothesis", *Town Planning Review*, Vol. 39, 1968-69, pp. 235-250.

³¹For details of this invasion and succession process see: M. J. Bannon, *Office Location in Ireland: the Role of Central Dublin*, An Foras Forbartha, Dublin 1973, Chapter 2.

³²The planning implications of these changes were discussed in M. J. Bannon, "The White-collar Revolution, Office Expansion and Local Planning", *The Future of Dublin*, UCD 1975.

1.8 Dublin's Social Dichotomy

"A City is the expression of the diversity of social relationships which have become fused into a single organism"

(Sigfried Giedion 1965)

To speak of Dublin as a single social entity is to ignore the existence of two separate Dublins—that of the rich and the poor—the Dublin of the ascendancy and the Dublin of the poor and the tenements. This contrast in Dublin's social composition has a long history.³⁶ Maxwell provides a vivid contrast between the lifestyles of Dublin's rich and its poor in the 18th century.³⁷ Dublin, caught up in the whirlwind of 18th century expansion, which was guided by the Wide Streets Commissioners, turned its back on the poor: the splendour and affluence of the Mountjoy or Merrion Squares contrasted with Canon Whitelaw's experiences in the Liberties in 1789 where he observed:

"This crowded population, wherever it obtains, is almost universally accompanied by a very serious evil—a degree of filth and stench inconceivable, except by such as have visited those scenes of wretchedness. There are few or no necessaries, and, of course, into the back yards of each house, frequently not ten feet deep, is flung, from the windows of each apartment, the ordure and other filth of its numerous inhabitants. . . ."³⁸

With the Act of Union in 1801 many of the ascendancy left for London bringing their capital and entrepreneurial skills with them. As indicated earlier, economic development throughout the 19th century did little to alleviate the plight of the Irish or Dublin poor. Writing of Dublin in 1844 Engels speaks of Dublin Bay as the most impressive in the British Isles and the city's aristocratic quarter "laid out in a more tasteful manner than that of any other British town". But he goes on:

³⁶Early records testify to the inequalities in opportunities and housing in Dublin, in the *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin* (Vol. 1, p. 459) Gilbert cites a law of 1556 forbidding the subdivision of dwellings for gain without permission of the Mayor and Aldermen. It was the appalling conditions of the poor which led a group of Dublin surgeons to establish Jarvis Street hospital in 1718, initially located at Cook Street. See: *Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. XXII, 1968, p. 188.

³⁷C. Maxwell, *Dublin Under the Georges, 1714-1830* Hodges Figgis & Co., Dublin, 1946, Chapters III & IV.

³⁸Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin*, London, 1818, Vol. I, p. 444.

"the poorer districts of Dublin are amongst the ugliest and most revolting in the world . . . the slums of Dublin are extensive. The filth, the dilapidation of the houses and the utterly neglected conditions of the streets beggar description and are beyond belief".³⁹

Dublin's medical officers testify to the validity of Engel's description and give detailed accounts of conditions in the Liberties and in St. Michan's.⁴⁰ Later in the century Dr. Mapother was to provide a harrowing picture of how bad conditions were in Dublin and indeed in all other towns outside the North East, many of the problems being amenable to solution through the enforcement of existing legislation if the will was there to do it.⁴¹

Many commentators saw the problems in simplistic terms and often viewed the conditions of the poor as self-inflicted. Others were primarily concerned about their spiritual welfare⁴² and some others went on, in typical mid-19th century fashion, to offer simplistic solutions for complex problems.⁴³ Brady saw the problem of the poor as "the great economic question of the future"⁴⁴ while, like Engels, Rowntree argued that social reforms would be short-lived unless they were accompanied by changes in the class structure.⁴⁵

Despite an increasing interest in the causes and consequences of Dublin's urban poverty, the conditions of the poor failed to improve

³⁹F. Engels, *The Conditions of the Working Class in England*, (1844), Oxford, Beckwells, 1958, p. 40. Indeed the aristocratic quarter was itself a hovel of disease and insanitary basements resulting in very high death rates from typhoid amongst the wealthy middle classes. See F. Pim, *Presidential Address*, Dublin Sanitary Association, 1892, printed in *Annual Report*.

⁴⁰See: T. Willis "Facts Connected with the Social and Sanitary Conditions of the Working Classes in the City of Dublin", *Dublin Journal of Medical Science*, Vol. XXVII, 1845, pp. 251-260. W. W. Wilde, "Special Sanitary Report on the City of Dublin", *Quarterly Journal of Medical Science*, Vol. III, 1847, pp. 470-484.

⁴¹E. D. Mapother, "The Unhealthiness of Irish Towns", *Statistical and Social Inquiry Society Journal*, Vol. V, 1866, pp. 250-269 and "The Sanitary State of Dublin", *ibid.*, Vol. IV, (1864), circa p. 62.

⁴²J. Maguire, "Healthy Dwellings for Labourers, Artisans and the Middle Classes", *Dublin Builder*, Vol. 9, 1867, pp. 85-87 and 92-94.

⁴³R. Dowden, "On the Connection between the Origin and Localisation of Diseases and Overcrowding of Buildings in our Cities", *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society*, Vol. I, 1854, pp. 120-124.

⁴⁴C. Brady, *The Practicability of improving the dwellings of the Working Classes*, paper read to R.D.S. Dublin 1854.

⁴⁵B. Rowntree, *Unemployment: A Social Study*, London, 1902.

throughout the 19th century and the tenement population teemed over into previously fashionable areas and the "cult of the dilapidated" became even more widespread:

"All through the nineteenth century Dublin continued to expand, especially to the South and East. Nearly all of this expansion was upper-to-middle-class-residential; as the slum families, housed in Georgian times in mud-huts and 'weavers' houses, slowly moved into the grand streets of the north side, the professional classes moved out to Ballsbridge, Ranelagh and Rathmines".⁴⁶

In evidence to the 1885 inquiry into *The Housing of The Working Classes*, Cameron, the Medical Officer of Health testified as to Dublin conditions. Some 32,000 out of 54,000 families lived in single rooms and these 32,000 inhabited only just over quarter of the city's houses. A total of 9,700 were said to be let in tenements in 1880 with 2,300 unfit for human habitation.⁴⁷ The conditions in a typical tenement house were detailed by Cameron:

"The defects of the Dublin tenements are, that the houses are very old; that the woodwork is decayed, so that it is not easy to keep them in a cleanly state; that the floors frequently make a considerable angle with the horizon owing to the subsidence of one of the walls; that the floors are rough and worm-eaten, and often so patched that the patches project above the general level of the floor, thereby preventing the proper cleansing of the floors; that the windows are frequently composed of ill-fitting sashes, which in stormy weather permit the wind to blow freely into the rooms; that the panes are often patched or broken; that the staircases are often dark, ill-ventilated, dilapidated, and too steep; that the approach to the yard of the house is frequently so difficult that the tenants prefer the more convenient access to the street, and empty their slops into the street during the absence of the police; that the sanitary accommodation is defective, one privy or

⁴⁶M. Craig, *Dublin 1660-1960*, Allen Figgis, Dublin, 1969, p. 302. Also, Shannon Millin illustrated the poorest housing was often in the courts and lanes at the rear of bigger houses where "the Georgian society gave the impressions of grandeur and wealth". S. Shannon Millin, "Slums: A Sociological Retrospect of Dublin", *Stat. & Soc. Inquiry Society Journal*, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 157.

⁴⁷Third Report of Inquiry into the *Housing of The Working Classes: Ireland*, London, 1885, XVI pages.

watercloset being common to a dozen families, and being often situated in some such objectionable situation as the area or kitchen, there being no yards in which to place them; that the basement storeys, which have been cleaned of their tenants through the action of the corporation, have become in many cases very filthy; that the yards are rarely asphalted or concreted; that their clay surfaces are often very damp, and the children who use the yards as playgrounds are liable to suffer from the dampness, especially when they are unshod, as is very often the case; that too many families inhabit the same house, and use a common staircase, and that when scarlet fever, measles, or typhus occurs in such a house it is peculiarly liable to spread from room to room."⁴⁸

This contrast between the Dublin of the rich and the poor was replicated in even greater detail in the 1913 inquiry into the *Housing Conditions of the Working Classes in the City of Dublin*. The picture of a divided city was still present in the 20th century and Dublin was said to have "a more numerous submerged class than anywhere else I know."⁴⁹ Evidence was given that the city contained 5,322 tenement houses having 35,227 rooms, occupied by 25,822 families consisting of 87,305 persons, resulting in an average of 4.8 families or 16.4 persons per house. The report recommended state involvement in urban housing, greater financial resources for housing (£3,500,000 for 14,000 cottages at £250) greater powers of land acquisition, and greater control over tenement houses by Dublin Corporation, decentralisation of centre city population and the enactment of Town Planning legislation. In addition to the recommendations, the report is of interest for the range of associations and people who gave evidence and for the diversity and comprehensiveness of much of the evidence, recognising, as it did, the importance of community values and the need for a comprehensive development plan for the Dublin area.⁵⁰

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, page vi. Added to all these adverse conditions was the acute problems of air and soil pollution, see: D. T. Flood, "The Decay of Georgian Dublin", *Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3, 1974, pp. 78-100.

⁴⁹Report of the Departmental Inquiry into *Housing Conditions of the Working Classes in the City of Dublin*; Report of Evidence of Patrick Geddes, *Appendix*, p. 210.

⁵⁰See, for example, the evidence of Aston who urged the extension of city limits, the formulation of a plan and the public acquisition "of every acre of land and every building in the city"; E. A. Aston, Secretary, Dublin Citizens' Association, *op.cit.*, p. 217.

Much of the evidence stressed the necessity to know the needs of the residents of the area and the need to "house rather than warehouse" people as Cowan put it later.⁵¹ Above all the Corporation was advised not to plan or initiate the policies being pursued in "English manufacturing" towns. There followed in Dublin a flurry of planning activity⁵² which led to the 1914 Town Planning competition and Abercrombie's *Dublin of the Future* which, despite its imaginative proposals for the suburbs, called for the outmovement of 64,000 persons from the centre where they were to be replaced by a Beaux Arts sets of proposals.⁵³ Meanwhile, the Corporation committed itself increasingly to the British development model,⁵⁴ to the erection of new blocks of flats in the centre of the city and the development of new housing on the periphery at Marino, Glasnevin, and Crumlin. This policy of erecting large blocks of flats ran counter to the stated community views expressed at the Housing Inquiry and this policy was to be the subject of recurring criticism. Echoing many similar viewpoints Dillon condemned the practice of "taking the poor out of tenements in Lower Gardiner Street and putting them into bigger tenements in Marlborough Street." He continued:

"the only effective way to remedy the housing problem . . . is to induce the poor people who are at present living in the slums to live in the outskirts of the city and to provide these people with decent houses and small gardens".⁵⁵

⁵¹P. C. Cowan, *Report on Dublin Housing*, Cahill & Co., 1918, p. 17.

⁵²M. J. Bannon, "Patrick Geddes and the Emergence of Town Planning in Dublin: The Making of Irish Geography" in *Irish Geography*, Vol. II, 1978, pp. 140-148. Almost unique amongst planners, Geddes realised the need for a sociological perspective in planning and his arguments are as valid in Dublin today as they were in 1911 to 1915.

⁵³P. Abercrombie, S. Kelly and A. Kelly, *Dublin of the Future*, Civics Institute of Ireland, Dublin 1922, 58 pages. The residential areas in the suburbs were to be designed on a neighbourhood unit basis, served by a good mixture of roads and public transport and having access to a hierarchy of open spaces.

⁵⁴Leading to increased social polarisation with only the very poor remaining in the centre.

⁵⁵*Dáil Debates on Town and Regional Planning Bill*, *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. XVII p. 2273 (1933). The quality of some of the 1920s suburbs left much to be desired in the area of design. "Unfortunately, the increase in the quantity of building is exactly in inverse ratio to its quality . . . the recent advent of the myriad swarms of buses . . . have caused building to become even more general, and the results make all lovers of the beauty and amenities of the city and suburbs, as well as of the countryside, tremble with fear and apprehension of what the ultimate effects may be.

Throughout the 1930s the Corporation followed a policy of erecting two new central city dwellings for each new Local Authority dwelling in the suburbs.⁵⁶ Even though the Local Authority had erected 12,954 dwellings between 1922-23 and 1938-39 the housing problems of the poor of Dublin, especially those in the centre city, remained critical. A survey carried out by Dublin Corporation in 1938 showed that 28,210 families still lived in 6,307 tenement houses with 37,848 rooms or an average of 1.34 rooms per family. The survey covered 33,411 families of which 70 per cent lived in one room dwellings.⁵⁷

A total of 21,315 dwellings were seen to be required to meet the needs of rehousing and reducing the overcrowding amongst the poor. The report proposed a new system of State responsibility for housing finance, reductions in loan interest, a new system of differential rents and a new system of allocating tenancies. The report also recommended the acquisition of "fit" dwellings and the rehabilitation of those in need of repair but worthy of the costs of rehabilitation. The report favoured the introduction of comprehensive planning, the suburbanisation of industry and called for transport improvements.⁵⁸

While the Housing Report was sensitive on the issue of inner city housing, an advisory report to the Planning Committee proposed that of the 19,000 dwellings needed to solve the slum problem 17,000 would be located outside the canals with 1,645 flats inside.⁵⁹ Abercrombie repeated his view that the working class be moved out of the centre and houses on the Georgian streets "remodelled scientifically" to provide accommodation for office workers. In 1943 the Corporation did undertake some rehabilitation of Georgian

Will our once beautiful suburbs be robbed of every natural attraction and vista, and take on the semblance of the environs of a third-rate manufacturing town, where ugliness, smoke and grime hold full sway?" R. M. Butler, "Dublin: Past and Present", *Dublin Civic Week: Official Handbook*, 1927, p. 33.

⁵⁶The Citizens Housing Council felt that the resources were inadequate and that greater action was needed to build sufficient houses and demolish the tenements. The C.H.C. felt that only one-third to half of the tenement population could be housed locally and they offered detailed suggestions to improve the design and planning of flats. *Report on Slum Clearance in Dublin*, Citizens' Housing Council, Dublin, 1938, 20 pages.

⁵⁷*Report of Inquiry into the Housing of the Working Class of the City of Dublin*, 1939-43, Dublin, 269 pages.

⁵⁸*ibid.*, p. 147.

⁵⁹P. Abercrombie *et. al.*, *Sketch Development Plan*, Dublin, 1941, pp. 41-2.

buildings but not for the middle-classes.⁶⁰ Both the Housing Report and the Sketch Development Plan saw in-migration from rural Ireland exacerbating Dublin's problems.

By 1950 it was Corporation policy to favour the development of fringe areas "on the neighbourhood unit basis and not by the earlier system of providing very large areas of one class communities such as exist at Cabra and Crumlin"⁶¹ Rehabilitation had been abandoned largely on cost grounds and during the 1950s, in response to local pressures 5,000 flats were erected in substantial blocks, largely in the centre city. In turn this policy changed emphasis in the 1960s to early 1970s as new local authority dwellings were provided largely on the periphery. Again, the rapid rundown of population residing inside the canal ring was seen to be socially destructive of community, a threat to a "living city" and the cause of a multiplicity of ills—all resulting in greater attention to inner city housing and the need to solve the long standing inner city crisis.⁶² These pressures led to the Coombe, Ringsend, Cattle Market and City Quay housing schemes in the 1970s.

This review has attempted to show that Dublin has been for long and remains still a socially divided city. *While housing and planning policies have greatly improved the situation, Dublin is still a city having serious inequalities in socio-economic opportunities—and these inequalities are also evident on a spatial basis as will be evident from Sections Two to Four of this report.*

1.9 Urban Social Patterning with Special Reference to Dublin

Since the late 19th century urban scientists have sought to establish

⁶⁰See John Harvey, *Dublin*, Batsford Ltd., London, 1949, page 10 where he refers to "terraces completed, restored, with happy-looking families again at the windows, smile at the passer-by with all the glory of scrubbed brickwork and fresh coats of paint!"

⁶¹M. O'Brien, "The Planning of Dublin", *Journal of T.P.I.*, Vol. 36, 1950, p. 209. Behan eloquently stated the ordinary Dubliner's view of these suburban tracts: "They could have built flats in the centre of town for us and kept reservations like this for them that come in from the country. Home from home, it would have been. But us! And the only grass we ever saw we were asked to keep off it." Dominic Behan, *My Brother Brendan*, London, 1965, p. 21.

⁶²The case for a more positive policy towards the inner city areas was championed by many groups and at several seminars. The Living City Group was one such pressure Group. *The Future of Dublin* (Department of Psychiatry), UCD, 1975, contains most of the pro living-city arguments. Two major architectural studies: *A Future for Dublin*, Architectural Press, London, 1974, and *Dublin: A City in Crisis*, R.I.A.I., Dublin, 1975, 108 pages, suggest many practical reforms of possible benefit to the "inner city". See also, D. Kelly, *Hands off Dublin*, The O'Brien Press, Dublin, 1978, 80 pages.

laws regulating the non-random distribution of social classes within urban space. Class variations meant that people had differing levels of income and education and differing standards of housing. But it also meant in practice that people of a given class lived in an area dominated by their own social group. Why this spatial patterning? The early urban ecologists sought to explain residential-class segregation through ecological models based on analogies with observed changes in plant ecology.⁶³ Such simplistic and generalised theories, which originated in Chicago in 1925, were later shown to have serious conceptual limitations⁶⁴ and not to fit the observed pattern of development in many US cities.⁶⁵ Being models based on free land market economy, they had even less relevance in British or Irish cities with their history of planning practice and public housing.⁶⁶ In short the "classical" models represented too crude an overview of how cities grew or changed.

Nevertheless, the search for order in and laws behind urban social patterning continued,⁶⁷ aided by improved data availability for small areas and the development of computer programmes to analyse results. Following on from work in the US by Shevky, Bell and Williams⁶⁸ a series of urban factorial ecology studies showed that urban residential area differentiation could be understood and explained in terms of three constructs⁶⁹—"social rank", "family status" and "ethnic status". This basic triad of social dimensions could be super-imposed spatially to isolate populations of similar social, family and ethnic status. Recent Factorial Ecology and Cluster Analysis⁷⁰

⁶³See Footnote 23 above.

⁶⁴M. Allhan, *Social Ecology: A Critical Analysis*, Columbia University Press, 1938.

⁶⁵See for example: W. Firey, *Land Use in Central Boston*, Cambridge University Press, 1947, for a detailed rebuttal of the ecology model.

⁶⁶B. T. Robson, *Urban Analysis: A Study of City Structure with Special reference to Sunderland*, Cambridge, 1969, provides a detailed evaluation of these models in relation to a British city.

⁶⁷O. Duncan and B. Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification" *Am. Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 60, 1955, pp. 493-503.

⁶⁸Shevky, Eshref and Wendell Bell, *Social Area Analysis: Theory, Illustrative Application and Typology*, Stanford, 1955.

⁶⁹See for example, F. H. Sweetser, "Factor Structure as Ecological Structure in Helsinki and Boston", *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 26, 1965, pp. 205-225.

⁷⁰R. J. Webber, *Liverpool Social Area Study: 1971 Data: Final Report*, P.R.A.G. Technical Paper, T.P. 14, 1976, 142 pages.

studies go a long way to explain how cities are organised and highlight important implications for both urban social and planning policy.

In the Irish context intra-urban structure studies have been largely neglected until recently. Although Haughton⁷¹ and Craft⁷² alluded to Dublin's spatial patterning, the first major study of Dublin's social structure was carried out by Brady and Parker in 1975.⁷³ This study utilised the 1971 Census of Population small area data and factor analysed 56 variables for the 196 ward areas. A total of five factors were extracted and these explained 71% of the variance. The main factors were:

1. Twilightism: Older housing areas.
2. Socio-economic status.
3. Familism: young married populations.
4. Residual: population of older areas.
5. Professionalism: higher socio-economic groups.

These factors were mapped and analysed in terms of their spatial arrangement.

Although this seminal paper has been widely used, the policymaker is left at something of a loss due to the composite nature of the factors. In 1978 Hourican used a reduced set of variables (46) to group Dublin's wards (192) into seven social areas.⁷⁴

The seven social areas defined by Hourican were as follows:

1. Inner City—18 wards in centre.
2. Low status transition Area—33 wards around the Inner City.
3. Flatland—25 wards mostly in the Rathmines area.
4. The Corporation Estates—39 wards.
5. Older Suburbs—Middle Class—35 wards.
6. Highest Status Suburbs—20 wards.
7. The new Suburban Estates—32 wards.

While this analysis is both interesting and informative, the

⁷¹J. P. Haughton, "The Social Geography of Dublin", *Geographical Review*, Vol. 39, 1949, pp. 257-277.

⁷²M. Craft, "Case-Study 2—Dublin", *The Urban Context*, Open University, Block 2, Part 3, 1974, pp. 93-141.

⁷³J. Brady and A. J. Parker, "The Factorial Ecology of Dublin: A Preliminary Investigation", *Economic and Social Review*, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1975, pp. 35-53.

⁷⁴K. Hourican, "Social Areas in Dublin", *Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 9, No. 4, 1978, pp. 301-318.

methodological procedures do not enable the reader to have precise information in respect of specific areas.

For the purposes of this present study it was necessary to find a methodological procedure which not only enables the subdivision of the city into meaningful and broadly homogeneous areas in terms of social, economic and physical characteristics, but also enables the research team to examine the performance of each ward on each of the wide range of variables used in the study. The method followed will be discussed in Section II.

1.10 Urban Deprivation and Public Policy

The studies reviewed in subsection 1.9 clearly show that a large proportion of Dublin's population was relatively deprived in 1971 and further that it was possible to classify broad areas of the city as socially disadvantaged. The social dichotomy between the affluent ascendancy and the tenement population, both resident in the historic city, has yielded to a more dispersed but still polarised society in Dublin. The evidence of increasing affluence amongst the expanding middle classes contrasts sharply with the relative poverty of some of the public housing areas. *One of the consequences of the spatial grouping of social characteristics is that areas become identified with problems* and the mere presentation of a person's address may be sufficient to categorise that person within a particular stratum of the urban milieu.

A greater social awareness of urban deprivation and a greater ability to successfully politicise and articulate the problems of the poor, has intensified the search for a more equitable sharing of resources.⁷⁵ The primary cause of all forms of deprivation, whether urban or rural is poverty which has been defined by the EEC Social Affairs Directorate as:

... "a lack of command of resources, including cash incomes, material assets and publicly or privately organised services such as housing or education; so extreme that the individual families . . . or persons involved are excluded from minimum acceptable ordinary living patterns, customs and activities."⁷⁶

⁷⁵D. Donnison, *An Approach to Social Policy*, NESC Report No. 8, 1975, 68 pages. Also, R. C. Geary and F. O'Muirearchartaigh, *Equalisation of Opportunity In Ireland*, ESRI Broadsheet 10, Dublin, 1974, 122 pages.

⁷⁶For other definitions of poverty as well as a general discussion of deprivation see: P. Townsend, *Poverty in The United Kingdom*, Penguin Books, 1979, pp. 31-60. In

The Commission was careful to include housing, recreation facilities, transportation and related activities within the definition of resources. They also pointed out that lack of command over resources may be due to lack of access to the resource or else to a person's inability to utilise a resource, e.g., use of library facilities presumes an ability to read. Resources may further be viewed as technological and cultural appraisals "in which it is necessary for groups or individuals to possess various cognitive and technical skills as well as relevant value systems which both enable and motivate them to use resources."⁷⁷ *The motivation and ability to use resources is especially important today, given the accelerating pace of technological change.* Whereas those with adequate education and power to utilise existing or new resources can exert greater command over their environment, the poor and the powerless are increasingly trapped by their environment.

Poverty affects every aspect of people's lives; it limits choice and opportunity; it leads to helplessness and loss of dignity⁷⁸ and, in extreme cases, to the poor being regarded as somehow indecent since "the poor lack what the larger community regards as the minimum necessary for decency".⁷⁹ Though there are many theories of poverty, Tussing suggests that they may be grouped into two broad theories—the Case and Generic Models of poverty.⁸⁰ The case model views poverty as the consequences of a person's individual cultural and social characteristics. Such theories may view the poor as incapable of self help and in extreme cases seek to "break up such groups . . . people who have no initiative or civic pride".⁸¹ Policies to counter poverty and

1975 *Combat Poverty* expressed the view that the elimination of poverty involved long-term structural reform requiring, "a redistribution of resources and power and power in society which implies basic changes in the social, economic and political systems". See: *Combat Poverty, An Introduction to the Working of The N.C.P.S.C.P.*, Dublin 1975.

⁷⁷D. Harvey, *Social Justice and the City*, Edward Arnold, London, 1973, p. 81.

⁷⁸S. O'Connell, "Power and Its Victims in Ireland". *Studies*, Winter, 1972, Vol. LXI, p. 356.

⁷⁹See K. Coates & R. Silburn, *Poverty: The Forgotten Englishmen*, Penguin, London, 1970, p. 27.

⁸⁰D. Tussing, "Poverty and Policy Analysis in the United States: Implications for Ireland", *Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1973, pp 75-98. The Case and Generic Groups correspond to what used to be called "primary" and "secondary" poverty. For further discussion see: Townsend, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-92.

⁸¹Cf. R. Goodman, *After the Planners*, Penguin, London, 1977, p. 28; also Ray Pahl, *Readings in Urban Sociology*, Pergamon, Oxford, 1968, p. 165.

based on the "Case Model" tend to emphasise a welfare approach, together with an emphasis on retraining, special education and job redirection into such an area.

On the other hand, the Generic Model views the existence of poverty and areas of poverty as resulting from factors outside the individual's control, (e.g., inadequate employment sources, lack of retraining facilities, discrimination by employers on basis of social or geographic grounds). Proponents of this view see a solution in the intensification of national policies designed to create further new employment sources, thus bringing the poor into this expanded labour market. In the Irish context the Government have declared that "their primary social target is the solution of the unemployment problem".⁸²

The consensus suggests that the generic model approach is the more desirable though there remain serious doubts about the mechanisms available to ensure an adequate scale of resource reallocation. In addition to the range of purely "social" policies aimed at the individual or family circumstances, economic and physical planning represent tools available to society to help redistribute resources and eliminate the more serious inequalities, through balanced economic development, urban land policy and the judicious use of resources.

Many observers, including Eversley, argue that there has been a gradual amelioration of living conditions through time and that this process is likely to continue as society becomes convinced of the need for change.⁸³ Donnison broadly supports this view but warns that "economic growth will not automatically achieve these results"⁸⁴ (greater equality). Others regard planning as a "highly repressive form

⁸²*Programme for National Development 1978-1981*, Stationery Office 1979, p. 22. By and large the recent recommendations of the *Inter Departmental Committee on Dublin Inner City* (1979) appear to regard poverty as being generic and had little to say on the prospect of long run unemployment. Other studies of urban poverty have concluded high levels of local unemployment are essential for the smooth operation of firms experiencing short-term fluctuations in demand. *Coventry Community Development Project Report*, The Home Office, London, 1975, pp. 88-107. In Ireland the work of the *Combat Poverty Teams* placed emphasis on action research, community involvement and the development of local initiatives and talents. See: *Combat Poverty, Report on Pilot Schemes, 1978*, (Interim) Dublin, 1978, 15 pages.

⁸³D. Eversley, *The Planner in Society*, Faber & Faber, London, 1973, Chapter 1.

⁸⁴D. Donnison, "Urban Development and Social Policies", *Administration* Vol. 26, No. 1, 1978, p. 22.

of indirect tax" bearing most onerously and with least advantage on those who are powerless or relatively poor.⁶⁵

The fact is that too little is known about the impact of planning policies on social groups within the urban context. As Harvey states there has been "an almost studied ignorance of the crucial inter-connections between the processes of urbanisation, economic growth and capitalist accumulation and the standing of social classes".⁶⁶

It is hoped that this study will lead to a greater understanding of the social problems of the long divided city of Dublin and that the recommendations of this study will help to sharpen social and planning policy, lead to a more humanising urbanism and help offset existing and new social antagonisms. The study is strongly influenced by the belief that "if cities do not begin to deal constructively with poverty, poverty will deal more destructively with cities".⁶⁷

⁶⁵J. D. Davies, *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat*, Tavistock Publications, London, 1972, p. 2.

⁶⁶D. Harvey, "Class-Monopoly Rent, Finance Capital and the Urban Revolution", *Regional Studies*, Vol. 8, Nos. 3/4, 1974, pp. 239-255.

⁶⁷R. S. McNamara, "World Bank to help the Poor", *World Bank Report*, September, 1975, p. 2.

SECTION II

DUBLIN'S SOCIAL AREAS 1971

2.1 Introduction

Section I has detailed the growth and spread of Dublin's population, particularly since 1966. In Section I it was argued that sharp social divisions have, and still, persist between population groups within Dublin; the social differences in the population are reinforced by the physical segregation of groups into predominantly one class housing areas, the fundamental contrast being between areas of private and public housing.

Since the principal purpose of this report has to do with problems of urban change, it was necessary to find analytical procedures which helped to identify the problems of any particular part of the city and which enabled the description and analysis of any area in terms of its salient social and economic characteristics. *For the purposes of this study it was especially necessary to find a typological procedure which could help isolate differences in the extent and combinations of urban deprivation in different areas and which would also relate these differences to various social processes at work, having regard to the local character of any particular area.*

The studies by Brady and Parker¹ and Hourican² had pointed up the existence of sharp socio-economic contrasts in the Dublin population and the studies showed the populations in the built-up area of Dublin could be clearly differentiated on socio-economic and housing variables. However, the results of these studies were not suitable to the needs of this investigation due to (a) the composite nature of the

¹J. Brady and A. J. Parker, "The Factorial Ecology of Dublin: A Preliminary Investigation", *Economic and Social Review*, Vol. VII, 1975, pp. 35-53.

²K. Hourican, "Social Areas in Dublin", *Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 9, 1978, pp. 301-318. Unfortunately while this study appears methodologically correct, Hourican's procedure offers little precise information about specific areas and the results are not easily utilised by policy makers.

factors and (b) the need to be able to compare and contrast areas on similar variables and vice versa. What was required, therefore, was a technically dependable approach to the identification of reasonably objective areas of social malaise and relative disadvantage throughout the Dublin Metropolitan Area.³ Since the deprivation is essentially a multi-dimensional phenomenon, it was necessary to find a procedure which could systematically analyse the multi-dimensional inter-relationships between subjects such as employment, housing and demographic structure, which had previously tended to be examined in a narrower context. *Single diagnostic indicators unfortunately tend to understate the extent and nature of deprivation and a multi-variate approach was considered essential in evaluating relative need.* Quantification of, and concern with, spatial inequalities is also crucial to proper planning practice. Where a person lives can reflect that person's values since residence is itself a consumer item.⁴ Where a family lives can determine their education, the work they are offered, and the public goods they can avail of. Location often reinforces an already imbalanced societal structure to the further detriment of a residential population.

The ability of any typology to contribute to the understanding of issues and underlying relationships within Dublin depends largely on the extent to which relevant problems can be represented by the data available. *The value and scope of the classification was restricted by the range of questions included in the 1971 Census, which is now seriously out of date.* Limitations are also imposed due to the low level of spatial disaggregation of the Metropolitan Area,⁵ and are also imposed since most non-census data is not collected on a standardised ward basis. Unfortunately in the Dublin context time series data,

³The Metropolitan Area is here defined as the contiguous built up area of Dublin, which includes the Dublin County Borough, Dún Laoghaire Borough and the suburban areas of both boroughs as defined in the 1971 Census. The 1978 limits of this Metropolitan Area are stated in the E.R.D.O. *Development Strategy (Scoping Report) A Summary*, 1978, page 2.

⁴"The house is the fundamental fact of real wages" as Larkin was told by the sociologist-planner Patrick Geddes when they met in Dublin in 1915.

⁵Census confidentiality imposes constraints on Census output, and hence on the analysis of Census statistics. Detailed tabulations cannot be included, for example, on sub-groups that are of particular interest for policy and planning. One solution to this problem would be to include a number of selected multi-variate counts that could be used as social indicators.

offering a dynamic input to the typology, proved impossible due to the limitations of the 1966 Census of Population and the dissimilarity in the 1966 and 1971 Census variable lists. Few detailed city-wide non-census statistics exist for post 1971. Using the available 1971 data it was necessary to find a typology which enabled:

- (a) The identification of the different types of social environment occurring within the Metropolitan area.
- (b) Mapping the extent and distribution of these "types".
- (c) Evaluation of the performance of each "type" of area on a wide range of "social indicators".
- (d) Identification of a range of clearly defined policy implications.

