

The Changing Face of Dublin's Inner City

A Study commissioned by the Dublin Inner City Partnership

Trutz Haase Social & Economic Consultant



Divided City

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Divided City







The Dublin Inner City Partnership is comprised of representatives from the community, statutory, trade union, employer and local government sectors and works through a locally based delivery infrastructure involving community and statutory providers. The DICP has been in the forefront of the fight against poverty in the inner city since 1991. The Partnership approach has provided an effective, cohesive and successful means to ensure that the acute social and economic problems experienced by many local residents are being addressed in a coordinated way. However, despite the achievements to date, in the present economic climate we are already seeing a significant increase in acute poverty. This presents major problems and new challenges for all of those involved in trying to address the issues, especially in a new local development scenario of increased demands and reduced public funding. An effective local response is going to require renewed commitment and innovation. The DICP initiated this study in order to understand the implications of the fundamental demographic changes that have occurred and to highlight the new social and economic difficulties faced by the present residents, particularly in the more disadvantaged neighbourhoods of the inner city.

The Partnership now presents this detailed analysis of census data by comparing it to the lived reality at a neighbourhood level. This work provides a basis for improved focus of public services and supports for the individuals and communities experiencing the most acute poverty. It further offers a practical encouragement for all involved to continue to work together to address this growing socio-economic crisis over the longer term. This ground-breaking study of the changing face of Dublin's inner city provides a graphic and informative survey of the changes that have occurred. This data will be of value not only to the community and statutory organisations who serve the inner city communities; but also to the policy makers in local and central government, and to the private sector investors who are committed to the future development of the city centre.

The DICP expects that this detailed and accessible study will contribute to the development of new and innovative responses. In particular, we hope that this timely analysis will encourage an effective targeting of resources to those most in need in our communities. This is particularly necessary in the current economic climate as it impacts on Dublin Inner City residents and their communities.

Tackling acute poverty in Dublin's Inner City

*The Dublin Inner City Partnership (DICP) commissioned **Divided City: The changing face of Dublin's Inner City**, to help provide an analysis of the available census data in order to establish the scale, concentration and persistence of acute poverty in the Dublin Inner City area. This study was initially undertaken in response to a growing assumption on the part of many public policy makers and funders that, to a great extent, the problem of poverty had been substantially reduced in the inner city neighbourhoods. This assumption was based on recent census data which appeared to suggest that Dublin Inner City had been dramatically transformed from the area with the largest concentration of disadvantage in Ireland in 1991 to a generally affluent area by 2006. However, the study shows that a large number of local communities with a significant population still experience levels of acute poverty that remain among the highest in Ireland. In addition, the recent rapid economic downturn has exacerbated the problems. In this rapidly changing situation it is necessary to ensure that the agencies responsible for tackling persistent and acute poverty are supported and encouraged in their efforts to focus their resources on those most in need. This report provides an effective means to achieve this objective.*

Foreword

*By Professor Joyce O'Connor,
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1 / The Evolution of Dublin's Inner City

1.1 A City in Decline¹

Urbanisation in Ireland

Today, the majority of Europe's population dwells in cities. The European Union is the most