2.2 The Methodology of the Study⁶

Having examined various methods of Social Area Analysis,⁷ it was decided that an approach developed by Webber in the Liverpool context best suited the needs of this investigation.⁸ This method can be used to produce a two-tier hierarchy of "social areas".

Using forty-two variables from the 1971 Census Small Area Statistics,⁹ (Table 2.1) for the 193 wards of the Dublin Metropolitan Area the two-stage Cluster Analysis¹⁰ produced a two level grouping of social areas comprising six Social Areas and twenty Sub-Areas. Table A.1, Appendix (1) lists measures of distribution and concentration for each variable.¹¹ The different degrees of concentration by different

⁶The Methodology is technically elaborated in Appendix 1. For a recent discussion of Social Area Analysis in Planning see: T. S. Brindlay and J. W. Raine. "Social Area Analysis and Planning Research", *Urban Studies*, Vol. 16, 1979, pp. 273-289.

⁷For a comprehensive review of the various clustering techniques available see B. Everitt, *Cluster Analysis*, Social Science Research Council, London, 1974, 122 pages.

⁸See: R. J. Webber, *The Social Characteristics of Residential Neighbourhoods: Merseyside*, P.R.A.G. Technical Paper No. T.P. 24, London, 1978, 126 pp.

⁹These variables were chosen to best represent the axes of differentiation highlighted in earlier Dublin studies (See J. Brady and A. Parker, *op. cit.*). Others were selected because of policy relevance.

¹⁰For an early discussion of cluster analysis techniques, see: R. C. Tryon, *Identification of Social Areas by Cluster Analysis*, Univ. of California, Publications in Psychology, 99 pages.

¹¹It was felt that the variables included should give a fair and objective classification of residential areas within the city. The omission of more complex indicators related to special groups makes analysis difficult at all levels.

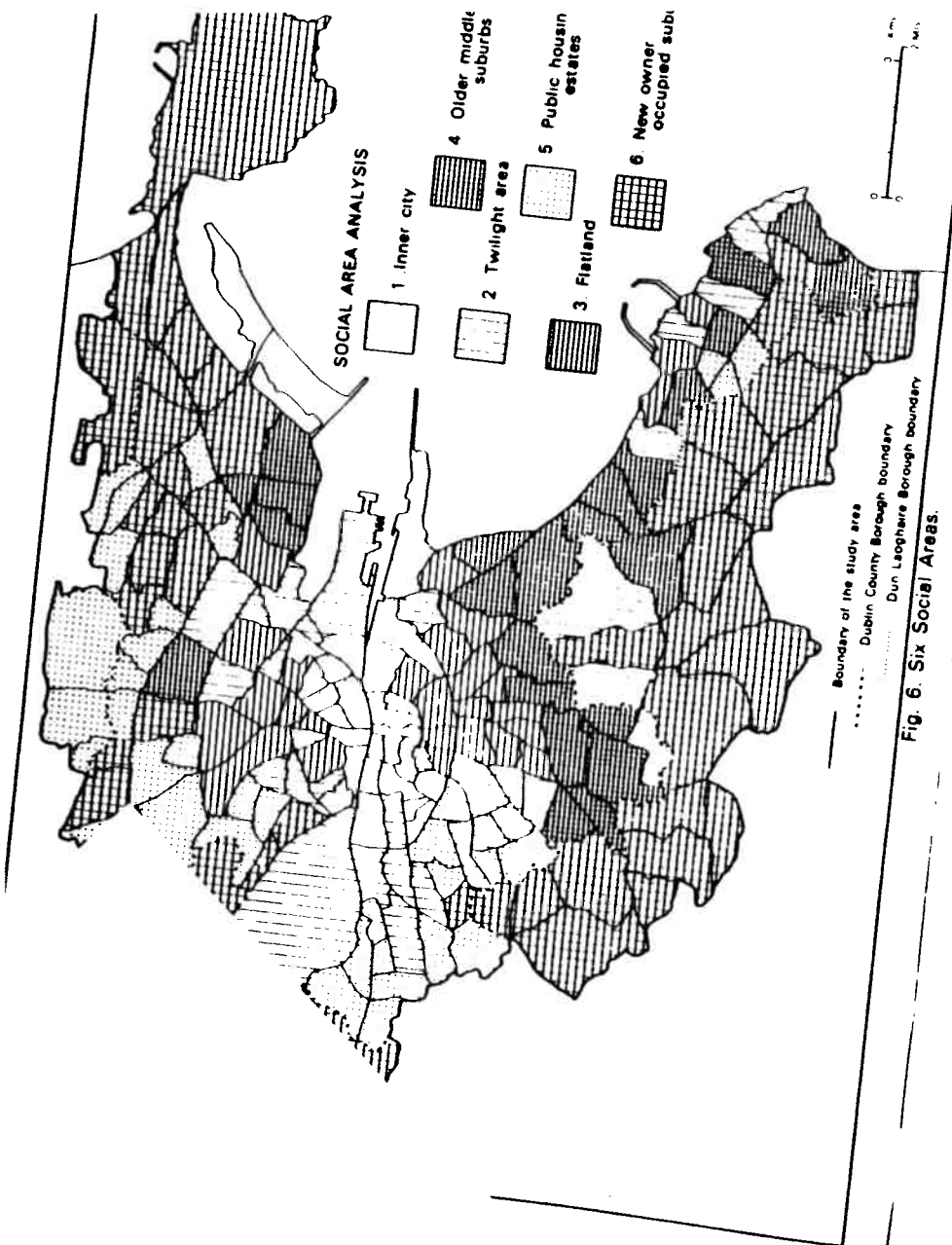


Fig. 6. Six Social Areas.

groups is important since it indicates the ease with which "area based" policies can reach members of the population. Such variables as "Furnished flats", "Persons living in Two Rooms" or "Local Authority Housing" are amenable to area approaches while variables such as "Persons 5-14 years" or "Skilled males" are more personal and less likely to be confined to specific areas. In allocating wards to "social areas" it is important to emphasise that any derived sociological findings, no matter how statistically relevant they appear, are only implied. Further empirical research would be necessary to ensure their validation. The full variable list is presented in Table 2.1 and the wards included in the study are illustrated in Figure 3.

2.3 Variations Between Social Area Groupings

2.3 (1) The Survey Results: An Overview

The two stage cluster analysis grouped the 193 wards into six broad Social Areas.¹² Further analysis then differentiated the wards within each Social Area into Social Sub-Areas on the basis of internal variations from the mean of that Social Area. In all the six Social Areas are composed of twenty sub-Areas—each having specific socio-economic characteristics meriting special policy response. Table 2.2 lists the Social Areas and sub-Areas by descriptive name while Table 2.3 provides some details about each Social Area. Table 2.4 provides a detailed statement of the performance of each Social Area in respect of all variables which it is hoped will lay the ground work for future comparative research as new data become available. The extent of each of the six Social Areas is shown in Figure 6 while the real extent of the sub-Areas can be seen in Figures 7 to 12.

These results show that Social Area 1 consists of a typical "inner city" concentration of indices of deprivation, while Social Areas 4 and 6 display occupational, housing and other indicators typical of middle class areas. By contrast Social Area 5, Local Authority estates, has many of the problems evident in the Inner City Social Area, though of course their physical stock is modern and sound. The remaining Social Area, Social Area 2—Twilight Areas—may be described as transitional

¹²The use of a two tier designation of social areas within a city was used in Liverpool and, since this study closely follows the methodology used in the Liverpool analysis, it was also decided to adhere to that study's twofold hierarchy of area but using different nomenclature. See R. Webber, *Liverpool Social Area Analysis*, P.R.A.G., T.P 9, Centre for Environmental Studies, London, 1975, 65 pages.

TABLE 2.1
List of Variables used in Study

1. Children 0-4 years old.		
2. Children 5-14 years old.		
3. Persons 15-24 years old.		
4. Persons 25-64 years old.		
5. Males 65+.	<i>Demographic Variables</i>	
6. Females 65+.		
7. Sex Ratio females to males.		
8. Married females.		
9. Widowed females.		
10. Fertility ratio.		
11. Housing units without water or bath.		
12. Number of cars per household.		
13. Rented Local Authority housing.		
14. Private rented unfurnished flats.		
15. Private rented furnished flats.		
16. Housing units being acquired from Local Authority.		
17. Owner occupied housing.	<i>Housing Variables</i>	
18. Conventional housing.		
19. Housing built pre-1860.		
20. Housing built between 1860-1899.		
21. Housing built between 1900-1940.		
22. Housing built between 1941-1960.		
23. Housing built between 1961-1971.		
24. Multiple dwelling units.		
25. Male commercial workers.		
26. Male professional workers.		
27. Higher professional males.		
28. Skilled male workers.		
29. Female clerical workers.		
30. The unemployed as a proportion of the gainfully occupied.		
31. Semi-skilled male workers.	<i>Employment/Occupational Variables</i>	
32. Male production workers.		
33. Male transportation workers.		
34. Persons 14-19 attending school full time.		
35. Unskilled male workers.		
36. Households living in 2 or less rooms.		
37. Households living in 6 or more rooms.		
38. Persons living in 2 rooms or less.		
39. Persons living in 6 rooms or more.	<i>Household/Overcrowding Variables</i>	
40. Two or less persons living in a household.		
41. Six or more persons living in a household.		
42. Aged living alone.		

and is subject to change by the forces of inner city problems, on the one hand, and speculative investment on the other. The following sections describe the character of each of the Social Areas in terms of selected key indicators. The preliminary analysis of the six Social Areas consists of an overview of the main features of the city as a whole and tables are presented to highlight five aspects of change that are central to the study as a whole. They include profiles of the demographic, socio-economic status, deprivation, housing tenure and housing age composition of the city as a whole. Each table is taken separately and a broad outline is presented below.

TABLE 2.2

List of Social Areas and Sub-Areas	
<i>Social Areas</i>	<i>Social Sub-Areas*</i>
1. Inner City areas	(1) Lowest status area (2) Skilled, family housing areas (3) Private rented housing areas <i>Fig. 7</i>
2. Twilight areas	(4) Terraced housing estates (5) Areas transitional to flats (6) Newer areas (7) Old, institutional populations <i>Fig. 8</i>
3. Flatland	(8) Older, furnished flats (9) Emerging flatland (10) High status flatland <i>Fig. 9</i>
4. Old middle class Suburbs	(11) Southside high status areas (12) Northside high status areas (13) Newer high status areas <i>Fig. 10</i>
5. Local Authority Suburbs	(14) Older mixed tenancies (15) New estates (16) New flat complexes (17) Newer mixed tenancies <i>Fig. 11</i>
6. New Owner occupied Suburbs	(18) Low status areas (19) Older, mixed areas (20) High status areas <i>Fig. 12</i>

*It must be stressed that the title of each sub-Area reflects its performance relative to its own Social Area not to the Dublin Metropolitan Area as a whole.

TABLE 2.3

Characteristics of Six Social Areas

Family	No. of Wards	Population 1971	% of total Population	Most Distinctive Feature
1 Areas of low income, multiple dwellings, suffering from acute social disadvantage	25	85,638	11.0	Multiple dwelling units
2 Areas of older housing, population	32	119,907	15.4	Widowed females
3 Areas of multi-occupancy, (i.e., flatland)	27	97,671	12.6	Furnished flats
4 Areas of older middle classes	24	75,452	9.7	Higher professional males
5 Areas of local authority housing	37	173,006	22.3	Rented local authority housing
6 Areas of young and growing populations	48	225,548	29.0	Households with greater than 6 rooms

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TABLE 2.4

Variable Scores for Each of Six Social Areas*

Ward Variables	Social Areas					
	1 Inner City	2 Twilight Area	3 Flatland	4 Older M.C.L. Suburbs	5 Local Authority	6 New M.C.L. Suburbs
1 Children 0-4	94.0	79.0	64.0	68.0	122.0	145.0
2 Children 5-14	84.5	82.0	55.5	89.5	139.0	120.5
3 Persons 15-24	107.6	94.1	129.7	101.6	104.9	79.0
4 Persons 25-64	97.9	98.5	100.0	98.8	91.2	109.1
5 Males 65+	115.8	152.6	140.8	130.3	46.0	57.9
6 Females 65+	128.8	154.1	152.3	131.5	41.4	49.6
7 Sex ratio F/M	99.8	104.1	118.6	110.7	88.7	90.3
8 Married females	95.0	98.0	80.8	97.1	100.6	116.0
9 Widowed females	132.1	147.8	126.2	116.7	63.1	56.0
10 Fertility ratio	93.0	82.9	53.2	66.2	125.6	138.6
11 Housing without bath/water	20.0	100.0	40.0	10.0	100.0	300.0
12 Cars/household	30.0	79.5	77.1	61.3	73.2	152.8
13 Rented L.A. housing	182.3	90.1	26.5	14.8	253.4	29.3
14 Unfurnished flats	216.8	109.2	200.8	89.1	3.4	45.4
15 Furnished flats	58.3	91.7	345.8	147.9	10.4	35.4
16 Housing acquired from L.A.	13.5	127.2	24.3	16.2	146.0	181.1
17 Owner occupied houses	34.4	103.2	98.6	153.0	40.7	152.0
18 Conventional housing	49.6	107.0	87.5	108.5	109.7	118.4
19 Housing pre 1860	190.7	92.6	235.2	114.8	37.0	46.3
20 Housing 1860-1899	161.9	121.8	297.3	99.3	3.4	18.4
21 Housing 1900-1940	120.3	196.7	109.2	134.4	48.5	42.6

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Variable Scores for Each of Six Social Areas*

Ward Variables	Social Areas					
	1 Inner City	2 Twilight Area	3 Flatland	4 Older M. CL. Suburbs	5 Local Authority	6 New CL. Suburbs
22 Housing 1941-1960	59.5	42.2	17.3	103.1	203.5	124.6
23 Housing 1961-1970	59.8	24.6	26.6	41.7	128.1	221.1
24 Multiple dwelling units	357.8	52.4	166.0	68.0	55.8	10.8
25 Male commercial	71.9	96.1	120.0	130.5	67.7	115.8
26 Male professional	34.0	67.9	127.6	232.1	28.8	128.9
27 Higher professional males	46.8	64.5	135.5	285.5	21.0	100.0
28 Skilled males	112.1	113.3	84.3	52.0	130.5	94.3
29 Unskilled males	205.3	104.4	64.6	28.3	163.7	47.8
30 Households ≤ 2 rooms	295.6	73.7	240.2	59.9	26.3	14.6
31 Households ≥ 6 rooms	17.1	66.2	70.7	185.9	51.2	177.5
32 Schoolgoers 14-19	52.5	84.2	113.4	163.5	70.4	118.9
33 Persons in ≤ 2 rooms	320.2	66.3	242.7	50.6	25.8	10.1
34 Persons in ≥ 6 rooms	18.2	67.0	85.8	191.7	46.1	168.4
35 ≤ 2 person households	140.8	118.1	168.9	121.5	46.0	59.8
36 ≤ 6 person households	71.8	76.5	44.0	74.8	178.5	116.2
37 Male production workers	97.6	114.3	86.8	53.2	129.3	99.6
38 Male transportation workers	143.1	119.9	81.8	45.3	139.4	73.0
39 Old living alone	211.8	117.7	188.2	111.8	23.5	35.3
40 Female clerical	54.2	103.6	133.3	118.8	69.4	117.3
41 Unemployed	191.8	89.8	83.7	49.0	144.9	57.1
42 Semi-skilled males	183.1	107.8	67.5	35.1	161.0	57.1

*Figures in columns 1 to 6 represent the percentage score of each Social Area on any variable, measured against a City mean of 100. Thus, in the case of variable 1, children aged 0-4 years, the Table shows that Social Areas 5 and 6 have a high number of children relative to the city average, while Social Area 3—Flatland—has relatively few children.

2.3(2) Demographic Variation between Social Areas

Demographic variations are presented in Table 2.5 and the main feature of this table is the stark contrast between Social Areas 2 and 3, and Social Areas 5 and 6. *Stage in the life-cycle is well represented here and the young families highlighted in Social Area 6 are in sharp contrast to the older populations apparent in Social Area 2.* The demographic characteristics of Family Six are also apparent in Social Area 5, while Social Area 3 with its high incidence of the 15-24 age group and its greater proportion of unmarried females points to a young mobile population at a crossroads in their life cycle.¹³ The contrasts between the First and Fourth Social Areas are not as clear although the population age structure tends to be loaded towards the older end of the spectrum.

2.3(3) Occupational Variations

Table 2.6 presents details of occupational variation and the Social Areas differing most are Social Areas 1, 4 and 5. Social Area 3 (Flatland) picks out the high incidence of female clerical workers, which is primarily due to the migratory behaviour of these office workers. Glaringly, Social Area 4 is the most polarised of all the groups on this set of variables, having the highest proportions of professional and commercial workers and the lowest incidence of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. This is in sharp contrast to Social Area 1, where there is a high incidence of the unskilled and semi-skilled. It is Social Area 5 which acts as a reverse image of Social Area 4, with an almost complete absence of the professional and commercial workers and a high incidence of blue-collar workers. These areas are characterised by the large proportions of Local Authority housing built since the 1930s in suburban fields. *This very definite segregation of occupational groups in space is characteristic of many Western cities today¹⁴ and its effect on society in general has yet to be estimated in terms of lack of social integration.*

¹³This area does also have a concentration of both older males and females availing of furnished accommodation in the area.

¹⁴However, the degree of social polarisation evident in Dublin appears intense by contrast with European cities or even with parts of Inner London: See J. Shankland *et al.*, *Inner London: Policies for Dispersal in Balance*, H.M.S.O., 1977.

TABLE 2.5

Demographic Characteristics of Social Areas*

Variables	Social Areas					
	1 Inner City	2 Twilight Areas	3 Flatland	4 Older Middle Class	5 Local Authority	6 New Owner Occupied
Children 0-4	94.0	79.0	64.0	68.0	122.0	145.0
Children 5-14	84.5	82.0	55.5	89.5	139.0	120.5
Persons 15-24	107.6	94.1	129.7	101.6	104.9	79.0
Persons 25-64	97.9	98.5	100.0	98.8	91.2	109.1
Males 65+	115.8	152.6	140.8	130.3	46.0	57.9
Females 65+	128.8	154.1	152.3	131.5	41.4	49.6
Sex ratio F/M	99.8	104.1	118.6	110.7	88.7	90.3
Married females	95.0	98.0	80.8	97.1	100.6	116.0
Widowed females	132.1	147.6	126.2	116.7	63.1	56.0
Fertility ratio	93.0	82.9	53.2	66.2	125.6	138.6

*In Tables 2.5 to 2.9 the average for the Metropolitan Area is taken as 100 and the Social Area scores are related to that average. (For explanation, See Table 2.4 footnote.)

TABLE 2.6

Occupational Variation of Social Areas*

Variables	Social Areas					
	1 Inner City	2 Twilight Areas	3 Flatland	4 Older Middle Class	5 Local Authority	6 New Owner Occupied
Commercial male workers	71.9	96.1	120.0	130.5	67.7	115.8
Professional male workers	34.0	67.9	127.6	232.1	28.8	128.9
Higher professional males	46.8	64.5	135.5	285.5	21.0	100.0
Skilled male workers	112.1	113.3	84.3	52.0	130.5	94.3
Semi-skilled male workers	183.1	107.8	67.5	35.1	161.0	57.1
Unskilled male workers	205.3	104.4	64.6	28.3	163.7	47.8
Production workers	97.8	114.3	86.8	53.2	129.3	99.6
Transport workers	143.1	119.9	81.8	45.3	139.4	73.0
Female clerical workers	54.2	103.6	133.3	118.8	69.4	117.3

* (For explanation, See footnote, Table 2.4)

TABLE 2.7
Deprivation in each Social Area*

Variables	Social Areas					
	1 Inner City	2 Twilight Areas	3 Flatland	4 Older Middle Class	5 Local Authority	6 New Owner Occupied
Unskilled males	205.3	104.4	64.6	28.3	163.7	47.8
School goers 14-19	52.5	84.2	113.4	163.5	70.4	118.9
Households living ≤ 2 rooms	295.6	73.7	240.2	59.9	26.3	14.6
≤ 2 person households	140.8	118.1	168.9	121.5	45.0	59.8
≥ 6 person households	71.8	76.5	44.0	74.8	176.5	116.2
Old living alone	211.8	117.7	188.2	111.8	23.5	35.3
Unemployment	191.8	89.8	83.7	49.0	144.9	57.1

* (For explanation: See footnote, Table 2.4.)

2.3(4) Other General Measures of Deprivation

Table 2.7 presents seven variables which, taken separately or together, could be construed as indicators of deprivation. On all but two variables the Inner City Area comes out worst and the high incidence of the unemployed, the unskilled, the aged living alone, and the educationally deprived points to multiple-deprivation conditions, and suggests that policy recommendations should be multi-dimensional to ensure proper rehabilitation. The only other Social Area to score in any way comparably with Social Area 1 was Social Area 5. Hence the larger households could present as many social problems for individual families as those already highlighted in Social Area 1.

2.3(5) Variation in Housing Tenure

Housing tenure is presented in tabular form in Table 2.8 and the figures are self-explanatory. Social Areas 1, 4, 5 and 6 are differentiated on many of the variables, and Social Area Three is shown up by the high incidence of furnished flats, which typifies the areas concerned. Social Areas 1 and 6 are differentiated quite strongly by their high and low incidence of multiple-dwelling units and conventional housing. For both historical and locational reasons this is quite understandable. Owner occupation is most prevalent in area 4 and absent in Social Area 1. Rented Local Authority housing is the main characteristic of Social Area 5 and is almost absent in Social Area 4 and 6. Private rented unfurnished flats are predominant in Social Area 1 and 3 but score lowly in Areas 5 and 6. One other feature of housing tenure worth noting is that the greatest proportion of housing being acquired from the Local Authority surfaces in Social Area 6 and not 5 (Local Authority Area).¹⁸

2.3(6) Variations in Housing Age

Finally, Table 2.9 looks at housing by age, and the most important fact to come out of this is that housing age is not directly linked to the concentric pattern of outward growth. Social Area 3 has the greatest incidence of pre-1900 housing while 2 is well represented by housing built between 1900-1940. Social Areas 5 and 6 are dominated by 1940-61 and post 1961 housing respectively. The relatively low score

¹⁸ However, most of the purchase of Local Authority housing has taken place since 1971 and so does not come up in the analysis.

TABLE 2.8

Housing Tenure in each Social Area*

Variables	Social Area					
	1 Inner City	2 Twilight Areas	3 Flatland	4 Older Middle Class	5 Local Authority	6 New Owner Occupied
Rented from local authority	182.3	90.1	26.5	14.8	253.4	29.3
Unfurnished flats	216.8	109.2	200.8	89.1	3.4	45.4
Furnished flats	58.3	91.7	345.8	147.9	10.4	35.4
Housing acquired from L.A.	13.5	127.2	24.3	16.2	146.0	181.1
Owner occupiers	34.4	103.2	98.6	153.0	40.7	152.0
Conventional houses	49.6	107.0	87.5	108.5	109.7	118.4
Multiple dwelling units	357.8	52.4	166.0	68.0	128.1	221.1

*(For explanation: See footnote, Table 2.4.)

of Social Area 6 on pre-1860 housing can partially be explained by the submerged village theory—whereby older villages once on the outskirts of the city have now become submerged in new housing estates. Demolition of older dwellings, through programmes of slum clearance and the erection of blocks of flats on cleared sites in Social Areas 1 and 2 results in these areas scoring relatively low on older housing.

2.3(7) Social Areas: An Overview

The foregoing sections show that each of the Social Areas are quite distinct and relate differently to the various indices discussed above. This is not to suggest that the Social Areas are themselves homogeneous in respect of the characteristics of any of the variables: rather, the Tables show the predominant structure of each area. Particularly in relation to aspects of deprivation, it is important to bear in mind that small pockets of disadvantaged populations may exist in areas that appear quite satisfactory. Such small disadvantaged populations may be either dispersed throughout a Social Area—e.g., the Old—or concentrated in part of the area—e.g., a small Corporation estate. This grouping of the city wards into Social Areas does pinpoint the major concentrations of the disadvantaged and it can be presumed that policies applicable to the needs of larger concentrations could be applied to smaller pockets in practice.

The remainder of Section Two proceeds to discuss the 1971 characteristics of each Social Area and their Sub-Areas in depth while the intense problems of Social Areas 1 and 5 are isolated for further investigation in Sections III and IV of the Report where, the 1979 household surveys reveal a perpetuation of social, economic and physical-environmental problems.

2.4 The Six Social Areas

2.4(1) Social Area 1: Inner City: Low Income Area

The first of the six Social Areas was an area of low income status. This was seen foremost by its concentration of unskilled males, multiple dwelling units, households with only two rooms, unemployed and the old living alone. It had well below average incidence of school

TABLE 2.9

Housing Age in each Social Area*

Variables	Social Area					
	1 Inner City	2 Twilight Areas	3 Flatland	4 Older Middle Class	5 Local Authority	6 New Owner Occupied
Pre 1860 housing	190.7	92.6	235.2	114.8	37.0	46.3
1860-1899	161.9	121.8	297.3	99.3	3.4	18.4
1900-1940	120.3	196.7	109.2	134.4	48.5	42.6
1940-1961	59.5	42.2	17.3	103.1	203.5	124.6
1961-1971	59.8	24.6	26.6	41.7	128.1	221.1

*(For explanation: See Table 2.4 footnote.)

going children,¹⁶ few cars per household, few female clerical workers and few large housing units (greater than 6 rooms).

The extent of serious overcrowding was not immediately apparent from the figures,¹⁷ since the high incidence of aged living alone may obscure a very real social problem. *It is clear that a high incidence of social malaise prevailed due to many factors related to housing age, demographic structure and socio-economic status. The area contained 11% of the total city population in 1971 and had suffered continuous decline since 1926.* This contiguous area was concentrated in the core of the city and includes Benburb Street, Smithfield, Summerhill, Sean McDermott Street, Gardiner Street and Sheriff Street on the North side (Fig. 7), and Iveagh Buildings, Oliver Bond Street, Bride Street, Kevin Street and much of the Liberties area on the South side.¹⁸ These areas were amongst the most deprived as defined by Menton¹⁹ and both of the action projects being undertaken by the National Poverty Committee within Dublin²⁰ are located therein. Other areas within this Social Area included Dolphin's Barn, Ringsend, City Quay, Mountjoy Square, and the Dominick Street area (Fig. 7). *These wards virtually encircle the Central Area of the city, and many have a high intensity of commercial use. High land costs and the needs of the city centre conflict with the environmental needs of the residents.* This area would appear in 1971 to have had most of the problems identified in many countries as the "inner city problem".²¹ The high concentrations of unemployed, unskilled and aged can result in—or be the result

¹⁶The need for educational priority areas, particularly in inner city areas, has been argued succinctly by A. Breathnach, "Towards the Identification of Educational Priority Areas in Dublin", *The Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1976, pp. 367-382.

¹⁷While Census data was available at block level, resources did not facilitate this degree of detailed analysis and so the results are presented at a somewhat aggregated level.

¹⁸The inner city as defined here is somewhat more confined than the area delimited as inner city by either Dublin Corporation or the inter-Departmental Committee on Dublin's inner city. It is, however, designed to embrace all major "inner city" problem areas.

¹⁹B. Menton, *Poverty Indicators for Social Policy*, E.S.R.I., 1975.

²⁰(i) Dublin South City Area Resource Project; (ii) Dublin North Centre City Community Action Project.

²¹For an excellent resume of European inner city problems, see G. Shankland, *Renewing Europe's Inner Cities*, European Regional Planning Study Series, Council of Europe, No. 9, Strasbourg, 1978, 45 pages. Also, Department of the Environment, *Change or Decay*, the Final Report of the Liverpool Inner Area Study, H.M.S.O., London 1977, 240 pages.

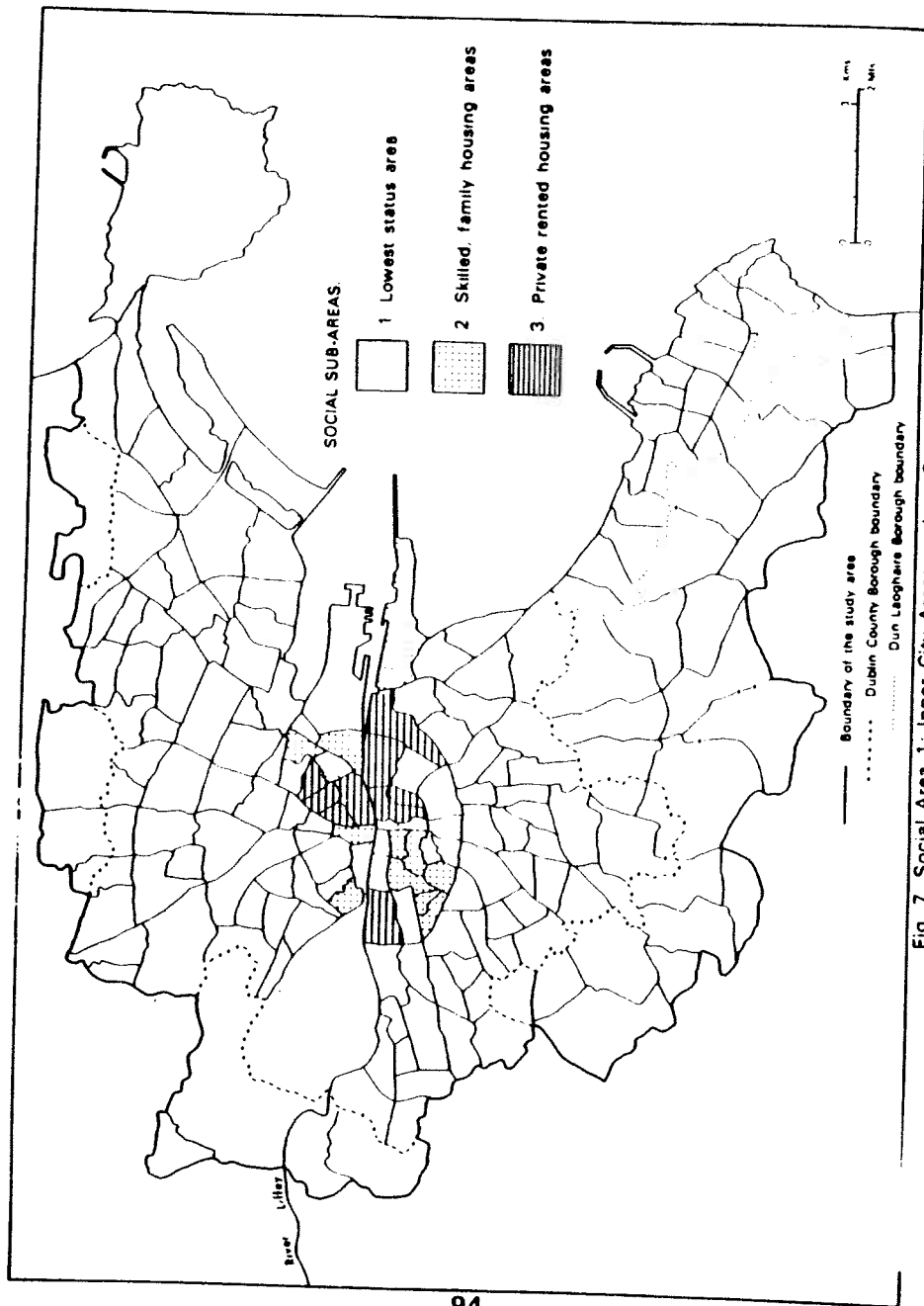


Fig. 7. Social Area 1: Inner City Areas — Low Status.

of—chronic deprivation, be it social, psychological or economic. The failure of numerous governments to come to terms with the problem is everywhere apparent and well documented.²² Population loss in the area continues to be serious. Between 1966-71, all but two of the wards experienced population decline, the overall decline being 12.6%. Johnson has highlighted the selected nature of this migration,²³ and the considerable in-migration of the elderly to areas around the city centre can only further emphasise the demographic and social contrasts between this area and the remainder of the city, especially the new suburbs. The socio-economic characteristics of this area will be the subject of Section III in view of its evidence of serious deprivation as seen from 1971 Census data.

2.4(2) Social Area Two: Twilight Areas

The second social area, which contains 32 wards and 15.4% of the city's 1971 population, consisted of a ring of 1900-1940 housing separating the "inner city" areas from other parts of the city. The area was the least well defined of all the social areas, and was distinguishable by its higher incidence of widowed females, housing built between 1900-1940 and females over 65. *Although having average incidence on many variables, there were lower proportions of children, young persons, professionals, large houses or households.* The low incidence of small or large dwellings indicates that housing units were in the 3-5 room bracket. This, plus the greater than average incidence of conventional housing suggests terrace type developments.

Figure 8 shows that this type of area was most extensive around the North Wall and East Wall. Phibsborough, Marino, Fairview, Cabra East and the Cattle Market area were most typical on the North side, while Crumlin, Kilmainham, Inchicore, Harolds Cross, were representative of the South side. Outliers occurred in parts of Milltown and Dun Laoghaire (Fig. 8). The rich and varied community life of areas like this

²²Amongst the studies of this area are: *The Inner City of Dublin*, the Irish Foundation for Human Development, 1974, 37 pages. O'Neill has examined the problems of violence within the area while Murphy and Morrissey have looked at youth employment in the area. See: C. O'Neill, "The Social Function of Physical Violence in an Irish Urban Area", *The Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1971. B. Murphy and T. Morrissey, *A Study of Youth Employment in North Central Dublin*, AnCO and Dept. of Labour, 1978, 193 pages.

²³N. Johnson, "Migration Patterns in Dublin County Borough", *The Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1974, pages 229-261.

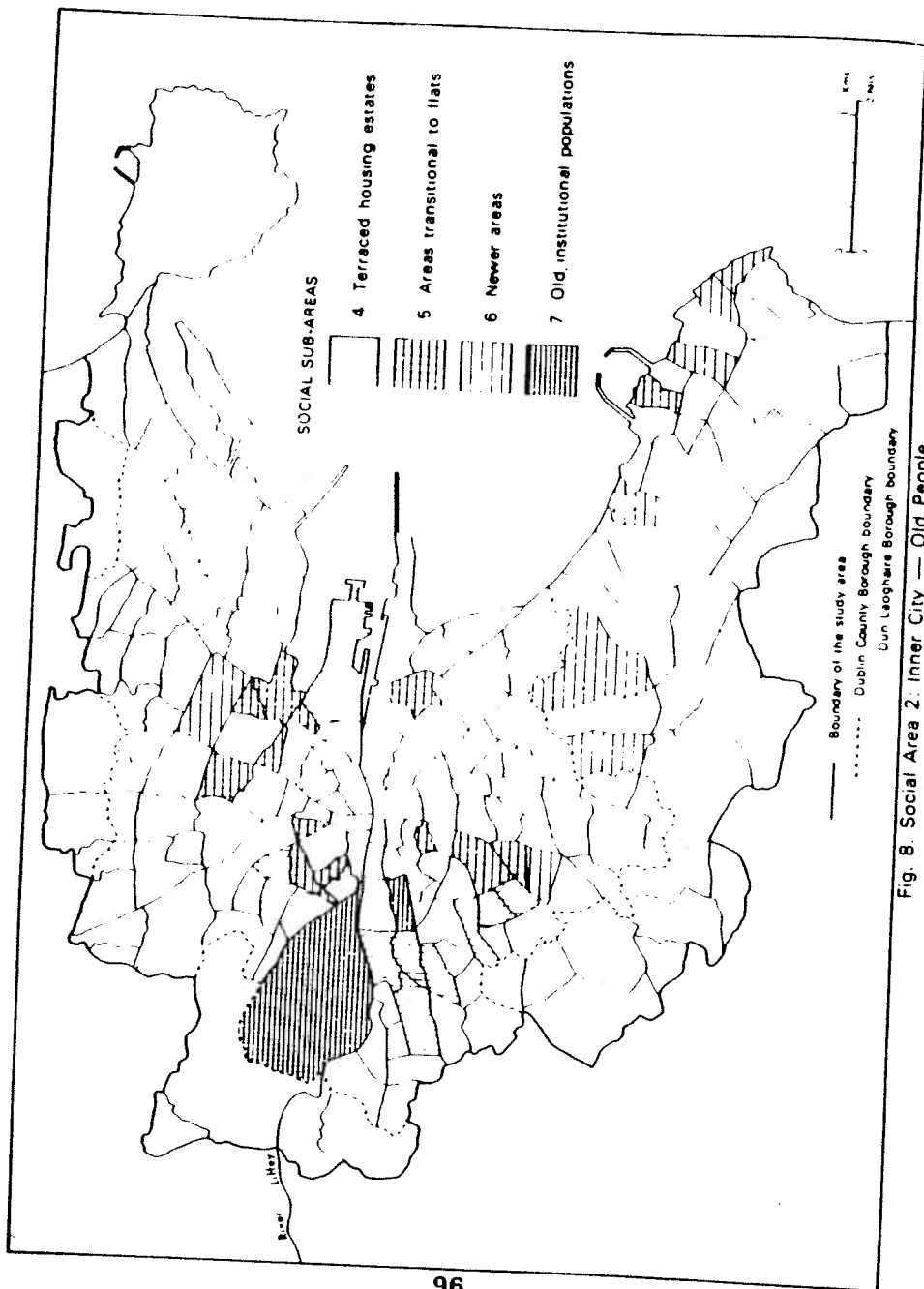


Fig. 8. Social Area 2: Inner City — Old People.

have been documented by Gans,²⁴ in the United States and Young and Willmott²⁵ in England, though Rex²⁶ has highlighted the conflict that can arise in such areas. It has also been postulated by Hourican that such areas, though having all the qualities of a settled area, are ripe for land speculation and slum development,²⁷ but trends suggest that if anything these areas will be gentrified by young urbanites seeking "inner city" housing e.g., Harold's Cross.²⁸ Observation surveys show that these areas have improved since 1971 and, consequently, they were not subjected to detailed analysis in 1979.

2.4(3) Social Area 3: Flatland

This social area was exemplified by the above average incidence of furnished flats, housing built between 1860 and 1899, persons living in less than two rooms, small households—less than two persons, a greater proportion of females and persons 15-24 years. There was a below average incidence of large households, few married females and few young children. This area appears to have had all the attributes of flatland, with its typical young single population, transient by nature²⁹ and, as has been suggested, having little attachment to the local area.³⁰

This type of social area³¹ predominates in the Rathmines and Rathgar districts and Ranelagh and Dun Laoghaire. On the North side Drumcondra, Glasnevin, Clontarf, Phibsborough and Ballybough are most pronounced (Fig. 9). *There were in all 27 wards in this Social Area and 12.6% of the total 1971 population resided therein.* The wards in this Social Area can also be seen from Figs. 6 and 9. The

²⁴H. Gans, *The Urban Villagers*, The Free Press, New York, 1962, 367 pp.

²⁵M. Young and P. Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1957, 222 pages.

²⁶J. A. Rex, "The Sociology of a Zone in Transition", in R.E. Pahl (ed.) *Readings in Urban Sociology*, Pergamon Press, London, 1968, 241 pages.

²⁷K. Hourican, "Social Areas in Dublin", *Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 9, 1978, pages 301-319.

²⁸One of the few Dublin studies about this type of area is L. Kealy and S. de Blacam, "City Housing Improvement" in *Dublin: A City in Crisis*, R.I.A.I. Dublin, 1975, pages 61-68.

²⁹N. Johnson, *op. cit.*

³⁰K. Hourican, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

³¹Two detailed studies of flats and flatland have been undertaken. See Michael Halligan, *Flat Conversions in Dublin*; unpublished thesis, Department of Town Planning, U.C.D. Dublin, 1976, 136 pages. Also J. Holdship and D. Gillmor, "Private Apartment Development in Dublin", *Irish Geography*, Vol. IX, 1976, pp. 123-128.

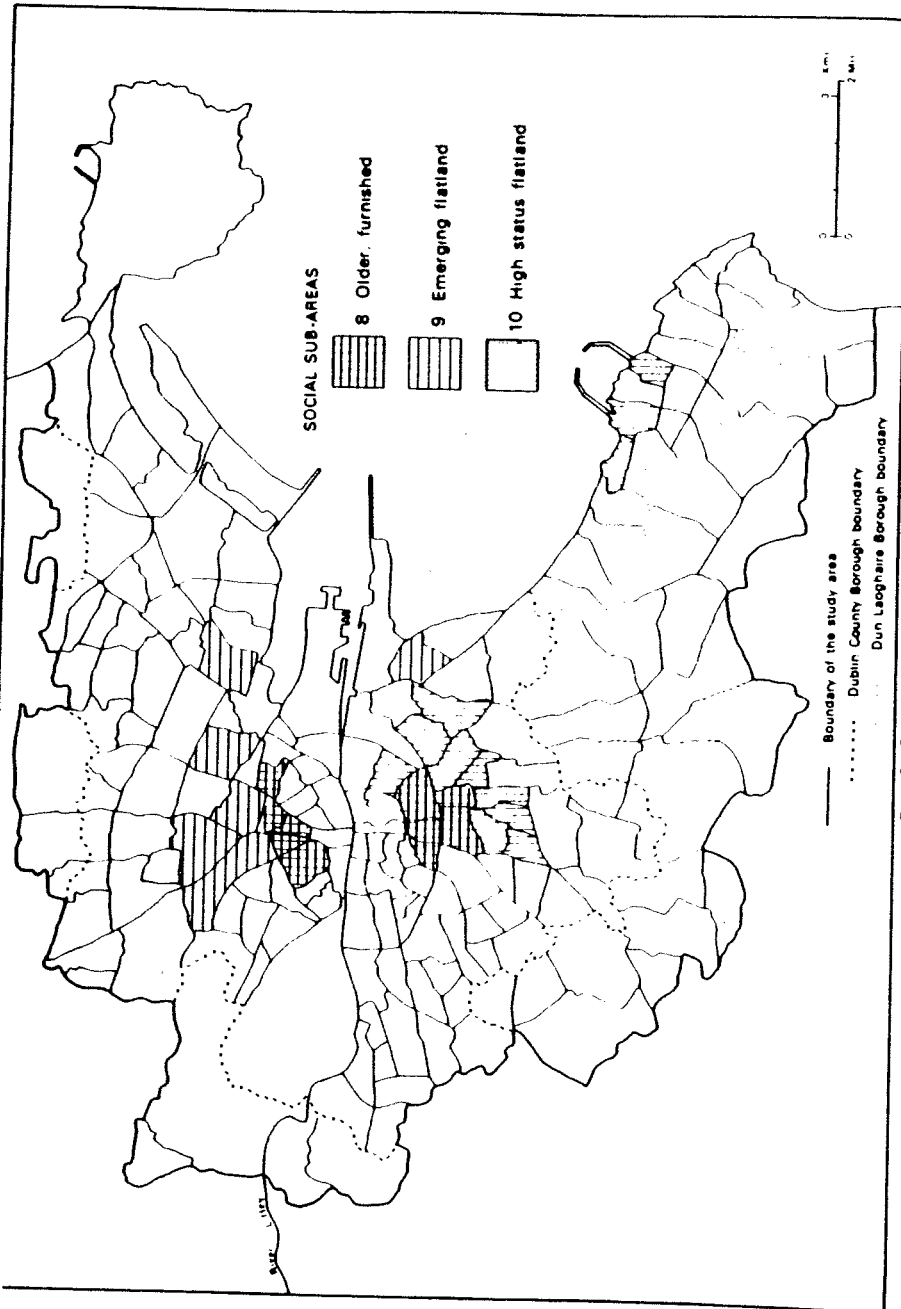


Fig. 9 Social Area 3: Flatland.

reasons for the concentration of this young population are twofold: (a) the housing market ensures that the large old houses are ideal for conversion to flats; and (b) third level educational establishments and Government offices are quite accessible from these areas.³² This Social Area should not be seen as independent of other parts of the city, and is likely to be most affected by the housing market and the locational decisions of the universities and state departments.³³

2.4(4) Social Area 4: Older Middle Class Suburbs

The fourth broad social area identified was the highest status area in the city. It was recognised foremost by its concentration of higher professionals, professional workers, male commercial workers, and car owners. This profile was further exemplified by its concentration of school-goers, 14-19 years, large houses and owner-occupiers. The markedly below average incidence of the skilled, those involved in manufacturing industry or transportation, further personified the exclusiveness of this Social Area. Although it had well below average incidence on all forms of social malaise, *the high status of the area was the greatest differentiating factor.*

There were twenty four wards in this Social Area (Figs 6 and 10) and the area contained 9.7% of the total city population—the smallest of the six Social Areas. The main concentrations were on the South side of the city and included Ballsbridge, Donnybrook, Sandymount, Stillorgan, parts of Terenure, Rathfarnham and Dundrum. In the Dun Laoghaire Borough parts of Blackrock, Dalkey, Killiney and Dun Laoghaire were included, while on the North side parts of Clontarf and Glasnevin were also included.

This area would not have any evidence of deprivation observable at the ward level, though small pockets probably occur at the sub-ward level. For such areas personally oriented social policies may prove most relevant in dealing with problems which can arise. At present such areas are being affected by an upsurge of developments for luxury

³²For a good account of the conditions and attitudes of female clerks living in these areas see Nóirin Ó Broin and Gillian Farren, *Working and Living Conditions of Civil Service Typists*, Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin, Paper No. 93, 1978, 161 pages.

³³Recent arguments for decentralisation could have repercussions on this sector of the Dublin housing market.

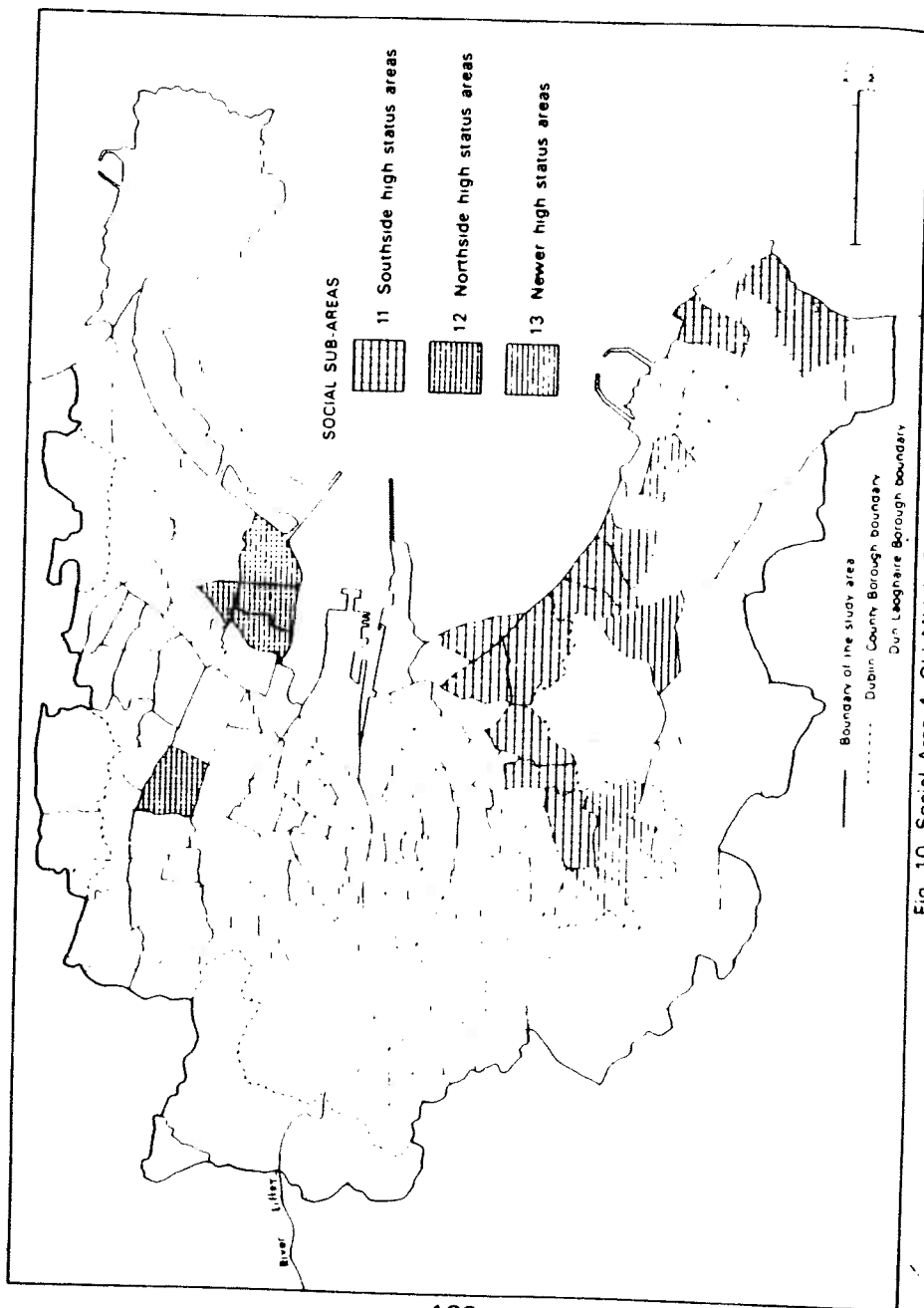


Fig. 10. Social Area 4: Old Middle Class Suburbs.

flats³⁴ and, on the South side, by the invasion of office uses which has continued during the 1960s and 1970s.³⁵

2.4(5) Social Area 5: Local Authority Estates

Social Area 5 contained 37 wards and 22.3% of the city's 1971 population. It comprised the post-war municipal housing estates. These were mostly concentrated on the North of the city, with a wedge around Ballyfermot to the West and a small area in Dun Laoghaire. Their spatial pattern was entirely due to the decision by the Local Authority to build massive one class estates on the outskirts of the city, initially to house people from the centre city, and more recently, to accommodate second generation families moving from older local authority estates.

The most striking features of these areas were the high proportion of the dwellings owned by the Local Authority, many built between 1941-60, housing large families, with a high proportion of children 5-14 years. There was an absence of owner occupied housing small households, and old people. *The socio-economic profile highlighted the absence of professional and commercial workers and the preponderance of skilled and semi-skilled as well as workers in manufacturing.* On indicators of deprivation, such as unemployment and school goes 14-19 years, these areas had an above city average, though not as high as in Social Area 1.

This Social Area included parts of Cabra, Finglas, Ballyfermot, Crumlin,³⁶ Ballymun,³⁷ Artane, Coolock, Kilmore, Kimmage, Walkinstown, Sallynoggin and Rathfarnham South (Figs. 6 and 11). The social problems of large scale residential segregation on the basis of class have been well documented.³⁸ Suttler has argued that residential segregation is an important element of stratification rather than merely reflecting it.³⁹ Most of the problems associated with such

³⁴J. Holdship and D. Gillmor, *op. cit.*

³⁵M. J. Bannon, *The Development and Organisation of Office Activities in Central Dublin*, Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Geography, T.C.D., 1972, 257 pages.

³⁶For an overview of Crumlin and its development, see M. Craft, "The Development of Dublin", *Studies*, Autumn 1970, pages 301-313 and Spring 1971, pages 68-80.

³⁷For an interesting perspective of "transit housing" see Ballymun Resource Group, *Ballymun*, paper produced by Sociology Department, Trinity College, Dublin, 1974.

³⁸Pahl, *Patterns of Urban Life*, Longmans, London 1970, 333 pages.

³⁹G. D. Suttler, *The Social Construction of Communities*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1972.

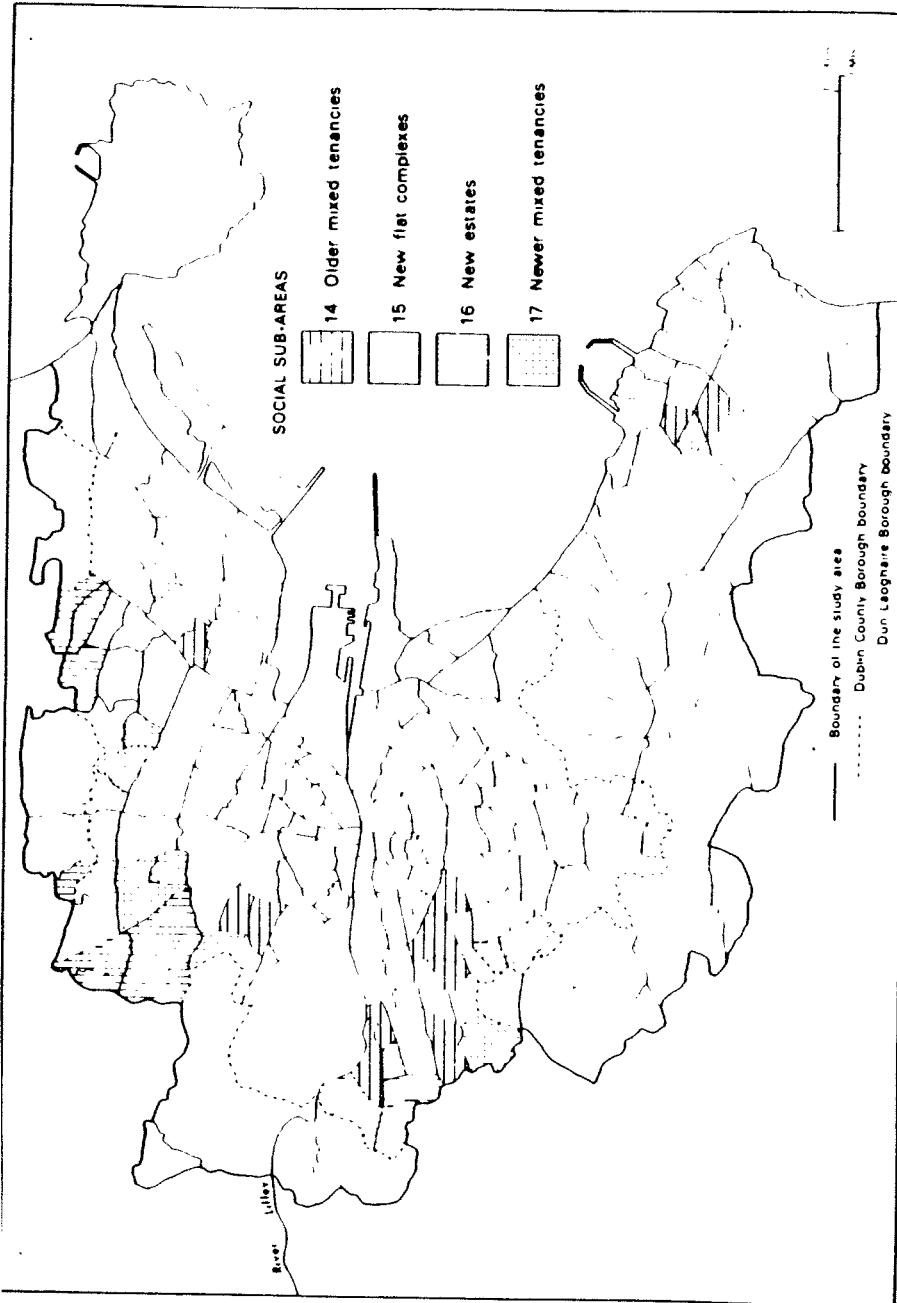


Fig. 11. Social Area 5: Local Authority Suburbs.

areas envelop the whole spectrum of policy-making, though transport, local services and the provision of suitable facilities are particularly essential to community well-being. The problem of these areas will be further investigated in Section IV.

2.4(6) Social Area 6: Areas of New Owner Occupied Housing

The final social area was distinguished most by its concentration of housing units with six or more rooms, built since 1961 and owner occupied. The Social Areas displayed most of the features of the high status area, but to a less marked extent than the older middle class suburbs in Social Area 4. Car ownership was high while *demographically these areas had a high proportion of married females, young children 0-4 years and the highest fertility level in the city.* There was a marked absence of the 15-24 year olds and the aged (over 65). Though the unemployed, unskilled and semi-skilled are under-represented, the skilled and manufacturing workers are about average for the whole city. Along with Area Five this Social Area encompasses most of the post 1966 growth areas.

This Social Area contained 48 wards and 29.0% of the city's 1971 population and includes nearly all the new outer estates (Fig. 12). Included in this area are Howth, Sutton, Raheny, Baldoyle, Clontarf, Castleknock, and Palmerston on the North side, while Dundrum, Stillorgan, Rathfarnham, Terenure, Clonskea, Drimnagh, Tallaght, Ballybrack, Dalkey and Killiney are typical of the South side. This Area had the fastest growing population and the greatest number of wards. Here the physical planning problems are great,⁴⁰ where facilities, both community and commercial, are often slow to follow housing developments. Creches, playgroups would probably be initiated at the local level, but medical and marriage counselling services may be absent despite evidence of their importance.⁴¹

⁴⁰Haughton carried out a detailed examination of Dublin's urban fringe. J. P. Haughton, "The Urban-Rural Fringe of Dublin", *Irish Geographical Studies*, Q.U.B., 1970, pages 360-372. The planning problems of part of this area were looked at in A. Byrne, *Planning in the Urban Fringe - An Appraisal*, Department of Town Planning Thesis, U.C.D., 1977, 84 pages. See also J. Martin "Planning for Rapid Urban Growth: Tallaght", *The Irish Geography Teacher*, Nov. 1976, pp. 13-19. See Section V below.

⁴¹J. Klein, *Samples from English Culture*, London, 1965, 212 pages.

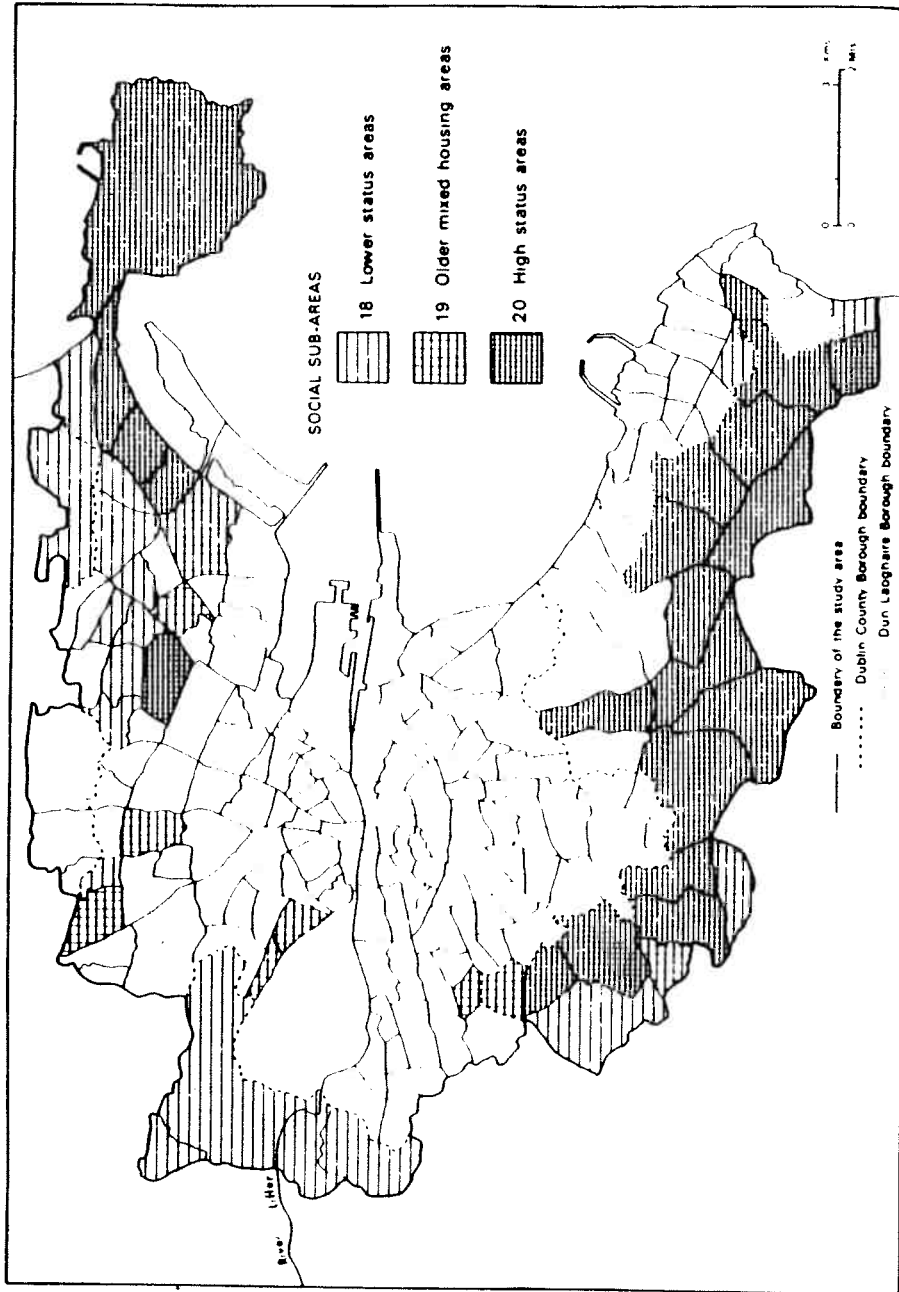


Fig. 12. Social Area 6: New Owner Occupied Suburbs.

2.5 Sub-Areas Within Each Social Area

2.5(1) Sub-Areas: Introduction

Sections 2.4(1) to 2.4(6) have described the social composition of the city in terms of six broad groupings—Social Areas. In this and the following paragraphs, differences in the social composition of Social Areas which are discernible at ward level are described in terms of 20 Sub-Areas. This approach has been found to be most useful by Webber in *British Studies*,⁴² and it allows the researcher, or indeed the decision maker, to isolate area problems without losing the perspective of the city or Social Area as a whole. The Sub-Areas are discussed in Sections 2.5(2) to 2.5(7) and can be seen in Figs. 7 to 12.

2.5(2) Sub-Areas Within Social Area One: The Inner City

Social Area One is broken into three Sub-Areas and the scores are presented in Table 2.10. Each Sub-Area contained 5, 11 and 9 wards respectively.

Sub-Area One contained five wards and 15,473 people in 1971. On most of the "poverty" indicators this area must be regarded as the most deprived in 1971. Unemployment, low skills, low educational achievement were relatively more concentrated here than the city as a whole (Table 2.10). Housing was more predominantly pre-1940 and a high number of households lived in less than two rooms. A greater concentration of children, the aged and the widowed, and a high proportion of males to females along with the socio-economic considerations warrants further research and indeed action on a wide level. Typical areas in this Sub-Area are Summerhill, Sean McDermott Street, Gardiner Street, Benburb Street, Smithfield, Iveagh Buildings, Bride Street, Kevin Street, Oliver Bond Street, Merchant's Quay, Watling Street and Winetavern Street (Fig. 7).

The *second Sub-Area* identified was made up of eleven wards and 43,385 people in 1971. The most important characteristics differentiating this Sub-Area from Social Area One was the high incidence of the old, particularly the old living alone (Table 2.10). The high incidence of older dwellings and the greater proportion of furnished and unfurnished flats might necessitate special area policies to ensure the adequacy of the housing stock. The diversity of these

⁴²See R. Webber, *op cit.*, 1975. Also R. Webber, and M. Shaw, *The Social Characteristics of Residential Neighbourhoods: Merseyside*, P.R.A.G., Technical Paper 24, 1978, 126 pages.

This Sub-Area has many of the attributes of a settled working-class community, though the female-clerical profile could point to an emerging flatland. The wards most predominant in this Sub-Area include Phibsborough, East Wall, Inchicore, Drimnagh, Crumlin, Kilmainham and Kimmage. Again Table 2.11 presents the salient features of this Sub-Area.

The third Sub-Area in this Social Area (*Sub-Area 6*) was immediately identifiable by its higher socio-economic status. This is clear from the loadings on higher professional and professional male workers, school goes 14-19 years, larger dwellings and car ownership rates. This area had a low level of old housing old people and widows, while unemployment was low in 1971, relative to the score for the Social Area as a whole.

Housing was newer than in the Sub-Area generally (post 1900), though owner-occupation is not as high as might be expected, given the Sub-Area's other attributes. Demographically, the Sub-Area did not vary greatly from that of the Social Area as a whole, and this factor was probably paramount in ensuring inclusion in this Social Area rather than in Area Four. The areas included in this Sub-Area were Drumcondra, Blackrock, Dún Laoghaire and parts of Terenure. In all 24.2 per cent of the Social Area's population was in this Sub-Area.

Sub-Area Seven contains only two wards (See Fig. 8 and Table 2.11) and the huge differences from the Social Area are explained by the large institutional populations in both wards. Demographically the Sub-Area was marked by an almost complete absence of the younger age groups and a preponderance of the Over 65 widowed population. Although these are predominantly in hospitals, convents etc., there is also an element of older housing with an aged population living alone. Housing is either very old or very new and there is a high incidence of flats, many unfurnished. The areas most typical of this Sub-Area are Chapellzod, Phoenix Park and Kilmainham. In all only 5% of the Social Area population resided in this Sub-Area.

2.5 (4) *Sub-Areas Within Flatland: Social Area 3*

The *Third Social Area* identified was Flatland, which was comprised of three Sub-Areas and 27 wards—Fig. 9. The area as a whole experienced a population decline of 5.3% between 1966 and 1971.

The first Sub-Area, (*Sub-Area 8*), contained 36.2% of the total

Social Area population in 1971 and 4.6% of the city population. This Sub-Area identified quite clearly a high-status flatland, having a predominance of multiple dwellings. The 25-54 age group predominated here, as did small households and furnished accommodation (private) (Table 2.12). Areas included in this Sub-Area are Grafton Street, Fitzwilliam Square, Leeson Street, Morehampton Road, and parts of Ranelagh, Rathmines, Blackrock and Dún Laoghaire (Fig. 9). The area has been well documented by Halligan.⁴³

Sub-Area Nine contained 38.0% of the Social Area population and 4.8% of the total 1971 city population. It differed from the Social Area in many respects. This Sub-Area presented evidence of low status flatland, and the scores on both the socio-economic and housing tenure indicators exposed this (Table 2.12). This Sub-Area included residential areas in the vicinity of Prussia Street and North Circular Road, Ballybough and Phibsborough on the North side and part of Rathmines and Crumlin on the South side (Fig. 9).

Sub-Area Ten should be considered as emerging flatland, where conventional houses dominate, mostly owner occupied and built since 1900. Commercial workers resided predominantly here and children were older. These areas were typically mixed and flats would appear to have been mostly in converted larger houses. Households tended to be larger than in other Sub-Areas of this Social Area and a good match occurred between family and dwelling size. These areas also appear to have had a higher incidence of Female Clerical Workers than the Social Area generally. Wards with these attributes covered Clontarf, Glasnevin and Drumcondra, on the North side and Sandymount on the South side. In all, 25.8% of the Social Area population resided here. This Sub-Area scores are shown in Table 2.12.

2.5 (5) *Sub-Areas Within the Older Middle Class Suburbs*

Social Area Four encapsulates three Sub-Areas which contain 13, 5 and 6 wards respectively (Fig. 10). Population has remained quite stable in this Social Area (Sub-Areas 11, 12 and 13) declining by only 1.4% between 1966 and 1971. The averaging process conceals the fact that firm wards increased population between 1966-1971. Each Sub-Area's characteristics are presented in Table 2.13.

⁴³Halligan, *op. cit.*

TABLE 2.12

Sub-Area Variations within Social Area 3

Selected variables	Social Area Score	Sub Area Scores		
		S.A.8	S.A.9	S.A.10
15-24 years	129.7	101.2	102.8	93.5
Sex ratio F/M	118.6	107.3	93.1	95.8
Private unfurnished	200.8	114.7	116.1	45.4
Private furnished	345.8	138.6	68.9	70.0
Multiple dwelling	166.0	156.6	72.1	28.4
Persons in ≤ 2 rooms	242.7	161.1	183.2	87.6
≤ 2 person households	168.9	110.5	97.5	82.9
Female clerical	133.3	99.4	89.4	116.7
School goers 14-19	113.4	125.5	65.8	100.9

Sub-Area Eleven is differentiated from the Social Area as a whole by its older demographic profile—often with the old living alone—its mixed housing tenure and rented Local Authority housing being more predominant. Housing tended to be older than the Social Area norm, while socio-economic status was reflected the housing mix. It had a higher incidence of both the unskilled and the higher professionals than was the norm in the Social Area. The areas most typical of this Sub-Area included parts of Ballsbridge, Stillorgan, Donnybrook, Blackrock, Dún Laoghaire, Dalkey, Killiney and Rathfarnham.

The second Sub-Area in this Social Area (*Sub-Area Twelve*) was important in that all the wards included in the Sub-Area were located on the North side of the city. Demographically this Sub-Area mirrored most of the Social Area's attributes, though there were less aged and fewer females. Housing was of the 1900-1940 period, mainly and predominantly owner-occupied (Table 2.13). Although the professionals were not as well represented in this Sub-Area as in the Social Area generally, managerial, production and transportation workers were. Female clerical workers were also seen to be predominant, when the ward data was examined in detail. Areas included in this Sub-Area were Clontarf, Griffith Avenue to Collins Avenue and the area between the Swords Road and Ballymun Avenue (Fig. 10).

The third Sub-Area identified in this Social Area (*Sub-Area 13*) contained six wards which could be regarded as newer high status areas. Demographically the population was much younger, the Sub-Area having the largest proportion of under fourteen population. On all indices of high socio-economic status this Sub-Area scored well, and the absence of flatdwellers and small dwellings, together with the presence of large dwellings and larger households points quite clearly to a conventional housing type. Table 2.13 shows a high incidence of cars per household, housing acquired from the Local Authority and large dwellings. Areas well represented in this Sub-Area included Rathfarnham, Terenure, Dundrum and Blackrock (Fig. 10).

TABLE 2.13
Sub-Area Variations in Social Area 4

Selected Variables	Social Area Score	Sub-Area Scores		
		S.A.11	S.A.12	S.A.13
Cars/household	161.3	96.7	88.4	117.0
Rented L.A. housing	14.8	137.9	35.2	71.7
Housing units acquired from L.A.	16.2	65.0	90.0	210.0
Owner occupied housing	153.0	89.7	110.3	113.8
Male professional	232.1	106.7	72.4	108.3
Higher professional males	285.5	117.6	53.1	101.0
Unskilled males	28.3	23.6	13.4	11.9
Households ≥ 6 rooms	185.9	75.9	92.3	105.9
Unemployed	49.0	108.3	92.1	89.6

2.5 (6) *Sub-Area Variations Within Social Area 5—Local Authority Estates*

Social Area Five included four Sub-Areas 14, 15, 16 and 17—and they are represented by 11, 4, 12 and 10 wards respectively. Population has increased appreciably in the quinquennial 1966-71. (See Table 2.5.)

Sub-Area 14 quite clearly highlights the older character of housing, and the older population therein (Table 2.14). Households and indeed housing units are small and the population is older with a relatively high level of professional males. Areas representative of this Sub-Area include parts of Cabra West, Ballyfermot, Crumlin and Sallynoggin. The population of these areas in 1971 was 43,016 or 24.9% of the total Social Area population (Fig. 11).

TABLE 2.14

Sub-Area Variations within Social Area 5

Selected Variables	Social Area Score	Sub-Area Scores			
		S.A.14	S.A.15	S.A.16	S.A.17
Children 5-14	139.0	80.5	90.8	124.9	94.4
Females 65+	41.4	156.5	48.7	38.3	129.6
Rented L.A. housing	253.4	102.2	87.3	125.2	72.3
Unfurnished flats	16.9	189.6	24.9	41.8	102.5
Owner occupied housing	40.7	70.0	167.2	36.0	182.6
Housing 1941-60	203.5	115.7	32.0	92.9	118.5
Male professionals	28.8	386.4	153.6	52.9	150.0
Skilled males ≥ 6 person households	130.5	100.7	91.7	103.0	98.6
Unemployed	144.9	107.6	98.7	114.6	76.1

Sub-Area 15 contains only four wards, and they include the fastest growing areas of Finglas, Ballymun and Santry. The most striking feature of this Sub-Area is the high incidence of multiple dwelling units and a very young population (Table 2.14). The arbitrary nature of ward boundaries is exposed here by the high incidence of owner occupiers, professional and commercial workers. Because the Ballymun complex is divided between three wards and each ward contains large elements of private housing, the full impact of the area is lost by averaging, thus negating any meaningful findings that could arise. The population of this area was 23,339 in 1971, which was 13.5% of the total population. This Sub-Area had the fastest growth rate in the city as a whole between 1966-71.

Sub-Area 16 reflects most of the Social Areas attributes and if anything these are reflected more strongly in the Sub-Area than in the Social Area as a whole. Children 5-14 years are well represented, while the old and widowed were absent. Housing tends to be the conventional two and three bedroom type, rented from the Local Authority. Families are big and the high incidence of 6+ person households would suggest accommodation problems. The low

occupational status of males, along with the high incidence of unemployment, and the low school attendance of 14-19 year olds could augur greater social problems in the future. The areas included in this Sub-Area are Kilmore, parts of Artane, Finglas West, Ballyfermot and Kimmage. The population of the area was 62,967 in 1971 or 36.3% of the total Social Area population.

The final Sub-Area in this Social Area, (*Sub-Area 17*), is the highest status of the Sub-Areas and again includes wards with a mixture of private and public housing schemes. In occupational and housing tenure terms the areas had many of the attributes of older middle class estates (Table 2.14). Areas best represented in this Sub-Area include parts of Coolock, Drumcondra, Finglas East, Santry and Cabra West on the North side and parts of Ballyfermot, Kimmage, Rathfarnham and Sallynoggin on the South side. In 1971 there were 43,624 people in the area or 25.2% of the total Social Area population.

2.5 (7) Sub-Areas Within Social Area 6: New Owner Occupied Suburbs

Social Area Six is made up of three Sub-Areas—18, 19, 20—and they contain 17, 21 and 10 wards respectively. From a total population of 225,548, 28.9%, 53.5% and 17.7% are in each Sub-Area. These are presented in Table 2.15 and Figure 12.

Sub-Area 18 included the newest, fastest growing areas of the owner occupied suburbs. The demographic profile suggested young families, while conventional three-four bedroomed housing mostly built since 1961 appears to be the norm. The occupational and socio-economic variables suggest lower status areas than the Social Area as a whole, and this is confirmed by mixed housing tenure, low level of male professionals and a relatively high fertility ratio. The areas included in this Sub-Area were Coolock, Beaumont, Baldoyle, Kilbarrack, Finglas East (pt.), Palmerstown, Castleknock and Rathmichael. The population in 1971 was 65,104 which was approximately 35% of the total Social Area population.

Sub-Area 19 which is the largest Sub-Area within the Social Area, with 21 wards a population of 120,603, displayed many of the features attributable to the Social Area. Demographically the areas appeared to be slightly older than the Social Area and there was an element of pre-1900 housing, reflecting older villages and a slightly greater mix of

TABLE 2.15
Sub-Area Variations within Social Area 6

Selected Variables	Social Area Score	Sub-Area Scores		
		S.A.18	S.A.19	S.A.20
Children 0-4	145.0	117.8	101.7	66.4
Males 65+	57.9	93.2	100.5	110.9
Married females	116.0	100.5	101.9	95.3
Fertility ratio	138.6	114.9	102.1	70.4
Housing acquired from L.A.	181.1	109.7	61.6	161.3
Owner occupied housing	152.0	102.3	106.5	82.7
Conventional housing	118.4	101.7	96.5	99.6
Housing post-1961	221.1	127.3	110.8	30.3
Male professional	8.9	63.3	153.6	50.2
Households \geq 6 rooms	177.5	99.2	112.9	74.3
Old living alone	35.3	43.3	121.7	120.0

accommodation. The socio-economic status of this Sub-Area was quite high, both professional and commercial workers being highly represented, while blue collar workers were under represented. Other indicators of socio-economic status also score better here—cars per household, education, large dwellings and smaller households—thus these areas are defined as new high status areas and could be compared with the older high status areas in Social Area Four. Places included in this Sub-Area include Ballybrack, Dundrum, Milltown, Clonskea, Rathfarnham, Stillorgan, Terenure and Dalkey on the South side, while Howth, Sutton, Raheny and parts of Glasnevin were representative of the North side.

The final Sub-Area in this Social Area—(Sub-Area 20)—contained 10 wards and 39,841 people. The areas were representative of the older parts of Social Area 6, and the demographic profile suggests an older, more settled population. The higher incidence of housing acquired from the Local Authority and the low score on male professionals suggests a more mixed community type than is the norm in suburban estates. Dwelling size tended to be smaller than that highlighted in the Social Area as a whole (Table 2.15), and this, coupled with larger households, suggests a degree of overcrowding in some areas. This Social Area was best represented by parts of Cabra

West, Clontarf West, Finglas East, Drimnagh, Tallaght, Terenure and Raheny (Figure 12).

2.6 Conclusion

The analysis reported in this Section has detailed the distinct social variations within the population of the Dublin Metropolitan Area. Six broad Social Areas were identified, each having a considerable degree of homogeneity in terms of demographic, social, occupational and housing characteristics. In turn these Social Areas were further analysed in terms of constituent Sub-Areas which displayed a more refined degree of social cohesion within their respective Social Area. The outcome was a sub-division of the Dublin Metropolitan Area into a two tier hierarchy of six and twenty units respectively, each with its own special attributes, identifiable problems and possibilities for selective remedial action aimed at the individuals, the households, the Sub-Areas and in some cases the Social Area as a whole. For each Sub-Area it has been possible to show how each ward and Sub-Area has performed in respect of each of the 42 variables—an analysis that details both the problem localities of the Metropolitan area and elaborates the nature of the problem for each area.

While all parts of an urban system are in constant need of monitoring and planned change as they evolve, this Section has revealed two broad Social Areas which are almost totally dominated by indices of relative but multi-dimensional deprivation—Social Area One, the Inner City and Social Area Five, the Local Authority Estates. The areas as defined in this Section provide a framework⁴⁴ for an in-depth analysis of both the problem areas; in both areas, a programme of in-depth household interviews were conducted in 1979. Section III reports on the Inner City as observed in 1979 while Section IV outlines household and family circumstances in the Local Authority estates at the same date.

However, social, economic or physical problems are not confined solely to these areas—though they are most intense therein—and subsequent aspects of the study will have regard to problems of more universal occurrence. In particular, Section V will detail the socio-psychological implications of a poor quality physical environment as it exists in some of the newly developing suburban parishes.

⁴⁴It is hoped that this method helps to avoid the arbitrary delineation of areas for special policy—a major criticism of some British Inner Area Studies.

SECTION III

DUBLIN'S INNER CITY:

AN ANALYSIS OF CONDITIONS IN 1971 AND 1979

Dublin "is most attractive and its aristocratic quarter is laid out in a more tasteful manner than that of any other British town. By contrast the poorer districts of Dublin are amongst the ugliest and most revolting in the world".

Engels, *Conditions of The Working Class in England*, 1844, page 40.

3.1 Introduction

Section I demonstrated that Dublin still retains vestiges of its historical legacy of social contrasts, though the relative position of Dublin's poor may have improved when compared to 1913. Section I also showed that social polarisation has extended out from the historic city to public housing areas such as Ballyfermot, Ballymun, Darndale, etc. Using 42 socio-economic indicators available from the 1971 Census, Section II sub-divided the city into six broad Social Areas, each with its particular characteristics; in 1971 two of these Social Areas, the Inner City (Social Area One) and the Local Authority Estates (Social Area 5) suffered relative deprivation in terms of overcrowding, unemployment rates, levels of skill, etc. Indeed the inner city in particular, and to a lesser extent, the suburban estates displayed general symptoms of multiple deprivation and called for an in-depth examination of these areas in 1979 to establish how their conditions had developed since 1971 and particularly during the recession of the mid-1970s. *The purpose of Section III is to examine in depth conditions in the inner city in 1971 and to contrast them with present conditions as revealed in the 1979 survey.* But first it is important to see these issues in a wider context.

3.2 Inner City Problems: An Overview

3.2.(1) *The Inner City Problem Generally*

Having focused almost exclusively on planning for urban expansion, both physical and demographic, the past decade has reawakened in planners, after half a century of relative inaction, the need to plan both for older parts of cities and to guide change in areas of physical, economic or social decline. For the most part, this redirection may be traced to the concern of the French in the early 1960s with the physical and social future of their city centres and the Lex Malraux heralded a first attempt at policies aimed to save the older parts of cities.

From the late 1950s successive administrations in the United States became alarmed with urban slum conditions especially in northern cities and attempted with Johnson's programme to overcome the widespread phenomenon of "poverty in the midst of plenty". The first major European analysis of the structure, advantages and problems of European inner cities appeared in 1967¹ and its concern with the multifunctional approach to these centres contrasted sharply with a slightly earlier review of United States inner city areas which were almost exclusively regarded as business districts.²

Analysis quickly led towards action and while there were major commercial redevelopment programmes initiated in the US (e.g. Charles Centre, Boston, or "Rocky's Mechano Set"—the new city centre for Albany), *European cities were in the 1970s commencing major programmes of renewal with emphasis upon physical rehabilitation, social conservation and environmental improvement in addition to commercial redevelopment.* Across Western Europe from the Kreuzberg area of Berlin to the major cities of the Netherlands this more complex renewal approach has become widespread. In Rotterdam eleven renewal areas involving 60,000 dwellings and 120,000 residents are being rehabilitated in a joint programme involving project groups drawn from the residents and the municipality and aided by central funds. Similar programmes are operational in Central Amsterdam, especially in the Kinkerbuurt area. Even smaller cities such as Utrecht have major renewal programmes with emphasis

¹*Urban Core and Inner City* (Proceedings of the International Study Week held at Amsterdam) Leiden, 1967, 577 pages.

²*Journal of the Am. Institute of Planners*, (Special Issue on Planning of the City Centre), Vol. 27, 1961, 104 pages.

on the resident population and rehabilitation.³ The major schemes in Utrecht are in Sterren Wijk and Hontenplein area, involving about 1,000 low income residents and no involuntary displacement. In Dutch cases some industries are being displaced to make room for housing.⁴ Comparable programmes may be seen in some Belgian, French and Austrian cities and even those cities which had to be rebuilt after World War II in Germany are concerned with both the decline of central populations and with physical and social conditions in the inner parts, e.g. Cologne or the Oberbilk area in Dusseldorf. *Widespread clearance and "comprehensive redevelopment" is now seen to be socially destructive and to be the antithesis of good planning.*

Nearer to Ireland a variety of actions have sought to counter the serious decline of many British cities. The Poverty Action Committees set up in such cities as Coventry, Glasgow and Newcastle by the British Home Office were designed to identify the causes of inner city deprivation and find solutions.⁵ The Urban Aid Programme, begun in 1972, was under the aegis of the Department of the Environment,⁶ leading ultimately to the Inner Area Studies⁷ and the Inner Areas Act of 1978.⁸

An overview of current approaches to the inner city problem across the Western world suggests little that is common in terms of problem identification, the nature of the problem itself, its intensity, its scale, its social or physical parameters, nor is there any apparent uniformity of action or consensus of approach. In these circumstances it is inevitable that supra-national reviews of the situation have been initiated.

³By contrast most U.S. experience relates to commercial redevelopment and attempts to attract back the middle classes to city centres: See G. Lipton, "Evidence of Central City Renewal" *Journal of Am. Inst. Planners*, Vol. 43, 1977, pages 136-147.

⁴The Dutch programmes have been fostered by a broadly 'Socialist' Central Government which in the case of Rotterdam is backed by a 'Socialist' local administration. Much has been achieved through changes in housing rather than planning policy *per se*.

⁵The Community Development Project Experiment was launched in 1969 and initiated neighbourhood based projects in twelve British cities. See: *The National Community Development Project*, Inter Project Report, London, 1974, 57 pages.

⁶Launched by Secretary for Department of Environment in 1972 and followed by the Commissioning of six urban studies aimed at environmental improvement and regulation.

⁷For an overview of the findings of these three studies see *Inner Area Studies* (Summaries of the Consultants' Final Reports) H.M.S.O., 1977, 49 pages.

⁸See White Paper, *Policy for the Inner Cities*, H.M.S.O. 1977, 33 pages and *Inner Urban Areas Act*, 1978.

The final report of an EEC committee on *Environmental Problems of City Centres* was released in 1976⁹ and dealt with the broad policies necessary to save the physical environment. The recent Council of Europe Report on *Renewing Europe's Inner Cities*¹⁰ dealt with the more broadly social aspects of the "inner city problem" as it varied from one European city to another. Yet another Council of Europe report explored a worthwhile possible role for growing Tertiary activities in solving inner area problems.¹¹ The OECD has recently begun to look at policy options on Inner Cities as part of the work of its ad hoc group on Urban Problems.

In an attempt to explain the decline of the inner areas of (American) cities Bourne sets out a number of complementary hypotheses which seek to explain the existence of the inner city "problem". These are:—

- (a) That inner city decline is a consequence of the natural growth and outward expansion of cities.
- (b) That inner city decline is a consequence of people's preferences for suburban land and housing location.
- (c) That overall decline of the inner city is a response to the physical obsolescence of the area.
- (d) That the inner city problem is an unintended consequence of housing, transportation, regional and other policies.
- (e) That the inner city problem is the result of the operation of the capitalist economic system.
- (f) That the problem is the consequence of structural changes in national economics.
- (g) That the inner city crisis results from a lack of investment in inner areas is due to the declining resources (of people and jobs) and the high costs of providing services.

⁹I.R., Mens En Ruimte, *Environmental Problems of City Centres*, Final Report for Commission of E.E.C. 1976, pages 59-70.

¹⁰G. Shankland and Associates, *Renewing Europe's Inner Cities*, Council of Europe, European Regional Planning Study Series, No. 9, 1978, 45 pages.

¹¹N. Lichfield and Partners, *The Effect of Increased Tertiarisation of Central Urban Areas and Policies to Control It*, Council of Europe, Report 10, 1978, 54 pages. Surprisingly this study makes no mention of Irish cities or their place in the scale of things.

(h) That the inner city is a "cultural outpost" for racial minorities.

Bourne suggests that the relevance of each hypothesis is likely to vary both between cities and over time.¹²

Thus there exists a widespread and growing concern to find solutions to a problem or series of problems, known as "inner city" and varying in aspect from city to city. Above all else, this international concern has called for a revision of planning approaches which is worthy of mention before making specific reference to Dublin.

3.2.(2) *Planning Responses to the Inner City Problem*

While social improvement may depend upon national policies and physical planning requires the scope of a regional approach, there are nevertheless at least five reasons why the inner city should be examined in depth.¹³ These are:

- (i) Inner areas often have special concentrations of problems amenable to exceptional and area based solutions.
- (ii) The inner areas may represent a level of accumulated disadvantage.
- (iii) The area's resources may be greatly under utilised.
- (iv) Public expenditure in these areas may yield an inadequate level of social and economic return.
- (v) These areas have a distinctive land market.¹⁴

Inevitably the redirection of attention in planning towards greater concern for the older areas has led to a search for new approaches and a modification of philosophies and methods. The experience of the past decade suggests a growing concern with planning for urban cores, with guiding change in areas of decline and with environmental management programmes rather than exclusive concern with urban

¹²L.S. Bourne, *Perspectives on the Inner City: Its Changing Character Reasons for Decline and Revival*, Research Paper No. 94, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1978, pages 30-54.

¹³The five reasons may have wider applicability than to the Inner City but they are especially relevant to that area.

¹⁴The issue of the Inner City Land Market is discussed later in this Section. For a general overview of the inner city Land Market see: *Land Values and Planning in the Inner Areas*, R.T.P.I., Consultation Document, London, 1978, 55 pages.

expansion at the periphery. Lichtenberger suggests in this regard that:

"the goals and social politics have changed since the days of Prefect Hausmann who could construct boulevards right across Paris, regardless of public opinion, as a radical means of clearing slums Nowadays, a social conscience defends the economically underprivileged from being pushed willy-nilly from the city centre in the course of rehabilitation".¹⁵

Donnison argues the convergence of physical planning and social policy¹⁶ though many would question this view.¹⁷

But the fact is that planning has shifted emphasis from concern with growth and peripheral expansion and places greater emphasis upon renewal; within renewal itself rehabilitation and conservation have generally replaced redevelopment projects; housing and amenities are given a greater priority against commercial redevelopments¹⁸ and public transport is replacing the 1960s gargantuan schemes for inner city ring roads as developed in Glasgow, Brussels or Frankfurt.

The socialisation of planning has come with the emergence of effective participation by the public and the realisation that planners must act with people rather than for them. Most interestingly, the Project Groups undertaking the renewal of major parts of inner Rotterdam are strongly under the influence of local residents' committees while in all aspects of planning greater emphasis is being

¹⁵E. Lichtenberger, "The Changing Nature of European Urbanisation" in *Urbanisation and Counter Urbanisation*, 1976, p. 99. It is ironic to find almost identical words in the beginning of Abercrombie's *Dublin of the Future* (1916) which proceeded to encourage the decentering of 64,000 persons from the old centre and the development of a Beaux Arts centre.

¹⁶This was the theme of Donnison's, Sean Lemass Memorial Lecture—See D. Donnison, "Urban Development and Social Policies", *Administration*, Vol. 26, 1978, pages 5-24.

¹⁷For example Pahl, developing the ideas of Burns, would view the physical planner as largely irrelevant to inner city problem solving. See R.E. Pahl, "Will the Inner City Problem Ever Go Away?", *New Society*, Vol. 45, 1978, pages 678-681.

¹⁸This is well illustrated in the case of Rotterdam where the emphasis on post-war commercial renewal and major industrial developments has yielded to social concern with housing and amenities. Elsewhere pressure for commercial expansion of city centres has yielded as tertiary subcentres have emerged, e.g., the Kennedydam and other centres outside Dusseldorf, Schiedam west of Rotterdam, Diemen south of Amsterdam, La Defence in Paris and Croydon in south London as well as examples from most major American cities. J. Halliday, *City Centre Redevelopment*, Knight and Co., London 1973, 244 pages examines in depth the British experience of commercial redevelopment of city centres.

devoted to participation by the public.¹⁹ This change is due more to political changes than to changes in planning theory, though planners have responded to the political initiatives.

The democratisation of planning has placed emphasis on short rather than long term issues, upon local improvements rather than on grand design. Housing improvements, provision of play spaces, safety for children and environmental management schemes have as much place in the planner's scheme of things as new city centres, inner city ring roads or large suburban town projects. This shift of emphasis has of course been helped by the economic stringency of recent years which questioned the need for many such major projects and their resource utilisation.

As such planning is being forced back to its scientific logic whereby the *survey*, through *analysis*, identifies the *problems* and points inescapably towards the *planning options*. Operating in a vacuum, planners lost sight of this logical process and the result was that planning surveys were not related to the final proposals. Survey work degenerated into "a kind of ritual behaviour, an appeasement of some planning god to ensure his blessing on the plan"²⁰ without evidence of a logical process, thus leading to proposals often unrelated to the needs of those most affected. In turn planning has to be more comprehensive, including more socially conscious. Planning cannot be merely confined to the fulfilment of minimum statutory requirements; people evaluate planning in terms of the final delivery of facilities and services, no matter who provides them or under what legislation. *Planning needs to be more comprehensive at the larger scale but also to allow for local and short term solutions at the detailed level.*

3.2(3) *Dublin and the International Comparisons*

There are many comparisons and contrasts between Dublin and other European cities which affect approaches to its inner city analysis or problem solution. On the positive side Dublin has the potential to be one of the most beautiful of European cities in terms of its harbour, city architecture, city parks and its urban setting. It has also been fortunate

¹⁹See: Interim Research Papers 1-12, *Public Participation*, D.O.E. London, 1974 to 1977.

²⁰B. J. McLoughlin, *Urban and Regional Planning: A Systems Approach*, Faber and Faber, London, 1969 pages 125-126.

to not have implemented some major inner road proposals.²¹ It is a city which has escaped the ravages of the industrial revolution and even today remains relatively unpolluted. It is the commercial capital and power centre of the country, having a rapidly expanding information industry employing many highly skilled, relatively well paid and key people in the national economy.²² These bring with them power, influence and wealth as manifested in "high class" suburbs, expensive hotels and restaurants and other indices of affluence.

But Dublin also differs in many respects from continental cities; neither Ireland nor Dublin has adequate resources to properly tackle all of its present day problems.²³ Unlike almost every European city, Dublin has a rapidly expanding population²⁴ due both to natural increase and in-migration. As noted in NESC Report 28²⁵ the rapid tertiary and office growth exists adjacent to areas of very high unemployment and a population characterised by poor housing, bad living environments, limited education, inadequate incomes. This stimulates tendencies towards property vandalism, resulting in a high conviction record amongst the resident population. In addition, the larger families depend upon public housing with a serious mismatch of dwelling and household size. Other contrasts include the limited sources of housing finance, the limited direct government aid for urban renewal, the absence of a tradition of tree planting and the screening of developments, the inadequate equipping of open spaces, the lack of sufficient house pride and personal involvement in house maintenance—especially in public housing areas and the inner city. *But*

²¹Both the proposals of the consultants Schaechterle (1965) and Travers-Morgan (1973) were designed to accommodate a high level of commuter car usage in the central city and could have caused much physical destruction, social disruption and might even have led to economic stagnation of the centre. The case for use of public transport in the Dublin City Centre was cogently argued in the *Dublin Transportation Study* (1971); See also: *A Transportation Policy for the Dublin Area*, Irish Life Submission to the Transportation Consultative Committee, Dublin, 1979, 21 pages. To quote Mitchel Gordon's *Sick Cities*: "when automobiles take over revenues are lost".

²²M.J. Bannon, J. G. Eustace and M. Power, *Service-Type Employment and Regional Development*, N.E.S.C. Report 28, 142 pages. *ibid*, pages 135-6.

²³Apart from the obvious fact that Ireland is a relatively poor country, there is also the issue of resource allocation between competing demands.

²⁴Being a city of rapid population growth, there are more opportunities available to guide the present trends in Dublin than in the case of declining cities abroad. However, a growth situation may all too often distract attention away from older areas unless a balanced planning approach is followed.

²⁵*ibid*, pages 135-136.

above all else, the commercial face of central Dublin must be compared to US rather than European models and the combination of uncleanness and night time fortification of the shopping streets renders the area uninviting to citizens as a whole and compares poorly with the elegance, pleasantness and pedestrian comfort of cities like Brussels or Hanover. In the case of Dublin it can only be hoped that Low is incorrect when he says "the city is the public dimension of the people".²⁶ The physical condition and poor appearance of many parts of Dublin, and indeed other Irish cities, may in part reflect the limited and diminishing powers of Local Government in Ireland. Increasingly, decisions on financing, policing, transportation and other policies rest effectively with Central Government. The remainder of Section III proceeds to an examination of Dublin's Inner City in the 1970s.

3.3 The Dublin Inner City Area

3.3.(1) Definition and Extent of the Area

Methods of area delineation are various. Inner areas may be defined on the basis of physical boundaries and Dublin Corporation has traditionally included the area inside the Canal ring as "inner city".²⁷ An environmental approach might define the area to include all central or contiguous derelict or blighted areas and to change the extent of the area as the problem changed. Another area based approach might coincide with parish boundaries or with "community" districts. The approach adopted here is a problem approach using the extent of Social Area One, which demonstrated that there is a tendency for problems to cluster in space non-randomly and often without regard to physical boundaries. A constraint upon this analysis is the size of spatial unit used—the Ward. Particular social patterns and phenomena may not coincide with ward boundaries and neither time nor resources allowed for the use of the "block data" available for 1971. A second constraint, especially important in the inner city, was the limited range of Census variables (e.g. no data on crime, work place, ill health, absenteeism). Data and ward incompatibilities between 1961 and

²⁶Theodore Low quoted from W. Harvey Cox, *Cities: The Public Dimension*, Penguin, 1976, 244 pages.

²⁷Such arbitrary delineations may not be relevant to the concentration of socio-economic characteristics and it is hoped that the delineation approach followed in this report represents a significant advance on arbitrary definitions, thus leading to a more exact definition of problem areas.

1971 did not facilitate a temporal analysis of the problem up to 1971.

The Inner City was the Social Area One as isolated in the Social Area analysis in Section II. It consists of 25 wards, 10 to the north of the Liffey and 15 to the South.²⁸ The Inner City had a population of 85,638 in 1971—well under half of its 1926 population. By 1979 the Inner City had a population density of approximately twice that of the Dublin County Borough. As indicated in Section II the area is further divided into 3 Sub-Areas whose wards are set out below, (Table 3.1 and Fig. 13) reflecting broad social variations within the area as a whole.

TABLE 3.1

Wards with Social Area 2 and its component Sub-Areas

Sub-Area 1	Sub-Area 2	Sub-Area 3
Arran Quay C Mountjoy A Merchants Quay A Ushers B Wood Quay A	Arran Quay D Ballybough A Inns Quay C North Dock C Merchants Quay B Merchants Quay C Merchants Quay F Pembroke East A Ushers C Ushers D Ushers E	Mountjoy B North City Rotunda A Rotunda B Mansion House A Royal Exchange A Royal Exchange B South Dock Ushers A

Thus defined on a scientific basis, the Dublin Inner City has an area of just over 1,000 hectares of which 60 per cent is located on the South side of the River Liffey.

3.3.(2) A General Overview of the Area

Relatively little research has yet been undertaken into the causal factors behind inner Dublin's current problems—policies have all too

²⁸The Inner City thus defined lies wholly within the Canal ring but also excludes a number of Wards with high levels of home ownership or a high level of professionals living in rented accommodation, e.g., North Dock B and St. Kevin's Wards respectively. The extent of the area is close to that used by the interdepartmental group. See: *Summary of Recommendations*, Interdepartmental Committee on Dublin's Inner City, 1979, Map. 1.

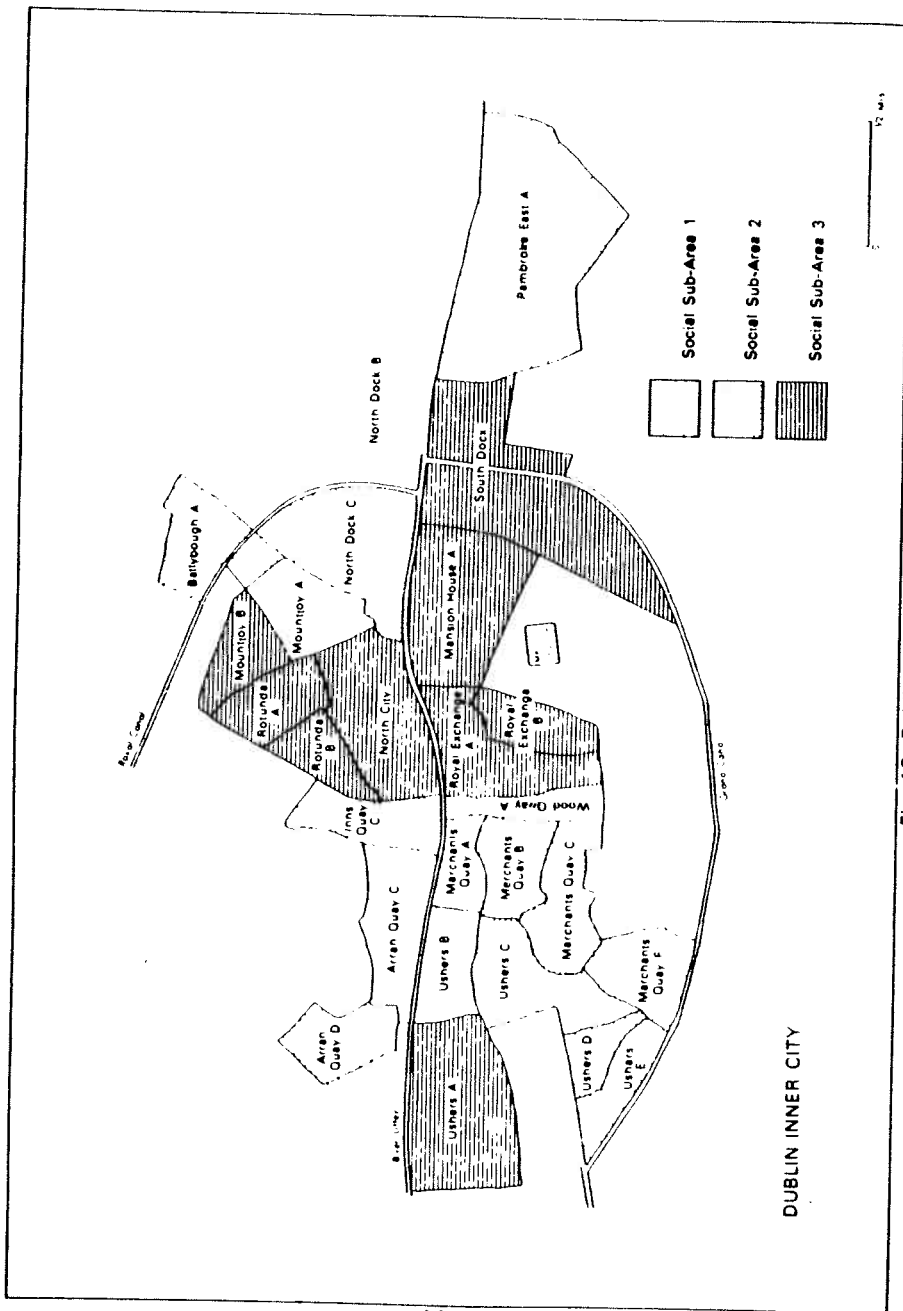


Fig. 13. Dublin Inner City Area.

often been devised in a near research vacuum.²⁹ Though the problems of the area have lasted for many centuries, as documented in Section I, their existence is made all the more serious because of the accelerating rate and scale of change within Dublin as a capital city. *The growth of Dublin, in the absence of effective instruments to implement an urban or regional policy, has brought increasing pressures on the area.* The spatial articulation of these processes of change was set out in Section I and in Figures 5 a, b and c.³⁰

In addition to population change, land use variations provide a crude indicator of the temporal changes operating in an area. Table 3.2 is based on the comparative results of two land use surveys carried out by Dublin Corporation for the area within the Canal ring. Though the results have to be treated with caution, they do confirm a decline in residential floor space paralleling the evidence of population loss.³¹ *The space related to blue-collar work, especially manufacturing industry, declined sharply.* The closure of manufacturing plants, the suburbanisation of some and the introduction of new technology in others all helped to reduce the amount of blue collar and less skilled work available in the inner city, as did the contraction of employment within the port of Dublin.³² These declining sources of local employment, together with possible discrimination against people on

²⁹This might be said of the recent proposals for the North Inner City, prepared by Dublin Corporation in 1978 which have been the subject of heated debate. Again, the recent inter-departmental Report on the areas seems to have been hampered by the dearth of policy oriented research into the area as well as the lack of information about actual conditions and problems within the area.

³⁰No policy instruments have been operative to implement the urban "planning base" figures of the 1972 *Review of Regional Policy* nor the urban framework for the regional spread of white-collar and "information-related" employment as proposed in *Service-Type Employment and Regional Development* NESC, Report No. 28, 1977, Chapter V.

³¹A Dublin Corporation analysis of land use change 1966-1974 suggests that some of the vacated residential land has been used for office expansion. However, residential area decline was equivalent to approximately one tenth of the additional office space in the area. Even allowing for the more intense use of office land it is clear that the office expansion is more dominant than residential decline.

³²An analysis of the trends in manufacturing employment carried out by the IDA suggests that employment may have declined between 1973 and 1978 by 10,000 jobs, largely due to contraction within existing firms. The rate of job loss may have declined in 1978-79, quoted from S. McGarry "The IDA and Dublin's Inner City", Lecture, 12/9/79.

the basis of address,³³ all make for a serious unemployment problem in the area.

TABLE 3.2
Changing Land Use within the Canal Ring 1966-1974

Use	1966 M ²	1974 M ²	Change	
			Actual M ²	Percentage
Residential	3,188,900	3,100,700	- 88,200	- 2.8
Office	898,600	1,749,200	+850,600	+94.7
Industry	1,822,600	1,272,400	-550,200	-30.2
Wholesale	917,300	941,300	+ 24,000	+ 2.6
Public Uses	658,600	776,000	+117,400	+17.8
Retail	590,500	668,200	+ 77,700	+13.2
Education	328,200	442,500	+114,300	+34.8
Leisure and Entertainment	382,800	365,600	- 17,200	- 4.5
Other Uses	271,100	358,800	+ 87,700	+32.4
Derelict and vacant space*	203,700	195,900	- 7,800	- 3.8
Total Gross Floor area	9,262,300	9,870,600	+608,300	+14.9

*Does not include vacant premises (Source: Dublin Corporation Land Use in the Inner City Area: Working Paper No. 9).

Whereas in the city generally there is up to eight acres of open space per 1,000 population, within the canal ring open space provision is only 0.5 acres per 1,000 and the area is also deficient in recreational facilities. On the other hand many of the city's 311 derelict sites were located within the area, especially north of the River Liffey.³⁴

³³Evidence of discrimination against job applicants has been given by community workers. The estimated job loss due to contraction of manufacturing firms was 6,000 with 2,500 and 1,500 jobs lost due to relocation and closures, respectively. Somewhat similar results were found in a study of employment changes in the British conurbations where manufacturing jobs in the inner areas declined by 20 to 30 per cent between 1971 and 1976 with 50 per cent of loss due to scaling down, 25 per cent due to closures and 25 per cent due to relocations.

³⁴A report by Dublin Corporation showed that there were 311 sites classified as derelict in mid 1978. Derelict sites within the Inner City tended to be small in size but large in number. The pattern of derelict sites in the Inner City can be seen from a study by the Department of Geography, U.C.D., 1979, which mapped many of the inner city vacant sites. For details see P. Patridge, "Derelict Land Survey", *Baile*, 1979, pages 25-27.

The only function to display evidence of large scale growth in floor space, indeed also reflected in employment growth, was the office functions which expanded rapidly in the C.B.D. and in the Active Assimilation Sector of the Transition zone.³⁵ The growth of the office phenomenon is a physical symbol of the increasing specialisation of labour, while the growth of the information sector has led to the continued growth of total employment within Central Dublin, including Ballsbridge.³⁶ This has given rise to the curious situation in which inner city residents either fail to find work or may even commute outwards while thousands of incoming commuters, usually in private cars, clog the city streets in daytime.³⁷

It is particularly difficult to see how any reasonable environment can be created for those living in the inner city until the traffic problem has been solved both at the Metropolitan and local level. The growth of car ownership continues at the rate predicted by the D.T.S. and is wholly incompatible with the ability of the centre to accommodate such growth.³⁸ Apart from the waste of energy, the land consumed for parking and the danger of "rat runs", the disruption of "neighbourhoods" with day-long parking is particularly serious. Meanwhile Dublin remains one of the few major western cities without an underground or "fixed track" form of public transport at least in its central areas. Apart from the psychological damage of indecision about future transport developments, *no realistic attempt has been made to*

³⁵For an analysis of the growth phenomenon see: M. J. Bannon, *Office Location in Ireland: The Role of Central Dublin*, Dublin 1973, 144 pages. The provisions for office expansion give rise to high land values, requiring high volume uses and placing pressure on residential, especially low quality residential uses, to retreat in the face of existing or anticipated expansion. Recently, both the R.T.P.I. and the R.I.C.S. have turned their attention to the intractable problems of land values and inner city planning—see: *Land Values and Planning in the Inner Areas*, R.T.P.I., Consultation Document, London, 1978, 55 pages and also *Inner City Regeneration*, R.I.C.S., London, 1977, 17 pages.

³⁶By excluding Ballsbridge from their estimates of the Centre, the Dublin Transportation Study team both underestimated the future level of city centre workforce and equally over emphasised the extent of cross centre commuting, a fact which is still used to justify the high priority of the Eastern by-pass road.

³⁷M.J. Bannon, "The White Collar Revolution, Office Expansion and Local Planning", *The Future of Dublin*, U.C.D., 1974.

³⁸It would be impossible, however, both from a cost and environmental point of view, to adapt the city centre to an ever increasing level of motorisation", *The Dublin Transportation Study*, 1971, page 20.

evaluate and cost social factors in those "economic" arguments made in favour of road developments. There is little question that Dublin requires a transport system,⁴⁰ especially to facilitate trade and harbour expansion but there must be an effective means of evaluating the social benefits of alternatives and action is imperative to allay social unease caused by indecision.

Though the Inner City has a lower level of young population than the Dublin sub-region, its proportion of old is greater—both being groups with need of environmental protection and requiring both passive open space and recreation facilities. *A crude examination of the area inside the canal ring shows that there is a critical deficiency in the amount of open space and, more importantly, of recreation facilities for the young.*

This brief review outlines the principal weaknesses of the inner city of Dublin and the processes of change can be seen dramatically in the redevelopment of several city centre sites. Rapid commercial growth has taken place, often outside the old centre, while the residential population of the adjacent areas appears to have all the indices of deprivation.

3.3.(3) A Case Study of Change

There have been few examples of comprehensive renewal in the centre of Dublin and fewer general appraisals of such schemes. The Setanta "Block" replaced a large number of buildings on Molesworth, Kildare, Nassau and South Frederick Streets in the late 1960s/early 1970s and led to considerable changes in use in the area as shown by analysis of Street Directory data for dates before and after the event.

In the course of redevelopment most buildings in the block were bought out and cleared of existing uses. Few of the earlier tenants were to re-establish in the area. In the years preceding redevelopment residential uses diminished rapidly. Retail uses moved back into the

³⁹In a *Review of Recommendations of the D.T.S.*, the City Engineer (Roads) indicates that the D.T.S. predictions of car ownership have been maintained up to 1978. It is evident, however, that the authors of this report did not evaluate the social consequences of road developments—a limitation that also applies to the economic case being made for road developments. For a useful overview of the issues in Inner City transportation planning see: A. Alexandre and C. Avezous, *Innovative Management of Urban Transport for a Better Environment*, *OECD Observer*, No. 96, 1979, pages 33-37.

⁴⁰All submissions to the Transportation Consultative Committee were agreed as to the need for action.

shopping area while wholesale and industrial uses went to the western suburbs. Larger, and especially public sector, offices moved into the Ballsbridge area while many of the older, small professional offices simply ceased to operate.⁴¹

The redevelopment consisted of approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ million square feet of office space, a large amount of car parking and a small area for retail activity. The offices are occupied by a few very large office firms, mostly new and in the public sector, and none of the pre-redevelopment tenants have moved back in.

In the space of less than a decade comprehensive renewal of this block has led to a rationalisation of land uses which has enabled users to make new appraisals of their locational needs. It has also encouraged the demise of several firms (mostly non-manufacturing firms) and even some uses from the area. The changes in this small block are illustrative of the forces of change operating in the business districts of the Inner City.

3.4 The Inner City in 1970s: Census and Survey Data

Having looked at the general background of Central Dublin the terms of reference from the Social Policy Committee placed importance on human factors. Consequently it was decided to look in detail at the conditions of families in 1971⁴² and then to re-examine these in the light of 1979 data as derived from interview surveys. The purpose of the following sections is to show what conditions maintain on the

⁴¹There is a lengthy volume of material suggesting the adverse impact of comprehensive redevelopment programmes on existing small firms in an area especially upon business firms. See B. Zimmer, "The Small Business and Relocation" in J. Q. Wilson (editor) *Urban Renewal: The Record and The Controversy*, M.I.T. Press, 1966, pages 380-403. In many cases redevelopment may serve to accelerate the impact of other forces and bring about the early demise of firms: see J. Halliday, *City Centre Redevelopment*, London, 1973, pages 4-29. While these trends are broadly borne out by the *Inner Area Studies*, it is suggested that viewed in the wider urban context the survival and success rate of smaller industrial firms may be considerable. See B. Chalkley, "Redevelopment and The Small Firm: The Making of a Myth", *The Planner*, Volume 65, No. 4, 1979, pages 148-151. Even if Chalkley's argument is acceptable at the aggregate level, this does not necessarily offset the adverse and precipitate impact on selected groups, notably the weaker sections.

⁴²Throughout this Section reference will be made to a number of studies which dealt with either the area as a whole (Recommendations of Report of Inter-Departmental Committee On Dublin's Inner City, 1979) or to parts of the area, e.g. *Dublin's North Inner City, the Westland Row Study*, Reports by N.C.C.C. and various socio-economic documents relating to the area.

ground, the problems of housing, employment, income, social factors and general weaknesses and strengths of the inner city population and the way their needs relate to their environment. Where possible the following discussion and analysis will have regard both to the inner city sub-areas and to its component clusters—see Table 3.1 and Fig. 13.

While an examination of the Dublin inner city for 1971 is constrained by the limitations of the 1971 Census, the absence of more recent comprehensive data necessitated the undertaking of a major questionnaire-survey of households within the area. A number of reports testified to the perpetuation and possible intensification of social problems in parts of the inner city throughout the 1970s.⁴³ These reports afford important insights into the present condition of deprived areas either by providing a comprehensive overview of current problems or by focusing attention on a particular dimension such as education or unemployment. The main drawback of existing survey material was its partial coverage of the inner city⁴⁴ as defined for the purposes of this study. This necessitated a survey in the first instance to establish socio-economic trends for the area since 1971 but it also provided an opportunity to seek information on aspects of housing and employment not normally sought in the Census. The survey attempted to get some idea, albeit crude, of the residents' perception of their own environment. The survey also sought to provide an up-to-date picture of the demographic, household, housing, employment and environmental conditions of Inner City residents.

Using the 1978 Draft Electoral Register as a sampling frame, a 2% random sample of households—470—was selected for interview. In the selection process households were chosen on the basis of address and questions worded so as to permit the identification of separate households⁴⁵ jointly occupying all or part of a house or flat. To maintain sample size, replacements were included for sampling units no longer

⁴³See for example: *Summary of Recommendations* of Interdepartmental Committee on Dublin's Inner City, 1979, 30 pages. Also *Inner City Redevelopment*, Dublin Chamber of Commerce, 1978, 7 pages, Dublin Trade's Council *Revitalising Dublin's Inner City*, Dublin 1978, 6 pages. See also: B. Murphy and T. Morrissey, *A Study of Youth Employment in North Central Dublin*, prepared for AnCo and the Department of Labour, 1978, 193 pages.

⁴⁴See Murphy and Morrissey, *op. cit.* Also see Department of Psychiatry, U.C.D., *op. cit.*

⁴⁵A household is defined as any one person or group of persons, usually, but not necessarily, related, having common living accommodation.

there, principally because of demolition of the premises or the demise of the householders. The size of the sample was dictated by the exigencies of time and financial constraints. (The survey questionnaire is included in Appendix 2).

The Survey was undertaken in February 1979⁴⁶ and a response level of 67.0% (315 respondents) was achieved. This level of response, though somewhat disappointing, is not far below the level of response generally experienced in inner areas.⁴⁷ Even with at least two return visits, 19.1% of the sample (90) could not be contacted, although in a number of cases the interviewer felt the non-respondent was at home. The remaining 13.9% (65) refused to co-operate in the survey, the majority of these being Corporation tenants, some of whom, despite assurances, saw the survey as a prelude to redevelopment which is currently a major discussion point in the area. Analysed on the basis of tenure, 41.0% of respondents (129) were Corporation tenants, 29.8% (or 94) were households in private rented accommodation while the remaining 29.2% (92) resided in owner occupied accommodation. (Table 3.3.).

TABLE 3.3
Inner City Survey Results, 1979

Responses	Number	Percentage
Total response	315	67.0
Corporation tenants	129	41.0
Private rented	94	29.8
Owner occupied	92	29.2
<i>Non-responses</i>		
Refusals	65	13.9
Not available	90	19.1

⁴⁶The help and assistance of the staff of the Department of Environmental Economics, Bolton Street College of Technology in the questionnaire design is gratefully acknowledged, as is the work of the students of the Department of Town Planning, U.C.D. and the Department of Environmental Economics in carrying out the interviews.

⁴⁷For example, a household survey in Small Heath, Birmingham, achieved a 58% response level. See: *Circumstances of Families*, Inner Area Study of Birmingham (1AS/B/12), D.O.E., London, 1977, page 133. For a discussion of sample response in Inner Areas see: G. Hoinville *et al.*, *Survey Research Practice*, Heinemann Educational Books, London, 1978, 228 pages.

It was decided to interview the head of the household in each case. Despite up to three calls the level of response from Corporation tenants at 64.5% remains low and it is to be hoped that non-respondents do not differ significantly in some respects from the respondents. Seventy-six per cent of owner occupiers co-operated in the survey, as did 62.6 per cent of selected households in the private rented sector.

In the following sections data on the Inner City is presented by topic using both 1971 and 1979 material where relevant or available.

3.5 Demographic Structure

3.5(1) Inner City Population in the 1970s

While the population of the East region and the Dublin Sub-region has grown consistently since 1926 (Fig. 1) the population of the Inner City has declined from almost half of the Dublin urban population in 1926 to 85,638 or one tenth of the 1971 sub-regional population. Table 3.4 analyses the 1971 population of the Inner City in terms of its age distribution for the Area and Sub-Area.

The Inner City in 1971 had a population characterised by fewer young people and more old people than the sub-region as a whole. Some 3,358 persons or 11.6% of the population were over 65 years (Table 3.4).

The proportion of old people and the "dependency ratio"⁴⁶ were both highest in the lowest status area Sub-Area 1—including Mountjoy A and Arran Quay Wards. The proportion of children was lowest in Sub-Area 3—wards with a high proportion of private rented housing—see Figs. 7 and 13. Overall, the Inner City in 1971 had a higher proportion of its resident population in the active age groups than was common for the sub-region. *The most striking dissimilarity between the Inner City and the sub-region, and one commonly associated with deprived areas, lies in the high proportion of elderly persons living in the Inner City, in particular, the number of these who live alone, 26.3% in the Inner City area compared with 1.3% in the Dublin sub-region. Table 3.5. Elderly single person households comprise 26.3% of those aged over 65 years. The high proportion of elderly, together with a low percentage of children, is particularly marked in Sub-Area 3 (Fig. 13).*

⁴⁶Those in age groups 0-14 and over 65 years expressed as percentage of 15-64 age group, based on 1971 Census information.

TABLE 3.4
Age Structure of Inner City Population 1971

Area	Popu- lation	Age Distribution			% Distribution			Depen- dency Ratio
		0-14	15-64	65+	0-14	15-64	65+	
Sub-Area 1	15,473	4,397	9,047	2,029	28.4	58.5	13.1	71
Sub-Area 2	43,385	12,713	26,122	4,550	29.3	60.2	10.5	66
Sub-Area 3	26,780	5,756	17,666	3,358	21.5	65.9	12.6	52
Inner city	85,638	22,866	52,835	9,937	26.7	61.7	11.6	62
Dublin subregion	852,219	273,962	506,221	72,036	32.1	59.4	8.4	68

*Source: Census of Population 1971.

An examination of the population structure in the wards of the Inner City shows marked contrasts within this part of the city. Thus Ushers B and Wood Quay A wards had a very high proportion of old people—18.4% and 18.1% respectively. In Ushers B the combined young and elderly population accounted for 52.9% of the ward's total population, resulting in a 1971 dependency ratio of 112, Table A3.1. By and large the wards with the highest proportion of children fell into Sub-Area 2—an area with high proportion of skilled males and family housing, Table A3.2; this Sub-Area had relatively fewer old people or old people living alone. By contrast the wards in Sub-Area 3—an area of private rented housing—had a lower proportion of children and a higher proportion of old people and old people living alone than was the norm for the whole Inner City, Table A3.3. But, as can be seen, the small proportion of children reduced the dependency ratio in these nine wards—see Fig. 13. The highest proportion of old people living alone in any Inner City ward occurred in the Rotunda wards.

TABLE 3.5
Percentage of Selected Groups in Inner City

Area	Percentage Personage 65+	Single Person Households 65+	2 Person Households 65+
Sub-Area 1	13.1	29.2	7.7
Sub-Area 2	10.5	22.3	9.2
Sub-Area 3	12.6	29.9	7.8
Inner city	11.6	26.3	8.4
Dublin sub-region	8.4	1.3	0.7

Source: Census of Population, 1971.

Viewed against the population composition pattern for the Dublin sub-region, the Inner City presented significant differences in the proportions of young and old, differences which were even more pronounced at both Sub-Area and ward level.⁴⁹ These differences were

⁴⁹The very high proportion of both young and old in Dublin's Inner City makes the area quite comparable to the Lambeth area of Inner London on this factor. See: Shankland *et al.*, *Inner London: Policies for Dispersal or Balance*, HMSO., 1977, page 29.

most clearly seen in the case of Sub-Area 3 with only 21.5% in the younger but 12.6% in the older population groups.

Taking two person households into account, 34.7% of the elderly lived alone or with another person over 65 in the Inner City compared with 2% in the sub-region (see Table 3.5). The disproportionate number of elderly in the inner city, and in particular those of them living alone, must be a major cause for public concern.⁵⁰ This percentage of old gives rise to special demands for healthcare and welfare services, creates a need for easy access to services such as shops, post offices and clinics, requires ease of movement within buildings and ease of access to passive recreation areas. Above all, this is the population group most in need of a safe, secure and well protected environment in which particular attention has to be paid to the important factors of neighbourhood ties, community needs and their sense of historic links with the place and its people.

3.5.2) Inner City Population and Demographic Structure 1979

As noted in Sub-section 3.5(1) wards in the Inner City have been losing population for many years. Within the Inner City population declined at an average annual rate of 2.7% between 1961 to 1971 falling from 112,218 in 1961 to 85,638 in 1971. *Data from the 1979 electoral register suggests a slackening in the rate of decline to about 2.4% per annum and that the 1979 population of the Inner City is in the region of 70,000.* Loss of population has been heaviest in Cluster 3—the areas of private rented accommodation—where the rate of decline is estimated at about 4.2% per annum compared with an average annual rate of 2.4% in Sub-Area 1 and 1.1% in Sub-Area 2, c.f. Sub-section 3.5(1). Details of the 1979 Census Returns confirm this estimate—See Table A3.6.

While the fall in population is general to all wards in the Inner City, the highest losses occurred in the Mountjoy and North City wards, North Dock C, South Dock, Mansion House and Royal Exchange. These declines are attributable, at least in part, to Compulsory Purchase

⁵⁰In a detailed study of migration patterns in Dublin, Johnson notes that all wards of the central city have a high proportion of old—many of them immigrants, including the "elderly, the isolated, the leaderless and helpless" as well as those seeking "cheaper dwellings, proximity to hospitals or to families.....". See N. Johnson, "Migration Patterns in Dublin County Borough", *Economic and Social Review*, Vol. V., No. 2 1974, p. 248.

Orders (such as the Foley Street, Corporation Street, Macken Street, Creighton Street orders) closures of unfit property and development for commercial purposes as in the Mount Street, Warrington Place areas in South Dock.⁵¹

An analysis of the 1979 survey results shows that there has been little change in Inner City population structure since 1971 and that it still contrasts sharply with that for the Sub-region. Nor could improvement be reasonably expected in a housing situation where the bulk of vacancies occur in peripheral areas of the city and allocation is based largely on family size. No significant changes have been observed since 1971. (Table 3.4); those over 65 still form a disproportionately high percentage of the population, 12.9%, compared with 7.3% in the sub-region in 1977 and 8.4% in 1971. Children account for 23.6% of the population, still substantially lower than the sub-region with 31.3% in 1977 and 32.1% in 1971, Table 3.6.

Thus the population of the Inner City continues to decline and to have a high proportion of older people. Evidence on the ground suggests that demolition of Corporation flats contributed to the decline since 1971 but much of the decline occurred also in Sub-Area 3 wards—wards with a high degree of private rented accommodation. The population trends of the 1970s make urgent the Dublin Corporation objective to "maintain and expand" the population of the Inner City.

TABLE 3.6

Population Structure: Inner City and Sub-Region 1971-79

Age Cohort	Percentage in Cohort			
	Inner City		Sub-region	
	1971	1979	1971	1977
0-14	26.7	23.6	32.2	31.1
15-64	61.7	63.5	59.4	61.6
65+	11.6	12.9	8.4	7.3

Source: Census of Population 1971, Survey Results and the 1977 Labour Force Survey.

⁵¹Based on evidence from Corporation officials (Housing and Voters' Registration Sections) and field surveys of the area.

3.6: Housing and Household Conditions

3.6(1) Housing Characteristics in Inner City, 1971

There were 77,691 persons, 90.7% of the total population, residing in 22,966 households in the inner city in 1971. Institutional population,⁵² that is those not residing in households, at 9.3% was twice that of the sub-region, because of the large concentration of medical and other institutions within the area for historical reasons. The next paragraphs deal with those persons in households.⁵³

Demographic structure was reflected in the low average size of household, 3.4 persons per dwelling compared with 3.9 for the Dublin sub-region. Table 3.7. As might be expected from the age structure, average household size at 2.9 persons per dwelling was lowest in Sub-Area 3 compared with 3.3 and 3.7 persons in Sub-Area One and Two respectively. (For wards in Sub-Area 3 see Figure 13).

Room density⁵⁴ in the Inner city was high at 1.4 persons per room compared with 0.85 for the Dublin sub-region. This is a probable consequence of the greater proportion of one roomed households, 15.3% of all households in the Inner City compared with 5.9% of the sub-region Table 3.8. Again, because of the larger proportion of elderly in Sub-Area 3 the greatest proportion, 24.1% of all one roomed households were located in this Sub-Area—compared with 18.1% and 8.8% in Sub-Area 1 and 2 respectively. Density per room was highest in Sub-Area 1, 1.3 persons per room compared with 1.11 and 1.12 in Sub-Areas 2 and 3 respectively, Table 3.7.

The average number of rooms per household was 2.9 compared with 4.6 rooms in the sub-region, Table 3.8. In Sub Areas 1 and 3 there were 2.6 rooms per household, compared with 3.3 in Sub Area 2. The highest number of rooms per household was found in Sub Area 2, with 3.7 and 4.0 rooms per household in Ushers D and E wards respectively.

⁵²Institutional population is defined in *Census of Population*, Vol. IV, 1971 as 'non-private households' including boarding houses, hotels, guesthouses, barracks, hospitals, nursing homes, boarding schools and religious and welfare institutions.

⁵³The decline in the numbers of household is neither as rapid nor as widespread as population loss. O'Connor shows that the number of households residing within the canal ring declined by 38.5 per cent between 1936 and 1971—from 56,678 to 30,098. See D. O'Connor, *Housing in Dublin's Inner City*, Housing Research Unit, U.C.D., 1979, page 12.

⁵⁴Room density is a function of both household size and the distribution of the stock of habitable rooms in an area.

TABLE 3.7

Household Characteristics in Inner City 1971*

Area	Persons in households	Households		Persons Per Household	Persons Per Room	Rooms Per Household	1-Roomed Households	
		No.	Percentage				No.	Percentage
Sub-Area 2	42,149	11,448	49.8	3.7	1.11	3.3	1,002	8.8
Sub-Area 3	21,133	7,198	31.4	2.9	1.12	2.6	1,736	24.0
Inner city	77,691	22,966	100.0	3.4	1.14	2.9	3,518	15.3
Dublin sub-region	811,158	205,861	11.1*	3.9	0.85	4.6	12,186	5.9

*Source: Census of Population, 1971.

*Inner city as a percentage of Dublin sub-region.

The lowest numbers of rooms per household, half the sub-regional average, 2.3 rooms per household were in the Rotunda wards and 2.4 rooms in Mountjoy B—all in Sub Area 3, while there were 2.5 rooms per household in Mountjoy A in Sub Area 1.⁵⁵

Overall the Inner City was characterised by relatively low average household size, high room densities and relatively few rooms per household. Table 3.7 shows considerable variation between the three Clusters and this variation was also manifest at ward level. Thus, room densities were highest in Mountjoy A and Merchants Quay A wards and North Dock C which had the largest average household size. By contrast, several wards such as Merchants Quay F, Royal Exchange A and Wood Quay A had low average household sizes. Likewise, the number of rooms per household varied by ward considerably.

3.6.(2) Inner City Housing Characteristics 1979

Generally there appears to have been no significant changes in housing characteristics since 1971. Household size at 3.3 persons is still well below that of the sub-region while occupancy rates and the average number of rooms per household have remained largely unchanged, Table 3.8. The number of one roomed households has fallen from 15.3 to 8.2% of all households but is still some 39% higher than the equivalent 1971 figure for the Dublin sub-region. The number of large households 6 or more persons, would also appear to have declined accounting for 31.3% of the population compared with 38.3% in 1971 in the inner city and 42.7% in the sub-region, c.f. Tables 3.7 and 3.8.

TABLE 3.8
Housing Indicators 1979

Area	Average household size	Persons per room	Rooms per household	One-roomed households	Percentage population in large households*
Inner city, 1979	3.3	1.14	2.8	8.2	31.3
Inner city, 1971	3.4	1.14	2.9	15.3	38.3
Dublin sub-region 1971	3.9	0.85	4.6	5.9	42.7

*Large household is one with six or more persons.

Source: Household Survey Inner City, 1979.

**See Also *The Inner City of Dublin*, Preliminary Report, Community Development Division, Department of Psychiatry, U.C.D., 1974, page 2.

3.6(3) Inner City Housing Tenure

Housing indicators need to be related to housing condition and tenure considerations in order to appraise the suitability of the housing stock. This section looks at housing tenure in the Inner City. In 1971 people in the inner city relied to a significant degree on unfurnished rented accommodation, both public and private, Table 3.9. *In the public sector, the Dublin Corporation provided 51.5% of all dwellings in the area, almost twice the percentage (26.5) for housing authorities in the sub-region as a whole.* The 10,178 Local Authority dwellings represented 67% of total rented unfurnished stock compared with 72% in the sub-region indicating a higher relative dependence on private sector unfurnished accommodation in the Inner City. By definition the highest concentration of public housing existed in the wards of Sub Area 1—the lowest Status Area (Fig. 13). In Merchants Quay A ward and Ushers B the housing stock was respectively 90.1% and 88.3% rented from Local Authority. There were significant concentrations of public housing in Mountjoy A ward and also in wards in the other Sub Areas.

Rented unfurnished accounted for 25.3% of the tenures in the Inner City in 1971 compared with 10.4% in the sub-region. *The 5,008 unfurnished dwellings in the area represented a quarter of the entire sub-regional private rental market comprising 19,818 dwellings in this sector, Table 3.9.* Reliance on rented unfurnished accommodation was highest in Sub Area 1, accounting for 30.5% of tenures, 29.0% in Sub Area 3 and 31.6% in Sub Area 2, where it was still more than twice the sub-regional average—Table 3.9.

Wood Quay A ward had the highest concentration of private rented housing where this tenure group accounted for 78.4% of the total stock occupied by 927 households. Only four of the 25 wards had less than the sub-regional average of private rental—these wards were Merchants Quay A, Ushers B, Ushers E and Pembroke East A.

Table 3.9 shows that *owner occupied dwellings accounted for only a small share of the Inner City housing—owner occupation being an index of command over resources.* Only 17.6% of housing was owner occupied compared to 52.4% in the Dublin sub-region in 1971. Not surprisingly wards in Sub Area 2 had the highest proportions of owner occupation but the wards of Sub Area 1 had few households in owner occupied houses, only 6.0% of the total while in Wood Quay A ward

only 1.0 % of households were in owner occupied dwellings.

Rented furnished accommodation accounted for only 2.9% of all tenures in the Inner City and was highest in Sub Area 3 (Table 3.9) especially Rotunda A ward. By contrast Merchants Quay A had only 0.2% of households living in this tenure. Rented furnished accommodation was characteristic of tenures in Sub Area 3 and to a lesser extent in Social Area 2—see Figs. 8 and 9.

Though housing tenures were heavily weighted in favour of Local Authority rented accommodation the analysis shows that there was considerable diversity in housing tenure and that the Inner City had quite a varied mix of housing tenures.

3.6(4) Inner City Housing Types

Because of location, age of buildings, the predominance of unfurnished renting and the low incidence of owner occupancy *it is to be expected that multi-dwelling buildings, tenements and Corporation flats would form the bulk of the housing stock.* These accounted for 51.1% of all housing units in the area of the Inner City compared with 11.5% for the Dublin sub-region and represented 42.6% of all multi-dwelling buildings in the sub-region, Table 3.10.

Multi-dwelling buildings were highly concentrated in all wards of Sub Area 1 (Fig. 13) where they accounted for 94.5% of all housing units. While wards in Sub Area 2 had relatively low proportions of this type of dwelling some wards in Sub Area 3 had high concentrations, e.g. Rotunda A and B with 79.3% and 78.0% respectively and Mansion House A with 71.2% in multi-dwelling buildings.

By contrast Table 3.10 shows that *sub-regionally 86.7% of dwellings were in conventional housing units, compared to half that proportion, 43.2% in the Inner City.* Of a total stock of 178,385 houses in the sub-region, 8,548, 4.8%, were located in the 25 wards of the Inner City, Table 3.10. The bulk of these conventional houses in the Inner City 6,270, 73.4% were located in Sub Area 2. Since it is a reasonable assumption that owner occupancy in the area is in the main restricted to conventional houses, this suggests that about 59.0% some 5,000 dwellings, are rented.⁵⁰ At ward level Ballybough A had

⁵⁰Application of the same assumption to the Dublin sub-region would result in an overestimate of the number of owner occupiers in conventional housing units. There were 3,485 owner occupiers in the Census and 8,548 conventional houses in the Inner City.

TABLE 3.10
Permanent Housing Units Classified by Building Type

Type	Number of Units					Percentage				
	Multi dwelling building	Conventional House	One dwelling building	Institutional dwellings	Total Housing Units	Multi dwelling building	Conventional house	One dwelling building	Institutional dwellings	Total
Sub Area 1	2,944	720	159	13	3,836	76.7	18.8	4.1	0.4	100.0
Sub Area 2	3,944	6,270	316	5	10,535	37.4	59.5	3.0	0.1	100.0
Sub Area 3	3,198	1,558	601	27	5,384	59.4	28.9	11.2	0.5	100.0
Inner city	10,086	8,548	1,076	45	19,755	51.1	43.2	5.5	0.2	100.0
Dublin sub-region	23,675	178,385	3,590	211	205,861	11.5	86.7	1.7	0.1	100.0
Inner city as percentage of Dublin sub-region	42.6	4.8	30.0	21.3	9.6					

Source: Census of Population, 1971.

From Table 3.11 it can be seen that *just over half of the housing stock in the Inner City was erected over 60 years ago*. The proportion of older housing was greatest in Sub Area 2 and 3 while wards, such as Aran Quay C, Wood Quay A, Merchants Quay B and Mountjoy B, had over 75% of their housing stock of pre-1919 vintage. By contrast clearance programmes, to make way for more recent public housing, have left few older dwellings in Ushers B, Ushers E and Merchants Quay A wards, see Fig. 13 and Table 3.11.

Between 1920 and 1940, 3,801 units or 19.2% of the area's housing stock was erected, a little lower than the 20.6% (39,382 units) constructed in the sub-region as a whole. Of these 957 (25.2% of total construction) were located in Sub Area 1 with 1,849 (48.6%) and 995 (26.2%) in Sub Area 2 and 3, Table 3.11.

Many of these buildings were erected in the form of blocks of flats located particularly in Mansion House A, Mountjoy A, Ushers C, Ballybough A, Merchants Quay A and Inns Quay C wards.

A total of 5,638 dwellings were built in the Inner City between 1940 and 1971. These represented only 5.6% of total construction in the sub-region and reflects the emphasis on green field building in the period, Fig. 4. Of total construction in the Inner City the greatest volume 3,331 units (59.1%) took place in Sub Area 2, 1,330 units (26.3%) in Sub Area 3 and 977 (17.3%) in Sub Area 1, Table 3.11. On a ward basis the highest number of units constructed during this period were in Mountjoy A, Ushers E and Rotunda A wards.

Thus, much of the housing stock is in the form of large blocks of flats erected prior to World War II or older buildings converted to flats. Despite the age of many of these buildings it has recently been shown that most could be usefully and economically rehabilitated and refurbished for residential uses.⁶⁶

3.6(6) Inner City Housing Amenities 1971

The utility of a dwelling, that is the satisfaction of service it provides, is a function of the amenities available to the inhabitant by way of facility and space enjoyed, including its location and privacy. *As a minimum standard in sanitary facilities dwellings should have a flush toilet,*

⁶⁶D. O'Connell *et al. Residential Rehabilitation in Inner Dublin*, Housing Research Unit, ECD., 1978, 2 Vols. For a discussion of earlier limited attempts at the physical rehabilitation of buildings in Dublin, which were not matched by a parallel social policy, see: Section I, Sub section 1.7.

TABLE 3.11
Housing Stock by Year of Construction

Area	Housing Age	Number of Units				Percentage			
		Pre 1919	1920 to 1940	1941 to 1971	Total	Pre 1919	1920 to 1940	1941 to 1971	Total
Sub Area 1		1,901	957	977	3,835	49.6	30.0	25.4	100
Sub Area 2		5,352	1,849	3,331	10,532	50.8	17.6	31.6	100
Sub Area 3		3,058	995	1,330	5,283	56.8	18.5	24.7	100
Inner city		10,311	3,801	5,638	19,750	52.3	19.2	28.5	
Dublin sub-region		51,299	39,382	100,198	190,870	26.9	20.6	52.5	
Inner City as percentage of Dublin sub-region		20.1	9.6	5.6	10.3				

Slight variations occur in the number of housing units as between Tables as a result of data not being available in respect of some units—Census of Population, 1971.

internal water supply and a fixed bath or shower.⁶⁰

Within the study area all but 13 dwellings have a flush toilet, almost 100% compared with 98.2% in the sub-region. Unfortunately, Census data does not indicate the number of households sharing basic facilities. (Table 3.12.)

There were 7,954 housing units without a fixed bath or shower in the inner city in 1971. This represented 40.3% of all housing units compared with 13.8% in the sub-region. Nearly one third of all housing units in the sub-region without this basic facility are located in the study area. (Table 3.12).

There were 507 (21.2%) units in the area relying on an outside tap for domestic water out of a total of 2,392 in the sub-region, Table 3.12.

The lack of these basic facilities varies between Sub Areas (Table 3.12) and wards. The highest numbers of dwelling units without fixed bath or shower were in Mountjoy A, Merchants Quay B and South Dock wards. At least 40.3% of the dwellings in the Inner City require modernisation with respect to bathing facilities, if they are not to be deemed obsolete. Again South Dock and Merchants Quay B and C all had a high concentration of dwellings depending on an outside tap—wards with a high concentration of older housing.

By 1971 a sizeable proportion of the Inner City housing stock still lacked adequate basic amenities; considerable investment would evidently be required if these buildings are not to remain functionally obsolete.⁶¹

3.6(7) Sanitary Facilities and Amenities in Inner City 1979

Overcrowding, particularly in private sector multiple occupancy dwellings, is often associated with the necessity to share amenities and facilities. The survey results show that 12.3% of Inner City households shared a toilet with other households, each shared toilet serving two households on average. Over 58% of households sharing shared with two other households while 32% shared with 3 or more households. The age of the building stock in the area is reflected by the fact that 20.3% of the toilets were outdoor. These results can be compared with the 1971 situation as set out in Table 3.12.

The survey showed that 33.3% of the respondent households had no

⁶⁰See *Housing Policy*, Technical Vol. I, H.M.S.O., 1977, page 56.

⁶¹See O'Connell, *op. cit.*

TABLE 3.12

Inner City Housing Sanitary Amenities 1971

Sanitary Amenity	Number			Percentage of All Units	
	Tap outside	No fixed bath or shower	Total units in area	Tap outside	No fixed bath or shower
Area					
Sub-Area 1	75	1,711	3,838	1.9	44.6
Sub-Area 2	300	4,398	10,537	2.8	41.7
Sub-Area 3	132	1,845	5,384	2.5	34.3
Inner city	507	7,954	19,759	2.6	40.3
Dublin sub-region	2,392	26,458	190,929	1.2	13.8
Inner city as percentage of Dublin sub-region	21.2	30.1	10.3		

fixed bath or shower compared with 40.3% in the area in 1971 and 13.8% in the sub-region. There are still three times as many in the Inner City without this basic facility in 1979 as were in the sub-region in 1971. To some degree the improvement shown may be influenced by an under representation of Local Authority tenants in the sample. Demolition is also likely to have removed, as a priority, dwellings lacking basic facilities. Of those with baths, 5.3% shared the facility with, on average, 2.5 other households. Of those sharing 23.5% shared with 3 or more households.

3.6(8) *Housing Obsolescence in the Inner City 1979*

Lack of the amenities as detailed in 3.6(7) is usually associated with the period of construction and, usually, reflects poor housing conditions. The numbers sharing facilities indicate the level of functional obsolescence of the housing stock in the Inner City. In practice, age of dwelling is used as an indicator of the quality of stock on the assumption that the older the structure the higher the probability of obsolescence and the greater the costs of modernisation. *While overcrowding or lack of maintenance can result in comparatively new dwellings degenerating rapidly, generally it is the older stock that is most likely to be in need of replacement,⁶³ especially in Dublin where so little attention has been given to rehabilitation.⁶³*

In 1971 52.3% of the housing stock in the study area was over sixty years old and 21% of the total housing units in the Inner City are estimated to be over 100 years old.⁶⁴ *The assessment of building condition, carried out at the same time as the interviews, indicated that some 10.0% of the dwellings were in poor or bad condition,⁶⁵ while 55.5% were considered to be fair.⁶⁶* The 1979 survey of structural detail indicated that the major items requiring partial or full replacement were gutters (20.9%), downpipes (20%) and windows

⁶²It is not expected that demolitions or new constructions would materially affect this estimate.

⁶³D O'Connell, *Housing in Dublin's Inner City*, Housing Research Unit, 1979, 100 pages. See also the submission by An Taisce on the *Dublin Draft Development Plan*, 1976.

⁶⁴It is, however, necessary to point out that it is often the late 19th century dwellings rather than older ones which require most rehabilitation in many European cities.

⁶⁵These categories are defined in the survey questionnaire in Appendix 2.

⁶⁶For a discussion of approaches to renewal in these circumstances See: D. O'Connell *et al.*, *op. cit.*

(18.8%). Wall surfaces tended to be in poor condition with 34.3% of dwellings having broken stonework on bricks and rendering spalling.

3.6(9) *Inner City Overcrowding 1971*

Overcrowding is a function of the number of rooms available to a household and the size of that household and it is generally considered to maintain when the number of persons per room is two or more.⁶⁷ Severe overcrowding exists when there are three or more persons to a room. Overcrowding in the Inner City wards is essentially a problem of the small number of rooms available to the population rather than one of household size. Overcrowding is also deemed to exist when two unmarried persons of the opposite sex and over 10 years of age have to sleep in the same room.⁶⁸

Average household size in the Inner City was lower than in the sub-region, 3.4 compared to 3.9 persons; the proportion of population in households with six or more persons was 38.3% compared with 42.7% for the sub-region. On a Sub Area basis, the proportion in larger households approached the sub-regional average in Sub Area 1 and 2 with 39.9% and 41.9% but differed markedly in Sub Area 3 with 29.9%. Only 12.7% of all households comprised six or more persons in Sub Area 3 compared with 21.2% for the Dublin sub-region. Average household size ranged from 2.9 persons in Sub Area 3 to 3.3 and 3.7 persons in Sub Areas 1 and 2. *Overcrowding in the area is clearly related to the size of dwellings as shown in room densities.* The number of persons per room in the area was 34.1% higher at 1.14 compared with 0.85 in the sub-region and is 52.9% higher at 1.3 persons per room in Sub Area 1.

Within the Dublin sub-region 14.7% of the population lived in overcrowded conditions compared with 37.8% in the inner city. Of the 29,345 persons in overcrowded conditions 10,762 (36.7%) suffered severe overcrowding—defined as three or more persons per room compared with 26,186 (22% of these overcrowded) in the sub-region.

⁶⁷These standards are used by Dublin Corporation: See: J. G. Eustace, *Housing Requirements in the Dublin Sub-Region*, Working Paper No. 10, Dublin Corporation Planning Department, 1975, page 13.

⁶⁸See: *Local Government (Housing Act) 1966*, Section 63. In general these standards may be regarded as conservative. See: *Population Projections 1971-86: The Implications for Social Planning—Dwelling Needs*, NESC Report 14, 1976 pages 23-28 and also *Towards a Social Report*, NESC No. 25, 1977, Chapter 6.

Of all those "severely overcrowded" in the sub-region, 41.1% lived in the inner city while a quarter of all those "overcrowded" lived in the area. *In 1971 13.8% of the population in the inner city were severely overcrowded* compared to 3.2% in the sub-region, Table 3.13.

The problem was most acute in Sub Area 1 where 22.0% of the total population were severely overcrowded and a further 23.8% had from two to three persons per room. Altogether, 45.8% of the population lived in overcrowded conditions of varying severity. In Sub Area 2 35.2% of the population was overcrowded, 10.9% severely and in Sub Area 3—37.8% with 13.8% severely overcrowded, Table 3.13.

On a ward basis, total overcrowding ranged from 25.8% of the population in Wood Quay A to 54.8% in Mountjoy A. Overcrowding was highest in Mountjoy A, 54.8%, North Dock C, 48.0% and in Sub Area 3 Rotunda A with 49.0%. The lowest percentage in each Sub Area was Wood Quay A, 25.8%; Ballybough A, 26.8% and South Dock 28.8%.

In 1971 severe overcrowding was highest in Mountjoy A with 29.8% of the population compared to 3.2% at sub-regional level. In Sub Area 2 and 3 Pembroke East A had 14.8% and Rotunda A 22.1% of their populations severely overcrowded.

3.6(10) *Overcrowding in the Inner City 1979*⁶⁹

While still a serious problem in the inner city, overcrowding would appear to have declined with 29.4% in 1979 living in this condition compared with 37.8% of the population of the area in 1971, Table 3.14. Yet despite this improvement, *overcrowding in the area is still almost twice the rate which obtained in the sub-region in 1971*, while the percentage in severely overcrowded conditions—three or more persons to a room—is still four times greater than the rate in the sub-region in 1971. Overcrowding is greater in Corporation dwellings accounting for 60.0% of all overcrowding. While data on the use of bedrooms by age and sex is not available to determine the extent of this type of overcrowding, some indication of the magnitude of the problem can be gathered from the survey results.

⁶⁹Many of the housing problems documented here in respect of the Inner City of Dublin were documented in detail on a national scale in an unpublished survey of housing conditions in Ireland carried out by An Foras Forbartha in 1973. Many social-scientists would support Liam Ryan's view of housing as the major area of continuing social inequality—quoted in *Sunday Press*, 30/12/1979, page 2.

TABLE 3.13

Overcrowding in the Inner City in 1971

Area	Numbers Living in Overcrowded Conditions				Numbers Overcrowded as a Percentage of Population			
	Persons per room				Persons per room			
	Two persons	More than 2 Less than 3	Three or more	Total over-crowded	Two persons	More than 2 Less than 3	Three or more	Total population living in over-crowded conditions
Sub Area 1	1,642	1,784	3,177	6,603	11.4	12.4	22.0	45.8
Sub Area 2	4,628	5,569	4,601	14,888	11.0	13.4	10.9	35.3
Sub Area 3	2,866	2,004	2,984	7,854	13.6	9.5	14.1	37.2
Inner city	9,136	9,447	10,762	29,345	11.8	12.2	13.8	37.8
Dublin sub-region	45,964	46,818	26,186	118,968	5.7	5.8	3.2	14.7
Inner city as percentage of Dublin sub-region	19.9	20.2	41.1	24.7	—	—	—	—

Source: Census of Population, 1971.

TABLE 3.14
Percentage in Overcrowded Conditions in Inner City, 1979

Area	Persons per Room			Total % of Population
	Two	More than 2 Less than 3	Three or more	
Inner city 1979	10.2	8.0	11.2	29.4
Private unfurnished Corporation	3.8 6.4	3.5 4.5	4.4 6.8	11.7 17.7
Inner city 1971 Dublin sub-region 1971	11.8 5.7	12.2 5.8	13.8 3.2	37.8 14.7

Source: Census of Population 1971 and inner city Household Survey 1979.

While the overall person bedroom ratio for the area in 1979 was 1.74, 32.0% of the population covered by the survey slept at more than three persons per room, Table 3.15. Undoubtedly, many of these are children or adults of the same sex, but the extent of the problem becomes more apparent in the case of single bedroom households. Over 26% of the respondents had only one bedroom, Table 3.15. Of these 36.1% slept three or more persons to a bedroom.⁷⁰ Altogether, almost 12% of the population covered by the survey slept at 3 or more persons per room in single bedroom dwellings. Of these, 3.6% lived in single roomed households with 3 or more persons living and sleeping in a single room.⁷¹

3.7 Locational Preferences and Social Relations

3.7(1) Locational Preferences of Inner City Residents

As documented in Section I Dublin—and indeed other Irish cities—has had a long history of population overcrowding within its historic core. The alleviation of these conditions required a massive housing drive

⁷⁰Again the greater overcrowding occurred in Corporation dwellings with 62 per cent of the single bedroom dwellings sleeping 3 or more persons and 57.7 per cent of all those sleeping in overcrowded conditions being Corporation tenants.

⁷¹These dual purposes behind the thinning out policy were mentioned repeatedly in the evidence to the *Dublin: Inquiry into the Housing of the Working Classes*, 1913, Vol. II.

and inevitably led to the suburbanisation of much of the former "tenement" population. Thus, between 1926 and 1971 the population residing inside the canal ring has been halved. The thinning out of the centre was done to reduce inner city density to a level where those remaining could be provided with adequate housing, proper facilities and amenities while accommodating relocatees in new "cottages" in the suburbs.

TABLE 3.15
Bedroom Occupancy in Inner City, 1979

Percentage of total population sleeping three or more to bedroom	32.0
Percentage of total population in single bedroom households with three or more to a bedroom	11.8
Single room households as percentage of all households	8.2
Single room households with three or more persons	4.0
Single bedroom households as percentage of all households	26.3
Single bedroom households with three or more to bedroom	9.5

Source: Inner city household survey 1979.

Precisely what this later population figure might be, or what social or age composition was desirable, was seldom discussed. Though Dublin Corporation's policy is to "maintain and expand" the population of the Inner city,⁷² it is also clear that the Corporation desire to reduce population density within certain parts of the inner city.⁷³ However, *little thought appears to have been given to the desired social structure of the inner city population in the future; a number of planning proposals have sought to "bring back the middle-classes"*⁷⁴ while those working with the existing residents have emphasised the need to

⁷²Dublin Corporation *Draft Development Review*, 1976, page 27.

⁷³See, for example, *Draft proposals by Corporation for the North Inner City Area*, 1978. However, the City Quay, Ringsend and Coombe housing schemes do represent a new and welcome approach to the location and design of Dublin Corporation housing as does the "Cattle Market" scheme on the edge of the Inner City.

⁷⁴This view was strongly articulated in Abercrombie's *Dublin Sketch Development Plan*, 1941.

maintain the existing "communities".⁷⁵

Recently, there has been growing disquiet with the official policy of decanting the Inner City population to the suburbs or even to new schemes closer to the centre. This growing disquiet is bound up with people's perceived advantages of Inner City living, the importance of social and community ties, and the perceived disadvantages of "far off" suburbs. This disquiet has been articulated more and more by the media and supported the rise of community politics. *In a sense this desire to remain within the Inner City may indeed suggest that past policies have succeeded in reducing densities sufficiently for many people to believe that tolerable living conditions can and should be provided in the Inner City and that if rehousing is needed much of it should be provided in the immediate area where people have lived.*

Apart from small localised surveys little research has been undertaken into the locational or housing preferences of people in the area. Though it is often extremely difficult to interpret and evaluate people's preferences, a series of questions were asked in an effort to isolate people's level of satisfaction with their present area of residence, their own dwelling and the facilities in their own area. In addition, people were asked to indicate the strength of local kinship networks. In relation to respondents' decisions to stay in the Inner City or move out, it was decided to ask people what steps they had initiated to change location and why—see Inner City Questionnaire, Questions 11, 20 and 28.

Of the 315 respondents 69.5% (209) had not sought and were not seeking to move out of the Inner City. A total of 28.6% of respondents were either seeking a transfer or seeking to sell their houses⁷⁶—but over half of these stated that they wished to remain in the Inner City and 40.0% of them wished to remain in the same ward. An analysis of those wishing to move out of the area shows that for the most part they had large families or were housed in overcrowded conditions or both. Some 30.9% of Corporation tenants were seeking a transfer and only 23.4% of owner occupiers wished to sell their dwelling.

⁷⁵To date there has been no objective analysis of the population potential of the Inner City or of the last social composition of such a population. Neither local Development Plans nor the Inter Departmental report on Dublin's Inner City deal with these issues in depth.

⁷⁶Some 1.9 per cent of respondents were not in a position to answer this question (e.g. non heads of households).

The results show that a very high proportion of respondent households were not seeking to move out of the Inner City. These results do not necessarily imply satisfaction with either environment or housing conditions, however.⁷⁷ Because of the importance of the responses of those wishing to move, the following section examines the relocation preferences of each tenure group in the area.

3.7(2) Inner City Location Preferences and Housing Tenure

While only 28.6% of respondents were seeking to change their place of residence, this percentage varied between tenure groups. Some 31.2% of tenants in the private rented sector had applied for Corporation accommodation; of these, most preferred a house, 31.0% wished to stay in the same ward and a further 18.0% wished for somewhere else within the Inner City. Some 31.0% of these applicants had already refused offers of accommodation, largely because the offer was regarded as being in an unacceptable area. The results show that tenants in private rented accommodation are desirous of remaining in their Inner City, preferably in "their own area". The reasons for seeking a Corporation dwelling are set out in Table 3.15.

TABLE 3.15
Reasons for Seeking Corporation Housing: Tenants in Private Rented Sector

Reason	Percentage	Address of applicants by Ward
Accommodation (size, facilities)	37.9	Wood Quay A, Mountjoy A, Rotunda B, Ushers D, Royal Exchange A, Inns Quay C, Ballybough A
Building condition	17.3	South Dock, Royal Exchange A, Ushers C and A
Condition Accommodation	20.7	Wood Quay A, Mountjoy A, Ushers C, Ushers A, Inns Quay C, Arran Quay D
Environmental quality	10.3	Mountjoy A, Ballybough A, North Dock C
Too far from work	3.5	Royal Exchange B, Ballybough A
Other including rents, to be near friends, etc.	10.1	

Source: Inner City Household Survey, 1979.

⁷⁷The low level of preferences to vacate the Inner City may reflect the convenience and centrality of the area as well as the strength of existing ties and the importance of 'community' factors in the location decision. For an overview of the complex issues involved in the relocation decision see: J.S. Adams and K. Gider, "Household Location and Intra Urban Migration" in D. T. Herbert and R. J. Johnston (eds.) *Spatial Processes and Form*, John Wiley, London, 1976, pages 159-192.

Some 30.9% of Corporation tenants had sought to move and the reasons for doing so are set out in Table 3.16. The reasons for seeking a transfer were primarily concerned with the inadequacy or condition of their present accommodation. Seventy-four per cent of this group wished to obtain a house rather than a flat and most expressed a strong desire to get this alternative accommodation within the Inner City. Only 7.9% were seeking accommodation in the Northern suburbs and 23.7% in South side suburbs—mostly the inner suburbs. The analysis confirms O'Connor's findings that most Corporation tenants seeking a transfer wish to remain in the Inner City; indeed when coupled with the findings of Section IV below, the evidence reinforces her wider conclusion that generally "people do not wish to move out of their own area".⁷⁸ The reasons for seeking a transfer and the reasons for refusals are set out in Table 3.16. As can be seen "accommodation inadequacy" was the principal reason for seeking a transfer. Offers had been refused by 28.9% of the applicants mainly on the grounds of dwelling type and distance from work, Table 3.16.

TABLE 3.16
Reasons for Transfers and Refusals: Corporation Tenants

Reasons for Transfer	Percentage	Reasons for Refusal	Percentage
Accommodation inadequacy	42.1	Dwelling type	27.4
Building condition	5.3	Area and Distance to work	27.2
Condition accommodation	2.6	Lack of conveniences (church, shops, etc.)	18.0
Environmental quality	18.4		
Area/accommodation	10.5		
Too far from work	7.9	Distance from work	18.2
Other	13.9	Other	9.2

Source: Inner City Household Survey 1979.

⁷⁸M. O'Connor, *Local Authority Housing Residential Mobility and Preferences* Unpublished dissertation, Department of Town Planning, U.C.D., 1976, 178 pages.

⁷⁹Those considering sale on environmental grounds were located in Ushers D, Mountjoy B, Merchants Quay C and F, Pembroke East A, Inns Quay C and Ballybough A, wards.

⁸⁰Of course it must be borne in mind that "accommodation grounds" are the best and most likely to prove successful.

⁸¹The importance of environmental factors is likely to continue to be of paramount importance in any attempts to attract more private housing investment to the area.

Some 23.4% of owner occupier respondents wished to sell their houses, principally because of dissatisfaction with the environment (40.9%), inadequate accommodation (31.8%) or building condition (18.2%). Of those wishing to sell only 35.0% wished to remain in the Inner City, preferably in the same ward. Since the owner occupied housing areas are on the periphery of the Inner City as defined in this study and since few alternative houses are available for purchase it is rational to find owner occupiers wishing either to remain in "their own area" or else leave the Inner City altogether.⁷⁹

By way of summary, Table 3.17 provides an overview of the reasons for relocation by all tenure groups as well as their preference of alternative location.

TABLE 3.17
Reasons for wishing to move from or sell Dwelling

Reason for Relocation	PERCENTAGES		
	Private Rented	Corporation	Owner occupier
Accommodation	37.9	44.7	31.8
Building condition	17.3	5.3	18.2
Environmental quality	10.3	18.4	40.9
Building condition/area	20.7	—	—
Percentage seeking to relocate	30.2	30.9	23.4
<i>Preference</i>			
Same ward	31.0	50.0	35.0
Inner city	18.0	18.0	
Houses to flats	72.0	74.0	—

Source: Inner City Household Survey, 1979.

⁷⁹Those considering sale on environmental grounds were located in Ushers D, Mountjoy B, Merchants Quay C and F, Pembroke East A, Inns Quay C and Ballybough A, wards.

Accommodation is the most frequent reason for change advanced by Corporation tenants and is the logical outcome of a process geared primarily to housing allocation based largely on present family size and accommodation.⁸⁰ Transfer between dwellings at relevant stages in the family cycle is permitted rather than encouraged under the existing reactive system. The emphasis on building condition reflects the age structure of private rented and owner occupied stock and the costs of modernisation to landlords and owners. Environmental quality is a strong reason for change in all groups particularly owner occupiers.⁸¹ It is the next most frequent reason after accommodation for Corporation tenants and in the case of private sector it directly underlies 10.3% of housing applications and jointly influences 20.7%. Table 3.17.

The results do show considerable dissatisfaction with existing accommodation but do not confirm any overwhelming desire to get out of their present ward or the Inner City. They do, however, point to a need to improve people's accommodation and environment. Given the perpetuation of physical planning problems in the Inner City it can be argued that the proportions wishing to leave the area are remarkably low.

3.7(3) Desirable Neighbourhood Features: Householders' Views
In the preceding section the results can be interpreted as showing a high degree of attachment by residents to their own part of the Inner City. To ascertain what was the basis for this, Question 32 sought to discover what the respondents liked about the area.

Asked what they liked most about their neighbourhood, 31.6% of respondents indicated 'convenience to shops' followed by 'neighbourliness' 29.6%; and 'convenience to work' 16.1%, Table 3.18. Taking second choices, convenience is still the prime attraction, with convenience to schools and churches displacing neighbourliness from second place. Aggregating unweighted first to fourth choices still confirms the importance of convenience and neighbourliness, Table 3.18. It is interesting to note that neither amenities nor recreational

⁸⁰Of course it must be borne in mind that "accommodation grounds" are the best and most likely to prove successful.

⁸¹The importance of environmental factors is likely to prove of paramount importance in any attempts to attract more private housing investment to the area.

facilities receive much mention from respondents. It may be that respondents took the proximity of cinemas etc. as for granted, while open space and recreational facilities are seriously lacking in the area and would hardly be conceived of as 'existing desirable features',⁸² c.f. Sub-section 3.7 (4).

TABLE 3.18
Neighbourhood* Likes by Rank

Amenities of Inner City	Percentage Reference by choice			Rank by choice		
	First	Second	Aggreg.**	First	Second	Aggreg.
Convenience to shops	31.6	34.6	29.2	1	1	1
Neighbourliness	29.6	14.0	19.9	2	3	2
Convenience to work	16.1	12.2	13.3	3	4	3
Quietness	10.9	6.3	9.6	4	5	5
Convenience to schools and churches	5.2	19.4	13.0	5	2	4
Other***	3.8	2.5	5.0	6	8	7
Convenience to indoor recreational facilities (cinemas, pool halls, pubs)	2.1	6.3	4.9	7	5	8
Convenience to outdoor recreational facilities	0.7	4.6	5.1	8	7	6

*A comparative K² test of Inner City and Suburban Neighbourhood 'likes' (Tables 3.18 and 4.11) proved significant at the .001 level.

**Aggregation in this case refers to the unweighted percentage of respondents who included the category in any of the first four places.

***Other included convenience to friends, relatives, etc.

3.7.(4) Dislikes of Inner City as Recorded by Survey
Vandalism emerged as the principal dislike to 30.0% of respondents, followed by traffic noise, 20.7% and lack of amenities for children, 16.1%. Table 3.19. Some 9.3% of respondents alluded to the bad

⁸²Surveys, including those by Dublin Corporation, testify to the paucity of open space in the inner city to meet the residents' local needs, to act as 'urban lung' or to offer opportunities for visual enhancement of spaces, makes Stephen's Green or the Phoenix Park often serve to confuse and deflect attention from the dire need for local open and recreational spaces.

name of the area while others stressed the shabbiness of buildings. While aggregation confirms the general pattern of dislikes, it is of interest that these change in the second stage of choice. Lack of amenity for children in the first stage is reinforced by focusing on the lack of open space generally in the area.⁸³

TABLE 3.19
Neighbourhood Dislikes by Rank*

Disamenity**	Percentage sharing dislike by choice			Percentage sharing dislike by rank		
	First	Second	Aggreg.	First	Second	Aggreg.
Vandalism	30.0	15.6	22.8	1	1	1
Traffic noise	20.7	14.1	17.2	2	2	2
Lack of amenities for children	16.1	9.6	12.1	3	8	3
Bad name	9.3	11.9	11.2	4	5	4
Rundown appearance of buildings	8.8	14.1	10.5	5	2	5
Traffic hazard	8.3	11.1	9.6	6	6	6
Graffiti and litter	4.1	11.1	9.1	7	6	7
Lack of open space	2.7	12.5	6.8	8	4	8

*Those expressing no opinion are omitted, 12.1 per cent.

**A comparative K² test of dislikes of residents in Inner City and Suburban estates (Tables 3.19 and 4.10) proved significant at the .05 level.

In the second stage the physical environment, state of buildings, traffic hazard, graffiti and litter, attracts more comment (Table 3.19). Reaction to the environment is wholistic based on many impressions—particular aspects such as vandalism may stand out because of either their past impact or potential personal impact on respondents—the overall impression is created by a combination of all the factors. In short the inner city presents many planning shortcomings as a residential area at present.

⁸³While Dublin city as a whole had an average of 3.3 acres of open space per 1,000 population, the area inside the city had only 0.5 acres per 1,000. In addition surveys show that other recreation facilities tend to be most seriously underprovided in those areas with inadequate open space.

3.7.(5) Environmental Quality in the Inner City

Definition and assessment of environmental quality is very much a personal (subjective) matter and a product of people's background and their related values. Differences arise, not in the broad categorisation of amenities or disamenities such as parks, pedestrian streets, vandalism or pollution, but rather, in determining at what level their presence or absence constitutes an objective problem or perceived problem. An amenity problem as defined by planning standards may not be viewed as seriously by residents or, conversely, residents may react more strongly to a particular disamenity.⁸⁴ To overcome this crux interviewers were instructed to assess the external environment in terms of traffic volumes, on-street parking, dereliction and incompatible land uses while respondents were also asked to give their views on the good and bad aspects of their environment as perceived by themselves.

A limited survey undertaken by the interviewers generally confirms the respondents assessment.⁸⁵ While 10% of the buildings inhabited by respondents were assessed as poor or bad and 56.0% were in fair condition,⁸⁶ *derelict sites, disused or ruined buildings were in view of 40% and graffiti and litter in sight of 49%. There was no public open space within a quarter of a mile of 42.0% and traffic volumes were considered high in the case of 27%.⁸⁷* These results bear out the overview presented in sub-section 3.6 above about the area.

The problems of litter, graffiti, dereliction and vandalism, coupled with bad or disharmonious design are all too commonplace throughout the Central Area.⁸⁸ *These deleterious problems must be tackled as a pre-condition for any general upgrading of the area as a residential environment.*

⁸⁴This may often reflect the failure of policy-makers to find out what people require or desire—much of the conflict between planners and the Inner City groups at present derives from inadequate understanding of each others needs and viewpoints.

⁸⁵For details see Questionnaire in Appendix Two.

⁸⁶In the structural survey those buildings in need of partial replacement were judged to be in fair condition. Those needing full replacement were judged to be 'poor'—See Appendix Two.

⁸⁷Despite the warning of the D.T.S. that "it would be impossible to adapt the city centre to an ever increasing level of motorisation" no transportation policy has yet emerged. See *Transportation in Dublin*, Dublin, 1971, page 20.

⁸⁸For an examination of some of these issues see *A Future for Dublin*, Architectural Review, London, 1974.

3.7.(6) Length of Residence and Family Ties within the Inner City

The large proportion of those seeking a change of dwelling but wishing to remain in the inner city suggests that by and large likes outweigh dislikes. This is neither to discount the seriousness of the environmental problems in the area nor to over emphasise the physical advantages of convenience, but seeks to stress the attachment of residents to their local area.⁸⁹ Attachment depends on many factors of which the social are important. This is recognised in the frequency in which neighbourliness was put forward as a desirable feature of life of respondents, neighbourliness being the product of time and personal contact.⁹⁰

The average length of residence in a dwelling in the inner city is 17.7 years and in the area itself 27.4 years.⁹¹ Of those surveyed, 58.8% lived in the inner city for over 20 years and 34.3% in the same dwelling for the same period. Only 11.6% lived in the area for less than two years and 17.8% in their dwelling for less than two years, Table 3.20.

TABLE 3.20
Length of Residence within the Inner City

Period in Years	Percentage of Respondents	
	Neighbourhood	Dwelling
Less than 2	11.8	17.8
2 to 5	4.8	11.6
6 to 10	10.4	16.2
10 to 20	14.2	20.1
20 to 30	18.8	14.2
30 to 50	22.9	14.5
50+	17.1	5.6

Source: Inner City Household Survey, 1979.

⁸⁹It must be remembered that the inner city residential areas have not received a great deal of planning attention in practice and despite this lack of planned amenities, people still wish to remain there.

⁹⁰The importance of maintaining neighbourly contact systems is now emphasised in urban renewal programmes throughout European cities and is constantly emphasised in inner city planning literature. See J. Den Draak, *De Binnenstad Als Woonmilieu*, (The City as a Living Environment) Amsterdam, 1979, 233 pages.

⁹¹The long association of respondents with the inner city of Dublin is in marked contrast to the findings of U.K. inner area studies, especially London, see Willmott *et al.*, *op. cit.*, 1977, pages 49-51. However, it can be argued that Local Authority tenants have little flexibility in regard to relocation.

Family ties provide another strong basis for attachment to the Inner City area. Altogether 40.3% of the respondents had relatives in the inner city. The respondents had over 1,200 relatives living in the Dublin area of which 15.7% were parents or parents-in-law of respondents and 14.8% other immediate relatives.⁹² Of the 392 recorded relatives within the inner city 48.7% were parent/parents-in-law and a further 42.1% were "immediate family". Some 63.0% of relatives within the inner city resided in the same ward as shown by responses to question 34 and a further 24.7% lived in the rest of the city and county, while 10.5% were resident overseas mainly in Britain.

The friendship base of those responding to the question was also founded on the area with 66.6% having their close friends living in the same ward and a further 9.6% in the inner city. The closest friends of the remaining 23.8% lived elsewhere mainly in the city and county areas. Non respondents and those admitting to no close friendships comprised 22.5% of the sample.

The number of family ties is reflected to some extent by the frequency of visits between relatives. To determine this, the question "How often do you visit each other" (Q.34C Appendix B) was phrased to include visits in both directions and the interviewer instructed accordingly. Just over half the respondents and relatives (50.5%) met at least once weekly, 10.7% met a few times weekly and 14.3% daily.

When analysed by area of residence of relative, 60.9% of daily visits occurred in the same ward, as did 25% of the "few times weekly" visits and 16.4% of the "weekly" visits. Altogether 88.3% of all relatives living in the same ward visited respondents at least weekly as did 70.3% of relatives in other study area wards.

What emerges from the analysis of likes, dislikes and the social contact pattern appears to be a tightly knit cohesive community conscious of the advantages as well as the social and physical deficiencies of the area. There exists no meaningful way of balancing these advantages and disadvantages, since kinship factors cannot be evaluated in monetary or economic terms. While in the past planners have been too insensitive to 'community' and 'kinship' factors and often underrated their value, neither should it be concluded that these

⁹²Especially in the case of Local Authority tenants, the suburbanisation of people is likely to have led to a more dispersed kinship network—see Section 4.10.

ties cannot be replaced by other social networks.⁹³ But today the evidence of and need to reinforce 'community' and 'kinship' is an integral part of the present French, Dutch and Scandinavian approach to urban renewal based upon, where possible, physical rehabilitation and social conservation.⁹⁴

The pattern of social ties maintained by the Dublin Inner City respondents is also replicated in the suburban Local Authority estates (Section IV). In both cases *the population is dominated by the less mobile, less affluent, lower social groups and contact patterns may be influenced by social group as well as location.*

3.8 Employment and Unemployment

3.8.1 Inner City Employment Status 1971

Status and the power structure in society tend to be an extension of the process of differentiation in industrialisation between occupational groups.⁹⁵ As an index of social deprivation, employment type is important for two reasons, first as an indication of command over economic resources and secondly because low skill and unskilled groups have little influence in society, tend to enjoy less job security and are subject to higher unemployment rates, seasonal unemployment as well as higher morbidity and death rates.⁹⁶

Out of a total labour-force of 64,258 (defined as those aged 14 years and over) in the area in 1971, 38,396 (59.8% were gainfully occupied compared with 55.6% in the sub-region (Table 3.21). Of those not gainfully occupied 28.3% were on "home duties" compared with 29.3% for the Dublin sub-region while those not yet at work and retired persons accounted for a further 7.1% compared with 6.0% for the Dublin sub-region. *The most significant difference from a social viewpoint was the small proportion of the non-gainfully occupied at*

⁹³In a study of suburban housing estates Mulvihill shows that the Inner City group relocating to the suburbs proved the "most favourably disposed to its suburban environment"—see R. Mulvihill, *The Influence of the Type of Area Previously Lived in On Resident's Evaluation of Some Suburban Housing Estates*, Planning Division Working Paper No. 6. An Foras Forbartha, Dublin 1978, page 7.

⁹⁴See for example the approach to urban renewal in the city of Utrecht. *Houtplein Bokkenbuurt Ondiep 13*, 1977, 35 pages. See also Section 3.2 above.

⁹⁵See M. J. Bannon, J. G. Eustace and M. Power, *Service-Type Employment and Regional Development*, N.E.S.C. Report No. 28, 1977, pages 110-117.

⁹⁶Deeney, J., *The Irish Worker*, I.P.A., Dublin 1971, p. 93.

school or students. These accounted for only 4.8% of the labour force in the area compared to 9.1% in the sub-region. At Sub-Area level only 3.1% were availing of educational opportunities in Sub Area 1 with 4.7% and 5.9% in Sub Areas 2 and 3.

Of the 24,247 males in the 25 wards classified as gainfully occupied, 23.6% (5,724) were classified as labourers and unskilled workers, over twice the proportion (11.3%) similarly engaged at regional level. A further 20.2% were employed in the generally low skilled transport communications and storage sector as against 14% for the Dublin sub-region. Professional and technical workers accounted for only 4.8% compared with 14.3% while those in commerce, insurance and finance accounted for 7.4% of those gainfully occupied in the inner city area compared with 12.2% at sub-regional level, Table A 3.4.

Professional and technical workers were mainly concentrated in Sub Area 3 with 19.6% of the 663 in the Rotunda wards, 16.7% in South Dock and 28.8% almost equally divided between Mansion House and Royal Exchange A.⁹⁷

TABLE 3.21
Occupational Composition of the Labour Force 1971

AREA	Non-gainfully occupied					PERCENTAGE Non-gainfully occupied				
	Gainfully Occupied	School	Home	Other	Population 14 years and over	Gainfully occupied	School	Home	Other	Population 14 years and over
Sub-Area 1	6,675	354	3,244	1,042	11,315	59.0	3.1	28.7	9.2	100
Sub-Area 2	18,587	1,481	9,394	2,077	31,539	58.9	4.7	29.8	6.6	100
Sub-Area 3	13,134	1,269	5,534	1,467	21,404	61.4	5.9	25.9	6.8	100
Inner City	38,396	3,104	18,172	4,586	64,258	59.8	4.8	28.3	7.1	100
Dublin	330,387	53,868	174,075	35,932	594,262	55.6	9.1	29.3	6.0	100
Social area as percentage of Dublin	11.6	5.7	10.4	12.8	10.8					

Source: Census of Population 1971

⁹⁷Many of these would be resident in non-private households as defined in Section 3.15. The occupational structure of this area compares closely with that of the Lambeth parts of inner London.

Some 38.9% of the non gainfully occupied males were at school or students compared with 55% sub-regionally in 1971, Table A 3.4. Only 24.4% were studying in Sub-Area 1 compared with 36.5% in 2 and 48.9% in 3. Of the 890 males attending school, 54.6% (486) reside in the Royal Exchange wards and 16.7% (149) in South Dock.

Gainfully occupied females accounted for 40.5% of the work-force compared with 34.6% in the Dublin sub-Region in 1971. This difference may in part be accounted for by the small proportion of the non-gainfully occupied at school—5.4% compared to 11.3% in the sub-region and probably also to fewer females retiring. Of those occupied, the highest proportion (26.2%) were returned in the Producer, Repairers and Makers occupations, mainly textile clothing and low skilled factory work. A further 20.4% were in Services compared with 16.8% for Dublin. *Only 19.1% of females in the area were in the clerical group compared to 33.4% for Dublin while 12% are returned in the professional category against 16.2% for the sub-region, Table A 3.5.*

At Sub-Area level, Sub Area 3 differs markedly from the others in that it has the smallest proportion of Producers, Makers and Repairers, (17.6%). It has the highest proportion in professional and clerical with 20.9% professional compared to 3.5% and 7.3% in the other two Sub-Areas. Some parts of this Sub-Area including South Dock ward contain hostels for young females—often in the Public Service—while there are also some purchase flats in the area. However, female employment in the Inner City and in each Sub-Area is dominated by high proportions engaged in Home Duties, which may reflect the inequality of job opportunities and the low skills of the female population relative to the Dublin sub-regional norm.

A Location Quotient Analysis** of Inner City occupational data shows that in both the case of males and females *the Inner City and its component Sub-Areas have an under representation of people in white-collar occupations and a serious over dependence of persons in blue-collar jobs, particularly the less skilled categories.* Within the Inner City, Sub-Area One is particularly dominated by the less skilled

**The Location Quotient is a measure of concentration, a quotient of unity represents the same degree of concentration of a given occupation in the Inner City or the Sub-Areas as in the Dublin sub-region. Scores of less than unity indicate under representation, etc.

occupations. Sub-Area 3 has the highest concentration of white-collar occupations but even this Area remains well below the sub-regional norm. Female white-collar workers proved to be most highly concentrated in the South Dock ward of Sub-Area 3.

3.8.(2) *Inner City Employment, 1979*

The survey of Inner City households reveals that the structure of the labour force had changed little between 1971 and 1979. The non-gainfully occupied proportion of the population had increased from 40.8% in 1971 to 42.7% in 1979, while the number on home duties had declined from 28.2% in 1971 to 24.1% in 1979. The greatest change between 1971 and 1979 was the increase in the proportion of retired from 4.3 to 12.7% and of the unemployed from 9.3 to 12.1% of the gainfully occupied population. The huge increase in the proportion of Inner City retired people—which by 1979** was almost three times the sub-regional rate—requires further research. Over 70.0% of the retired are heads of households and it may be that many of them are prematurely retired, since 18.0% were under 65 years of age. The 1979 survey shows that 2.7% of the gainfully occupied were first time job seekers—a rate four times greater than the sub-regional rate of 0.6%.

Within the Inner City unemployment rates and rates of retirement had increased and were substantially above the 1977 rates for the sub-region as a whole.

The occupational structure of the Inner City, Labour-force for both 1971 and 1979 is set out in Table 3.23 and can be seen to have remained basically similar at both dates.

**Part of the increase after 1971 may be due to sampling variations.

TABLE 3.22
Occupational Location Quotients, 1971 Inner City*

Occupation	MALE				FEMALE			
	Inner City	Sub-Area 1	Sub-Area 2	Sub-Area 3	Inner City	Sub-Area 1	Sub-Area 2	Sub-Area 3
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	0.38	0.59	0.24	0.46	0.10	0.14	0.04	0.02
Producers, makers, repairers	0.94	0.82	1.02	0.90	1.58	2.12	1.83	1.06
Labourers and other unskilled workers	2.05	2.80	2.05	1.60	1.51	1.70	1.69	1.22
Transport, communication and storage	1.44	1.37	1.55	1.30	1.48	1.95	1.72	1.01
Clerical occupations	0.54	0.33	0.62	0.54	0.57	0.34	0.59	0.64
Commerce, insurance, finance	0.61	0.44	0.59	0.74	0.81	0.80	0.86	0.77
Service occupations	1.22	1.32	1.02	1.48	1.45	1.71	1.32	1.51
Professional and technical	0.33	0.22	0.21	0.60	0.73	0.21	0.45	1.29
Others	2.13	2.20	1.55	2.98	1.40	1.28	1.52	1.29

Source: Census of Population, 1971.

TABLE 3.23

Occupations 1971, 1979: Inner City and Sub-Region

Broad Occupation Group	Percentages			
	Inner City		Dublin sub-region	
	1971	1979	1971	1977
Producers, makers, repairers	27.1	29.6	25.2	23.6
Labourers and unskilled workers	15.2	18.4	7.9	4.6
Transport, communication and storage	16.3	13.9	11.7	9.7
Clerical occupations	10.1	8.4	17.3	19.1
Commerce, insurance, finance	7.7	2.7	11.6	10.9
Service occupations	13.9	16.2	10.0	9.4
Administrative, professional and technical workers	7.5	6.8	15.2	16.1
Others	2.2	4.0	1.2	6.6

Source: 1977 Labour Force Survey, 1971 Census and 1979 Inner City survey.

Essentially the occupational structure in the Inner City appears to have changed little since 1971 and is still predominantly blue-collar (Table 3.23). In contrast, the 1977 Labour Force Survey shows a relative decline in skilled and unskilled workers and increasing reliance on the white-collar professional and clerical groups throughout the sub-region.¹⁰⁰ While the information industry is the increasing source of employment at the sub-regional level, more of the Inner City work force have become "locked into" blue collar and less skilled jobs,¹⁰¹ Table 3.23.

¹⁰⁰For a discussion of the labour-jobs mismatch in Dublin see: M.J. Bannon, "The White-Collar Revolution, Office Expansion and Local Planning", *The Future of Dublin*, U.C.D. Department of Psychiatry, 1975, 10 pages. See also L.P. O'Reilly "The Process of Growth in the Dublin Sub Region", R.S.A. paper 1976, 10 pages.

¹⁰¹The continuing inability of local 'working class' residents to gain access to this expanding labour market is a major long run problem—See B. Hutchinson, "First Employment; Social Status and Mobility in Dublin", *Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 2, pages 337-348.

3.8.(3) Inner City Unemployment

The problem of unemployment while general to the urban economy as a whole is particularly acute in the inner city. This is the outcome of structural changes in the economy, the increasing importance of information related employment¹⁰² with its tendency towards central locations, the movement of industry to peripheral areas, the modernisation of industrial processes within the central area¹⁰³ and the automation of port activities, with the consequent fall off in the demand for low and unskilled labour. Industrial development policies have until recently encouraged movement from the Inner City through the modernisation and re-equipment programme operated by the IDA. This was also supported by the planning policy of Dublin Corporation.¹⁰⁴ In addition, it was until recently official policy not to actively promote Dublin as a centre for new industry.

Unemployment, particularly male, provides a useful index to the level of deprivation obtaining in an area, particularly since it creates serious problems for those most liable to it, the unskilled, the disabled and the elderly. These consequences are of course intensified where there is only one "bread winner" in the family.

Male unemployment in the area in 1971 at 11.9% was almost twice that of the sub-region at 5.9%, Table 3.18. Unemployment rates varied widely between the Sub-Areas, the problem being most severe in Sub-Area 1 at 19.2% of the gainfully occupied in 1971 compared with 10.6% and 9.5% in Sub-Areas 2 and 3. (Table 3.24). Many wards in Sub-Area 1 (see Fig. 13) had more than 15% of the gainfully occupied population unemployed in 1971, e.g. Wood Quay A and Ushers B wards.¹⁰⁵ Similarly female unemployment rates were seriously in excess of the 1971 sub-regional rate and were most pronounced in the

¹⁰²The growth of office and White-Collar employment may be viewed on the increasing levels of skill attached all types of work—though it must be emphasised that many of these skilled jobs may be both routine and boring in practice.

¹⁰³In practice modernisation may entail relocation for a number of reasons such as need for a spacious single level building, larger site, ease of access, etc. In addition, firms are unlikely to be unaware of the capital value of old inner city industrial sites for alternative uses.

¹⁰⁴Both the IDA policy in relation to new firms in Dublin and the Corporation policy with regard to industry in the Inner City have been modified—See: Dublin Corporation *Development Plan Review (Draft) 1976*.

¹⁰⁵The Combat Poverty Team Projects in the Liberties and North Central Areas have found evidence of similarly high and persistent unemployment rates.

wards of Sub-Area 1. In Merchants Quay C ward some 7.5% of gainfully occupied females were out of work—over twice the sub-regional rate of 3.2%.

TABLE 3.24
Percentage of Labour Force Unemployed 1971¹⁰⁶

Area	Male	Female
Sub-A 1	19.2	6.7
Sub-A 2	10.6	4.7
Sub-A 3	9.5	3.9
Inner City	11.9	4.7
Dublin	5.6	3.2

*Source: Census of Population 1971.

The previous section 3.8(4) showed that Inner Dublin had a high proportion of retired persons; these were complemented by very high rates of both male and female unemployment in 1971.

The 1979 survey showed that unemployment rates in the Inner City had increased from 9.3% of gainfully occupied in 1971 to 12.1% in 1979. Over 55% of the 1979 Inner City unemployed were heads of households and unemployment rates amongst heads of household was almost 20%. Some 60% of the unemployed were under 35 years of age, 30.0% being under 25 years, and all had finished their education by 17 years of age; indeed 68.0% had completed their education by the age of 15 years.¹⁰⁷

Although half of the unemployed were without work for less than a year, the average length of time unemployed is 2.2 years, but 20.9% were unemployed for more than four years. (Table 3.25). The lack of social mobility of the unemployed is evidenced by the fact that 60% had previously been employed in the Inner City including 14.3% who

¹⁰⁶Based upon Census data and excluding first-time job seekers for a discussion of unemployment amongst school leavers see: B. Murphy and J. Morrissey, *A Study of Youth Employment in North Central Dublin, op. cit.*

¹⁰⁷These findings bear out the results of surveys in the North Inner City conducted by Murphy and Morrissey. See: B. Murphy and T. Morrissey, *Youth Employment in North Central Dublin, AnCo and the Department of Labour, Section 5.3.*

had had jobs in their home ward. Only 12.2% had worked outside the County Borough. The majority of those out of work (38.9%) were labourers and unskilled while transport, communications and storage and services—low skill demanding industries—accounted for 27.8%.¹⁰⁸ Producers, makers and repairers accounted for 27.8%.¹⁰⁸

Of those who responded (26.5% gave no information on this question) 6.3% were unemployed by reasons of firms closing, 22.4% were made redundant while 44.9% gave a variety of reasons such as "sacked", "left for various reasons" and, in the case of three military respondents, their service was completed. What emerges as surprising is that none mention relocation specifically as a reason but then the unemployed may make little distinction between relocation and redundancy since the relocation process often leads to redundancy.¹⁰⁹

TABLE 3.25
Unemployed by Selected Indicators

Length of Unemployment		Occupational Group		Family Status	
Period	%	Group	%	Group	%
Under 1 year	48.8	Producers, makers repairers	27.8	Head	55.1
1 to 2 years	14.0	Labourers	38.9	Spouse	4.1
2 to 3 years	9.3	Transport, commu- nication	11.1	Son	18.4
3 to 4 years	7.0	Clerical	2.8	Daughter	16.4
4 to 10 years	20.9	Service	11.1	Others in household	6.0
		Other	8.3		

Source: 1979 Inner City Household Survey.

¹⁰⁸O'Neill suggests that young people whose parents are unemployed or in lowly skilled occupations are significantly more likely to run foul of the law than their more favoured peers. See C. O'Neill, "The Social Function of Violence in an Irish Urban Area", *Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 2, July 1971, pages 481-496.

¹⁰⁹A number of local studies have testified to the very local nature of labour markets for "blue-collar" workers around Dublin: There is also a general agreement that over time relocated firms attract local labour and employ less and less from the Inner City. This last point is borne out by the small number of respondents working in the suburbs. See: Section 3.8 (5).

First time job seekers comprise 2.7% of the work force, of whom 83.2% had completed their education by age 16, the remainder by 18 years. Of these, 63.2% were under 24 years and 10% were heads of households. The problems facing these are, if anything, more acute as they cannot lay claim to work experience in contrast to those 12.1% already recorded as unemployed.

The most significant characteristics of the unemployed in the area are their low level of educational attainment and their youthfulness. Together these attributes add to a prospect of both short and long term chronic unemployment for a substantial number in the area—prospects likely to be compounded amongst these social groups by the accelerating pace and sophistication of technological change.¹¹⁰

3.8(4) Industrial Employment in the Inner City

A Dublin Corporation preliminary survey of the manufacturing sector in 1977 estimates that 50.9% of all manufacturing jobs in the County Borough are located within the canal ring. The southern part of the Inner City is identified as the primary location for the textile, food, drink and tobacco and chemicals, while paper and printing industries are mainly located in the Inner City north. The food, drink and tobacco industry is recognised as the most important source of employment in the County Borough, with engineering the second most important with clothing, footwear, paper and printing following.

The survey of households in the Inner City indicated that 41.9% of the gainfully occupied respondents were employed in the food, drink and tobacco industries, compared with 26.2% in these industries in the sub-region in 1977. Textiles, clothing and footwear accounted for 27.0% of Inner City jobs compared with 15.7% in the County Borough and 19.5% in the sub-region. The greater importance of this sector in the inner city is attributable to the high employment content of the clothing sector with its high female/male labour ratio (approximately 3 to 1) and its low skill requirements. There were 7.8% of respondents in the "wood and wood products" group; nevertheless the highly-skilled paper and printing industry in the North Inner City had few of the respondents who worked in this industry—4.9% compared to 13.1% of manufacturing jobs in the Dublin County Borough in 1977. The

¹¹⁰For a report on these changes see: *Micro-electronic Technology: Consultation or Chaos?* A.S.T.M.S. (Irish Section) Dublin, 1979, 34 pages.

engineering industry which is a major employer in the sub-region, (18.1%) also demands skills not normally possessed by the majority of Inner area residents, Table 3.26.

TABLE 3.26
Manufacturing Employment 1979 (Percentages)

Category	Inner City	Dublin sub-region	Dublin Co. Borough
	1979	1977	1977
Food, beverages, tobacco	41.9	26.2	33.5
Textiles, clothing, footwear	27.0	19.5	15.7
Wood and wood products	7.8	5.7	—
Paper, paper products, printing publishing	4.9	7.1	13.1
Chemicals, rubber and plastic products	4.0	8.6	9.9
Glass, pottery and cement	2.9	5.7	—
Metals, metal products, machinery	5.5	18.1	27.8
Transport, equipment	2.0	9.1	—
Other	4.0		
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Inner City Household Survey 1979. EEC Labour Force Survey 1977 and Report on Manufacturing Employment in the County Borough, Dublin Corporation 1977.

3.8.(5) Location of Employment of Inner City Workers 1979

A recurring theme in discussion of the unemployment problem in the Inner City is that it is largely the outcome of the relocation of goods production jobs to the periphery, the modernisation of remaining firms and the rationalisation of the port and its activities. A strong implication here is that the labour market area and place of residence tend to be co-terminous for the Inner City labour force—not surprising given the high proportion of total Dublin employment in the Central city and this applies to all types of work including manufacturing industry.

Study of the location pattern of employment of respondents supports the view that a high degree of correspondence does exist. Of those in full time employment the 1979 survey shows that 21.5% were employed in the same ward, while a further 38.0% worked in the Inner City, Table 3.27. This correspondence is particularly evident in the case of part-time workers, 57.1% of whom worked in the same ward and a further 25.0% elsewhere in the Inner City. Fewer of the unemployed had worked in the same ward although the overall percentage for the Inner City was similar at 59.9%, Table 3.27.

TABLE 3.27

Category	Employment by Location					
	Same ward	Other inner city wards	Inner city total	Rest of Dublin city	Rest of Dublin sub-region	Elsewhere
Full-time employment	21.5	38.0	59.5	23.4	16.4	0.7
Part-time employment	57.1	25.0	82.1	14.2	3.6	—
Unemployed by address* of previous employment	14.2	45.7	59.9	20.0	11.5	8.6
TOTAL**	25.5	36.0	61.5	21.8	15.0	1.7

*Indicates previous place of employment.

**Includes self-employed.

Source: Inner City Survey.

3.8(6) Relocation of Industry

An industrial survey¹¹¹ carried out by the Planning Department of the Corporation (September 1974 to January 1975) showed that of 514 establishments which had located on suburban estates over the preceding nine years, 31.1% (160) had come from previous locations within the County Borough; of the latter, 83.8% (134) had come from the area inside the canal ring, together with Inns Quay, Ballybough and North Dock. Of the premises vacated 56.0% were reoccupied at the date of survey, 24.6% were still vacant, 10.4% were derelict or demolished, 9.0% were undergoing redevelopment and 4.0% remained unidentified (Table 3.35). Of the premises reoccupied, 80.6% (60) were

¹¹¹Dublin Corporation Planning Department—Survey of Zoned Industrial Lands. Working Paper Number 5, 1975, p. 27 et seq.

being used for mainly industrial services and redistributive purposes, 14.6% for manufacturing, while 5.6% were classified as miscellaneous. The Corporation study gives no indication of the nature of the relocated industry by sector or employment content.

TABLE 3.28

Relocation of Industry from the Inner City

Relocation	Establishments				
	Total	Reoccupied	Vacant	Derelict and demolished	Redeveloped, etc.
Number	134	75	33	14	12
Percentage	100	56.0	24.6	10.4	9.0

Another analysis of manufacturing employment in the Dublin City area by the Corporation¹¹² indicates that there were 913 manufacturing establishments within the canal ring in 1977. Relocation in the period 1965-74, as a percentage of 1977 establishments, provides a very crude indication of the losses attributable to industrial shifts. Gross loss in terms of manufacturing establishments was 14.6% while replacement by manufacturing industries gives a net loss of 13.5%. On the basis of the average size of firm in 1977, employment loss within the canal ring amounted to 4,500 manufacturing jobs between 1965 and 1974, the beginning of the recession.

As already indicated in Section 3.6, the Industrial Development Authority have attempted to estimate the scale of manufacturing job losses in the inner city in recent years. *According to IDA estimates, the recession severely affected the job supply within both the inner city and in those industries of most importance as employers of inner city labour.* Jobs were lost as firms closed or contracted their labour content. Some jobs were also lost due to reequipment and modernisation while many jobs were relocated from the older parts of the city to peripheral estates. These latter firms included Cantrell and Cochrane, Dockrells, Brooks Thomas, Williams and Woods, Jacobs and Thwaites and many others; in many of these cases the sites were re-zoned for office and commercial uses.

¹¹²Report on Manufacturing Employment in the County Borough, Dublin Corporation, 1978, 11 pages.

Major employment firms that have ceased trading in recent years with special impact on workers from the inner city include Gouldings, T. & C. Martin, and Armstrongs. Major rationalisations, such as in coal distribution, have led to changes in employment content and structure.

While nobody is clear as to the present (or past) numbers working within either the inner city or inside the canal ring (The Corporation estimates 22,000 jobs in manufacturing) or in the city centre, the IDA estimate that, within manufacturing industries, contraction and/or closure of firms and suburbanisation led to a loss of at least 2,000 jobs per year within the Inner City since the mid 1970s; the rate of job decline may have decelerated in 1978-79 though the closure of Donnellys with a loss of around 200 jobs is the latest example of the closure of a traditional industry within the Inner City.

3.8(7) *The Port¹¹³ and Inner City Employment Problems*

Decasualisation of labour within the sub-region together with the development of containerisation and other mechanical handling techniques, has also contributed to the decline of an important traditional source of employment for residents of the inner city and nearby areas.

In 1947 the initial step towards decasualisation of dock labour was taken with the compilation of two registers, one for the deep sea, coal section, the other for cross channel trade. The deep sea coal register consisted of 700 registered buttonmen¹¹⁴ together with 300 non-recognised buttonmen. Prior to compilation of this register casuals numbered about 2,000. In 1971 a decasualisation scheme agreed between the Association of Stevedores and the Marine Port and General Workers Union representing the deep sea/coal dockers agreed to registration of a total of 550 dockers. This number was further reduced by 1977 when jobs elsewhere in the Port attracted dockers and a voluntary severance scheme reduced the labour force to its present level of about 400. This resulted in a 60% decline in the port labour force in the post-War period or 80% from the pre-register period.

¹¹³The port comprises an area of 1,250 acres bounded to the West by the C.I.E. rail line on both sides of the river, by East Wall Road on the North and to the North of Pearse Street on the South. Overall worker density in the area is 11 persons per acre, North side - 13 per acre, South side - 8 per acre.

¹¹⁴Each registered man was given a "button badge" which entitled him to preference for work over a "non button man".

Similarly, employment in the cross channel sector declined by about 90% over the same period and now has a permanent labour force of about 110. The main fall in labour occurred with the transfer to the unitised trade, either LO/LO or RO/RO, in the late 1960s. Though total tonnage throughputs have not expanded significantly, the modes have varied considerably. Bulk trade has declined continuously as a proportion of trade while the unitised trade has continued to expand. Between 1976 and 1977 LO/LO trade expanded by 5.6% due to growth in exports while the primarily cross channel RO/RO trade expanded by 10%. Unitised trade now accounts for more than a quarter of imports and three quarters of exports passing through Dublin port.

Within the port area employment as a whole declined by about 10% between 1971 and 1975. A number of major employers, e.g., Gouldings and Armstrongs, have ceased operations while others, including the Irish Glass Bottle Company, Lever Bros., Bolands, Brooks Watson and the Hammond Lane Foundry, shed labour for a total loss of some 2,000 jobs since 1969.

A survey by the Port and Docks Board of all employers showed that in 1975 30.2% (4,039) of all port area workers resided in postal areas 1 to 4 compared with 40% in 1971.¹¹⁵ Of these 61% reside North of the Liffey with 20.7% in zones 1 and 2 compared with 13.7% South of the river. North of the Liffey 40% resided in zones 3 and 4 compared with 25.5% to the South. The peripheral postal zones accounted for 40.3% of all workers and 13.3% live outside the Dublin postal areas.

*Over time the more diverse port and non-port related activities would appear to have resulted not in a stable, if changing source of, employment for inner area residents but in a wider labour catchment area for port labour.*¹¹⁶ The same is true of employment in general in the inner area. Changing activities and location patterns are not matched by a similar adaptability in skills or mobility by the resident population.

¹¹⁵The 1975 survey does not include the Department of Posts and Telegraphs Sorting Office in Sheriff Street. See *Survey of Port and Docks Employees, 1975*. A 1979 survey has been delayed due to the postal dispute.

¹¹⁶Some may have, of course, moved out of the Inner City over time.

¹¹⁷Another associated problem relates to the adverse impact of the exclusive nature of zoning and uses permitted in the port area. Exclusive zoning, although desirable in the context of high demand, may inhibit change and the use of the land for some relevant uses even in Areas no longer in demand. This problem has been readressed in *Land Values and Planning for Inner Cities*, R.T.P.I, London, 1979, page 15.

TABLE 3.29
Spatial Distribution of Port Workers 1975

Postal Zone No.	1 to 4		Peripheral zones ^a		Outside postal area		Other zones ^b		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
North	2,542	28.2	3,702	42.6	1,184	13.6	1,357	15.6	8,695	100.0
South	1,587	34.0	1,679	36.0	590	12.6	807	17.4	4,463	100.0
TOTAL	4,039	30.2	5,381	40.3	1,774	13.3	2,164	16.2	13,158	100.0

^apostal zones 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14.

^b6, 7, 8.

Source: Port and Docks Survey 1975, Tables 1, 2 and 3.

3.8(8) Changing Structure of Employment and Education

Increasingly the inner city has become the locus of higher order service type employment associated with information, handling and exchange, which demands at least a reasonable level of second-level education to take advantage of job opportunities which arise.¹¹⁸

Respondents to the Inner City survey generally finished school at an early age, with 41.5% completely finished by age 14 and a further 37.5% by age 16. Only 8.5% remained at school until age 18 and 5.5% over that age, Table 3.30. Over half (55.3%) of those unemployed had left school before they were 15 compared with 36.8% of the self employed and 38.9% of those in full-time employment. The educational time period of part-time workers was similar to that of the unemployed, 93.6% had finished by age 16 while 83.2% of those never employed also finished early. Altogether the responses indicate a strong relationship between educational levels as measured by years at school and job prospects.¹¹⁹

TABLE 3.30

Proportion of Respondents by Age of School Leaving and Present Employment Status

Employment Status	Age at which schooling was terminated (years)						
	Under 15	15	16	Up to 16	17	18	Over 18
Full-time employment	38.9	13.7	24.3	76.9	6.7	9.7	7.7
Self employed	36.8	5.2	15.8	57.8	15.8	15.8	10.6
Unemployed	55.3	12.8	23.4	91.5	8.5	—	—
Seeking first job	44.4	16.6	22.2	83.2	5.6	11.2	—
Part-time employment	48.4	19.4	25.8	93.6	3.2	3.2	—
Gainfully occupied	41.5	13.8	23.7	79.0	7.0	8.5	5.5

Source: 1979 Inner City Survey.

¹¹⁸G.P. Sweeney 'The Knowledge Economy—Its Implications for National Science and Information Policies', *The Information Scientist*, Sept. 1977, pages 89-98.

¹¹⁹These results strongly support the findings of Murphy and Morrissey's survey of school leavers in the Northern part of the inner city, *op.cit.*

3.8(9) Income of Inner City Respondents

There was a general reluctance on the part of respondents to disclose information on earnings or income, 30% of those interviewed refusing to assist.¹²⁰ The non-response rate was highest for the self employed (50.0%) followed by the unemployed 44.8% and was lowest, 16.1%, for part-time workers (Table 3.31). On an occupational basis, 58.8% of those classified as professional did not respond and those who did were at the lower end of the income scale. As a consequence figures derived from the survey will under estimate the overall income of respondents. Nevertheless, they are of value—providing benchmark levels for the relatively worse off in the area.

The low educational attainment of the labour force is reflected in its earnings, and consequently, in its life style. Those in full-time employment earned an average weekly income of £56, the self employed £85 and those in part-time employment £32. The unemployed and retired had average weekly incomes of £30.2 and £24.5 respectively.

On a sectoral basis average weekly earnings for manufacturing were £49 compared with average earnings of £66 at national level.¹²¹ Earnings for those in the service such as building and construction, electricity, gas and water, was somewhat higher at £51.4. Those in personal and recreational services had particularly low earnings (£35) indicative of the unskilled, insecure and part-time nature of much of the employment in these activities. In the manufacturing sector, the lowest average wage (£34.6) occurred in the textiles and clothing industry, the industry with the high female labour content.¹²²

The highest average wage in manufacturing was in the paper and printing and the glass, pottery and cement industries with an income of £66.2 and £69.5 respectively. In commerce the average income was £55.1 and in insurance, finance and business services income was £53.8. Over 30% of respondents fell into the modal earnings class £40 to £59, (Table 3.31), but the high proportion of heads of household

¹²⁰Reasons offered for non co-operation include privacy, taxes, differential rent and "mixers".

¹²¹Dec. 78, I. O.B.S. rate obtaining at September 1978.

¹²²The 1977 Labour Force Survey shows a national female labour content of 58.5% and Corporation survey shows 73% for the County Borough in textile, clothing and footwear.

TABLE 3.31
Average weekly earnings/Income for selected Groups

£	PERCENTAGE					
	All Respondents	Employed Full-Time	Self Employed	Unemployed	Employed Part-Time	Retired
0-14	9.4	2.3	—	22.2	11.6	22.8
15-24	18.3	4.2	—	18.5	42.4	45.6
25-29	18.0	16.4	—	37.1	19.3	21.1
40-59	30.1	43.4	10.0	14.8	15.5	10.5
60-79	13.4	20.1	20.0	3.7	7.8	—
80-99	8.1	9.6	60.0	3.7	3.4	—
100-149	2.2	3.2	10.0	—	—	—
150+	0.5	0.9	—	—	—	—
AVERAGE	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Non-Response rate (percentage)	£44.9	£55.7	£84.9	£30.2	£31.9	£24.5
		27.7	50.0	44.8	16.1	34.5

either retired or unemployed points to a large number of very low family incomes throughout the Inner City.¹²³

3.8(10) Standard of Living of Respondents

Income as a proxy for command over economic resources provides a general indication of the level of living standards. Consumption of certain commodities and possession of durables such as a car, telephone or television serves a similar purpose. In the Inner City in 1971 there were 73 cars per 1,000 population compared to a national ratio of 168. The difference here may owe something to the centrality of the area; some who could afford cars may not feel the need to do so but it is much more likely that the majority cannot afford a car.

There were 279 TV sets per 1,000 population in the Inner City compared to 178 nationally, and almost every household in the area would appear to have a TV set (see question 37, Appendix 2). Such a facility may help compensate for the household overcrowding, the lack of active leisure facilities and the absence of mobility because of the few cars in the area.¹²⁴ The third indicator, telephones, shows that there were only 67 telephones per 1,000 population compared with 141 per 1,000 nationally. In the case of televisions it was not considered possible to distinguish between ownership and rental of the facility.

More significantly the extent of housing, employment and income deprivation evident in the Inner City has more serious implications for peoples' standard of living as seen in terms of ill-health and social disorders. Discussions with Medical Social Research Board and the Community Medicine Department of U.C.D. confirmed that little or no data was available at local level in respect of the distribution of illnesses. However, it was to be expected that on a variety of grounds people in the Inner City would have relatively high rates of both mental and physical illnesses having regard to the age and family structure of the population, the high rates of unemployment and low incomes, the

¹²³High wage settlement to small groups, such as dockers, may give a mistaken view of inner city personal incomes as may illegal activities by a minority in a "black economy". However, the employment, health and age characteristics of many of the heads of households in the survey point to very low monetary incomes as a rule.

¹²⁴In general the deprived have very limited access to the sources of credit normally available to citizens on regular incomes or in salaried employment. In addition lack of ready cash may require the poor to purchase both necessities and amenities (e.g. televisions) through hire purchase arrangements, thus entailing higher costs, even also using legitimate credit sources.

type of work engaged in by those at work, the poor quality of housing in relation to family needs and the fact that central cities tend to attract a disproportionate number of deprived and displaced persons as well as of those considered as socially deviant.¹²⁶ Statistics show that, especially in relation to infectious diseases, expenditure as well as dietary inadequacies, the population of the Inner City areas represent a serious problem.¹²⁸

3.9 Education and Training

3.9(1) Education

As shown in the survey of Inner City households 6.4% of those aged 14 years and over had left school before the age of 14 years while altogether 64.4% of respondents had completed their education by age fifteen. The strong relationship between level of education and employment status shown in Section 3.33 was shown by Murphy and Morrissey to be particularly critical in the North central Dublin area, where it was found that 77.8% of those aged 15 to 18 had left school, 86.4% of them with no qualification whatsoever. Of those who had left 41.6% of the males and 33.8% of the females were unemployed.¹²⁷ McGréil put these figures in the wider urban perspective in comparing educational opportunities between lower income areas such as the Inner City and the better off suburbs. He found "enormous disparities of educational achievement between the different sections of the city and suburbs of Dublin".¹²⁸ In the Inner City 73.6 per cent had completed national school only, compared with 24.4% in the Killiney/Kill o' the Grange area and only 1.8% had graduated compared with 15.0 per cent in the Killiney area. However, his findings do show a close similarity between the Inner City and Local Authority suburbs such as Finglas and Coolock.

While the low level of educational achievement in the Inner City has serious implications for employment opportunity a more critical factor is that such levels tend to be self perpetuating. A child is educationally

¹²⁶An indication in this respect is the large proportion of those children 'sleeping rough' who bed down in the Inner City. See J Rudd, *Out in the Cold*, Hope, Dublin, 1979.

¹²⁷*Irish Medical Journal*, November, 1978.

¹²⁷Murphy, B. and T. Morrissey; *A Study of Youth Employment in North Central Dublin*, AnCo and Department of Labour, 1978, p. 55/56.

¹²⁸McGréil, M., *Educational Opportunity in Dublin*, C.I.E.C., 1974, p. 29.

TABLE 3.32
Average Attendance at Inner City Primary Schools

Ward	School	Type	Average Attendance	Average Size
Sub-Area 1 Mountjoy A	Rutland Street	Senior	81.9	22
		Junior	82.5	24
		Boys	78.6	25
		Girls	80.0	
Merchants Quay A	St. Audeons, Cook Street	Girls	89.5	31
		Boys	88.1	29
Inns Quay C	St. Mary's, Kings Inn Street	Senior Girls	80.8	25
		Infant Boys	90.4	36
North Dock C	St. Lawrence O'Toole, NS	Infant girls	85.9	25
Sub-Area 2 Merchants Quay B	Francis St. CBS Francis St. National School	Boys	92.8	36
		Girls	83.3	24
		Infant boys	81.7	
Merchants Quay C	St. Joseph's School	Girls and infants	81.1	26
		Boys	82.3	
		Girls	89.1	
	St. Brigid's, Coombe	Infants	83.9	33

TABLE 3.32—continued

Average Attendance at Inner City Primary Schools

Ward	School	Type	Average Attendance	Average Size
Pembroke East A	Weaver Square Convent	Girls	79.5	33
	St. Patrick's, Ringsend	Infants	85.0	27
		Boys	88.5	17
Ushers E	St. Matthew's, Irishtown	Girls	75.2	9
		Boys	90.0	NA
	St. Brendan's, Sandymount	Girls	92.9	35
	Rialto N.S.	Boys	85.1	27
	St. Andrew's	Boys	82.2	27
Sub-Area 3 North City	Central Model	Senior Boys	86.3	40
	Marlborough Street	Senior Girls	90.1	13
Mansion House A	Westland Row CBS	Infant boys	79.1	27
		Infant girls	76.0	
	City Quay N.S.	Boys	90.2	
South Dock	Baggot Street Convent	Boys and Girls	86.6	36
		Sp. class	81.1	
		Boys	88.9	
		Girls	89.5	NA
		Special	88.9	

Source: School Attendance Department.

disadvantaged from the beginning where there is a low level of parental education.¹²⁹ This is compounded where parents are hostile or apathetic to education and where cultural norms reinforce the lack of interest in education or where peer groups impose sanctions inhibiting access to, and acceptance of, further educational opportunity.¹³⁰ This leads to early drop outs. Rudd in her study of national school "terminal leavers" examined schools with large drop out rates and found these to be concentrated in the inner city area and the west and north-western suburbs, containing large Corporation estates.¹³¹ Rudd also found a close relationship between school attendance and rates of drop out. *The lower the average school attendance the higher the proportion of terminal leavers.* In 1978 average attendance for the city as a whole was 88.8% compared with 85.7% for the inner city area.¹³² Rates varied from 81.2% in Cluster 1 to 85.9 and 87.6% in Clusters 2 and 3. The lowest rate was recorded in the Infants School, Central Model, Marlborough Street, with 76.0% while the overall rate for the school was 86.3%. The highest rate was in the St. Matthews Girls School, Irishtown with 92.8% and 91.4% overall. Average class size was lowest in St. Matthews at 9 while it ranged to 40 in the case of the Senior Boys in Marlborough Street, Table 3.32. There also appears to be some correlation between size of class and lack of attendance.

In an effort to identify areas of educational priority Breathnach ranks the 196 Dublin wards by degree of deprivation.¹³³ This is accomplished by utilising a socio-economic deprivation factor based on four components.¹³⁴ *Thirteen of the 25 wards used in the study of the Inner City were in the 31 most deprived wards while the remaining 12 were in the intermediate category identified by Breathnach.* These included Mountjoy A, Merchants Quay A and Arran Quay C, North Dock C and

¹²⁹Breathnach, A. "Towards the Identification of Educational Priority Areas in Dublin", *Economic and Social Review*, Dublin, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1976, p. 371. See also B. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*

¹³⁰*ibid.*, p. 373.

¹³¹Rudd, J., *National School Terminal Leavers*, Germaine 1972, p. 97.

¹³²School Attendance Department, *Annual Report*, Year ended June 30 1978, Ward data supplied separately by the Department.

¹³³*ibid.*

¹³⁴The components were unemployment rates, labour and transport as a percentage of gainfully occupied, percentage population in 7 + person households, number of cars per 1,000 population.

Rotunda A wards. The components were chosen as indicative of the characteristics of disadvantaged homes, unskilled manual occupation, large family, where poverty constantly threatens and the parental level of education is lower and correspond closely to the criteria used in the Social Area Analysis outlined in Section II.

Yet the response to the documented educational deprivation prevailing in Inner City wards has been limited.¹³⁶ The Irish Government does not operate a system of Educational Priority Areas though pupil/teacher ratios and the number of remedial teachers may be increased in deprived areas; in special circumstances the Department of Education may also approve special classes for slow learners and offer assistance in a number of ways to deprived children. However, the Rutland Street Project represented the only major departure in the Inner City from standard practices by the Department. The Rutland Street Project, designed to help children overcome their adverse environment, ran from 1969 to 1974¹³⁶ and it demonstrated the need for parents, community workers and teachers to interact in the education process. It showed that working-class parents want the best for their children but may be unable to positively help in their education. The study also showed the need for the total acceptance of the child and his socio-cultural milieu though too many teachers know little of the life style of the disadvantaged.

The survey findings and all of the studies cited confirm the Inner City area as one requiring immediate educational intervention if its residents are to be released from an educational poverty trap since, as McGréil notes, educational achievement reflects and determines social class position.

¹³⁶See T. Kellaghan and S. O'hUallachain, "A Pre-school Intervention Project for Disadvantaged Children", *Oideas*, No. 10, 1973, pages 38-56.

¹³⁷In November 1979 both the Vocational Education Committee and the Irish National Teachers Organisation launched special programmes designed to give priority to disadvantaged inner city children. Amongst the INTO proposals were suggestions for "home-school liaison officers" and "education welfare officers" while the VEC approved the appointment of extra remedial teachers and the appointment of the "community liaison officer". The Inner City Departmental Committee on Dublin Inner City had recommended that the area be identified as an educational priority area for selective treatment, though the Department of Finance pointed out the particular problems arising from any local variations in what was conceived as a national scheme. *Paragraph 51*.

3.9(2) *Training in the Inner City*

With the persistently high levels of unemployment in the Inner City and the low skilled, insecure nature of many of the existing jobs held by residents of the Inner City, it is inevitable that investment in training and retraining is of major importance to the people.¹³⁷ The major training and retraining agency dealing with the Inner City is AnCo which, in 1978, supported three retraining programmes for the socially disadvantaged. These were special workshops in the St. Vincent's Day Course in Henrietta Street, the Dublin Institute for Adult Education in Eccles Street and in the Society of Friends premises in Eustace Street. These courses provide basic training in sewing machine operating, office skills and basic industrial skills, skills which it was considered would help Inner City people to obtain employment. The number trained in these schemes in 1978 was 134. Further pre-training courses for disadvantaged people were run in the AnCo training centre at Baresford Place. AnCo also sponsored some community operated training courses and plans are at an advanced stage for a further AnCo sponsored course at Ushers Island. The Inner City courses supported by AnCo in 1978 involved a financial investment of approximately £61,000.

These schemes are continuing to be supported both financially and administratively by AnCo. In 1979 they involved an estimated financial investment of £100,000 and will provide training for 378 people. AnCO is also in the process of setting up three AnCO run and staffed workshops in the Inner City area. These will have a total of 72 training places. The first of these became operational in the Liberties area in September 1979 while the other two will commence operations in the near future. The work of AnCO in training is paralleled by an important series of educational programmes operated by the Dublin Institute of Adult Education.

3.10 *Land in the Inner City*

3.10(1) *Land in the Inner City*

Discussion of land in the Inner City tends to revolve around three issues: the availability and price of land and the extent of land dereliction.

¹³⁷For details of unemployment needs of youth in the Inner City see: B Murphy and T Morrissey, *A Study of Youth Employment in North Central Dublin*, op.cit.

High land values broadly reflect current and expected economic growth and prosperity, inflation and the actions of public authorities. In the case of the individual site it reflects its location and accessibility, the quality of the planning permission in terms of use, plot ratio¹³⁸ parking and residential requirements. In financial terms it reflects the availability of credit and the level of interest rates. The Kenny Report comments that the price of land "will reflect and in turn be reflected in the price paid for houses, factories, offices and other buildings erected on it".¹³⁹ In other words, the price of land is a residual determined by the value of the existing use or its potential use. The report distinguishes between the market for green field sites and the market for intra urban land noting their interdependency in that "the basic mechanism of rising demand and prices for existing buildings will continue to stimulate new building and hence maintain a buoyant demand for land".¹⁴⁰ The distinction between markets is fundamental in that the supply and demand conditions which govern the two markets are different. Land in inner areas is supplied through redevelopment for those constrained or preferring to locate in the inner city because of existing linkages, while peripheral land is supplied in response to zoning changes or in anticipation of such changes to developers and ultimately to relatively mobile consumers. The significance of separately defining the two markets is that different prices would be expected to prevail in each and that contrasts in price differentials are strictly speaking non comparable and are, by and large, independent of each other. Land cost factors, while important, are rarely a decisive factor in relocation and firms, while aware of the value of their own site and the cost of a site on the periphery, generally more for technical reasons.¹⁴¹ Given a free market and the continuing outflow of population and industry, a decline in land values would be expected in areas of low demand within the inner city unless offset by its changing economic structure and the influx of other growth industries. These changes have occurred with the increase in white-collar employment and the concentration of office development in the

¹³⁸Ration of building floorspace to area of site.

¹³⁹Committee on the Price of Building Land, *Report of the Minister for Local Government*, Stationery Office, Dublin 1973, pp. 10-15.

¹⁴⁰*Ibid*, p. 12

¹⁴¹Royal Town Planning Institute, *Report on Land Values and Planning in Inner Areas*. R.T.P.I., 1978, p.7.

inner area but this concentration is largely confined to "prestige" areas.¹⁴² The 1974 Corporation land use survey suggests that two thirds of the increase in office floor space between 1966 and 1974 occurred in the inner city South while North of the Liffey the inner city contained less than 29% of total office space. *At the same time the existence for prolonged periods of a large number of unused or underused vacant or derelict sites* ¹⁴³ suggests that demand is low in relation to supply or that price is an inefficient index of the relationship between supply and demand. In turn it may be said that land in parts of the Inner City is seriously over priced in relation to any foreseeable demand.¹⁴⁴

It has been suggested that differential in price between inner and peripheral areas and the long-term sterilisation of vacant and derelict land in the UK is largely the outcome of land valuation practice which lays "heavy emphasis on the existing use rights (including development rights for which planning permission exists) rather than on the realities of existing prospects and costs of developing it."¹⁴⁵ *The problem of high land values in areas of low demand is in part attributable to the fact that land retains a presumptive right to its previous use or that there is an expectation that planning permission will be forthcoming for a higher use.* There is also the possibility that, where there are few sales, the method of comparable sales leads to an imposed bias. In a period of economic growth, because of the proximity of high and low demand areas in the inner city, the prospect of spillovers enhances expectation. Low holding costs and anticipation of planning permission provide the incentive to hold land in anticipation of large capital gains. *Local authority actions contribute to high values in that the absence of a development or sales policy for derelict sites acts to restrict supply and*

¹⁴²See M. J. Bannon, Office Location In Ireland, *The Role of Central Dublin*, 1973, 144 pages.

¹⁴³A recent study showed that 9.0% of the total area of the North City Rotunda and Mountjoy wards was derelict. This contrasts with the Corporation finding in its 1974 land use survey that 1.7 per cent of the North inner city area could be classified under the category of derelict buildings and vacant land. See Bruder J.P., *Derelict Land in the inner city of Dublin*. Department of Environmental Economics, Bolton Street, 1979, Chapter 3.

¹⁴⁴Jones Lang Wooton, "Commercial and Industrial Property", *Irish Times* March 28, 1979. *Irish Independent* "IDA Redressing Neglect of Dublin" April 27, 1979.

¹⁴⁵Coursey, B. "The Mobilisation of Resources to Improve Inner Cities", *Town and Country Planning*, May 1977, pp. 260.

induce blight.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, planning policies which favour comprehensive redevelopment may act to slow small-scale investment and redevelopment. The extent of dereliction around the C.B.D. has recently been mapped by UCD¹⁴⁷

3.10(2) *Social Consequences of high Inner City Land Values*

From a social standpoint high land values affect the employment and housing prospects of inner city residents as well as the physical environment of the area as a whole. Land costs provide a two-pronged spur to the shift of industrial production from inner areas; firstly, the need to expand production through flow assembly methods increases the need for large floor area single storey buildings which cannot be accommodated on small inner city sites; secondly, the high value of existing sites, together with the possibility of financial aid for modernisation and re-equipment, increases the attractiveness of a move to the suburbs. Poor access, density restrictions and traffic congestion all provide the "push" incentive to move.¹⁴⁸

Similarly, high land values affect the provision of both public and private housing. In the public sector the cost of acquisition of land for housing purposes is determined by existing or potential use rights not by the purpose of acquisition. In the private sector high land costs and rent restriction encourage neglect and foster decay. Thus, the consequence is a net disinvestment in existing private stock for renting and a preference for green field sites by the housing authority.¹⁴⁹

3.11 **Dublin's Inner City: A Summary**

This Section has dealt with the physical, social and economic

¹⁴⁶The Georges Street, Drury Street sale and the sales to the I.D.A. in the Liberties and East Wall areas are moves in a positive direction.

¹⁴⁷No Copy.

¹⁴⁸Information supplied by Dublin Corporation shows that the cost of sites on Corporation industrial estates varies from some £45,000 for Northside sites (Baldoyle) which accommodate dry industry to £70,000 for sites in Tallaght developed for heavy water using industries. Land in the inner areas sold by the Corporation to the I.D.A. for Cluster industries averages £90,000 per acre. Generally industrial land on the periphery costs £70,000 to £80,000 per acre.

¹⁴⁹Acquisition costs of land for housing in peripheral areas varies from £5,500 to £7,500 an acre depending on location and year of purchase. Current land costs, however, are expected to be in the region of £20,000 per acre reducing the gap between peripheral and inner area land cost prices for the Smithfield and Cattle Market schemes. In contrast the City Quay scheme of 40 dwellings comprising 1½ acres cost £240,000 in the early 1970s.

characteristics of the inner city of Dublin as defined in Section II. Though the area now contains around one quarter of its 1926 population, the analysis of the area's characteristics indicate that it remains one of relative deprivation and that its residents have particular social problems relating to the individual, the household and the area generally.

The comparison of the 1971 and 1979 situations in the inner city reveals that there has been little improvement during the 1970s. Population has continued to decline, the housing stock remains old, not well served with basic facilities relative to the Dublin sub-region, and there remains considerable evidence of overcrowding. Ten per cent of dwellings were in poor or bad condition with 55.5% said to be in fair condition. Despite the lack of basic amenities and the inadequacy of recreational facilities in the inner city, 70% of the households had made no attempt to leave the area. Many may lack the finances to buy an alternative house, others may not know if they are eligible for a transfer and others may be too old to bother. However, the proportion seeking to leave the area is low having regard to the lack of better housing being available and the limited extent of planning improvements to date. Many wished to improve their accommodation within the area and more suitable accommodation was a major reason for moving amongst those who wished to leave the area. The respondents had a large number of relatives living in the Inner City and the survey results point to a tightly knit, cohesive community, though "community" is very difficult to measure.

Employment prospects have not improved for Inner City residents during the 1970s. Most work in the less-skilled, blue-collar jobs in both manufacturing and other activities. Relatively few worked in the more remunerative white-collar occupations, especially in the professions or management. Unemployment accounted for 12.1% of the gainfully occupied population in 1979 and 55% of all heads of household (in sample) were out of work. In addition many heads of household were "retired". The high level of unemployment can be directly related to the contracting job opportunities for the less skilled in or near the inner city especially since 1974. In an era of rapid technological change and job specialisation, the youth of the inner city are further disadvantaged as they leave school at a relatively early age. The results show that those

who have left school at 15 years have fared badly in the labour market. An analysis of education data shows that inner city youth are ill equipped to cope with the present and future prospects of rapid technological change. These problems are compounded by the area's geographic location on the perimeter of a rapidly developing business area where, under the present system, high land values tend to require high value uses and leave little room for the less efficient and the traditional uses of land. High land values even in the residential parts of the inner city limit the scope for residential or community planning while current legislation operates against the expansion of the private rented sector.

Dublin's inner city can then be seen to have a declining population base with a contracting job market for the less skilled, and to have contracting sources of income from the "formal" economy. The housing stock is relatively old, decaying and often overcrowded, located in a deteriorating environment, affected by dereliction, blight, threats of motorway expansion and the ever present conflict of commercial versus residential uses. With severe land use competition threats of redevelopment, obsolete industrial capital, deteriorating schools and an ageing physical infrastructure, the area is poorly equipped to provide for the general needs of its long term and low income residents.

The inner city survey reveals an area and a population (about 7.6% of the sub-region) who have been adversely affected by the operation of "pull" factors attracting people and industry to the suburbs and by "push" factors encouraging others to get out of the area. There can be little doubt that the population of the area has and will continue to be adversely affected by structural and technological changes within both the sub-regional and national economies, though it is a question of ideological interpretation as to whether or not they have been exploited in the present system. In any case the inner city presents a major social challenge, though it would be a mistake to under-value the strengths of population groups within the Inner City. *The Inner City has been shown to have major problems in terms of social structure, levels of skills, occupational attainment, employment prospects as well as problems of housing accommodation and environmental condition.* When viewed from the conventional societal standpoint, Dublin's Inner City

population may be seen to be seriously disadvantaged.¹⁵⁰ The problems of Dublin's Inner City are the result of the actions of a multitude of agencies and forces of change operating at local, Metropolitan and National level. In general terms the pattern of decline in Dublin's core and the problems of its Inner City bear close similarity to the British and American¹⁵¹ rather than to the Continental European cities. The American model is dominated by population loss and social deterioration of the centre while European cities are generally characterised by a dominance of middle-class population coupled with high quality commercial investment. The British Inner Area Studies highlighted many problems similar to those within Dublin and the Lambeth report specifically saw the conditions in that area as a "sinister caricature of the urban crises in the United States".¹⁵² Though this Section emphasises the problems of Inner Dublin, other cities also have a concentration of social, physical and economic problems at their core. The Irish situation is analogous to Britain where "similar processes can be seen in smaller towns and cities which grow peripherally while their inner parts are vacant".¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰Not all would accept this perspective. Pahl argues that the Inner City need not be an embarrassing symbol of poverty. Rather "it could be the blueprint for a more mature and humane society". R. Pahl, "Will the Inner City Problem Ever Go Away", *New Society*, Vol. 45, 1978, p. 680.

¹⁵¹The processes and causes of decline of U.S. city ghettos has been well described by D.R. Fusfeld, "The Economy of the Urban Ghetto", *Urban Affairs Annual Review*, Vol. IV, 1979, pages 369-399.

¹⁵²G. Shankland *et al.* *Inner London: Policies for Dispersal and Balance*, Final Report of the Lambeth Inner Area Study, H.M.S.O., 1977, page 2.

¹⁵³*Urban Wasteland*, The Civic Trust, London, 1977, page 33.

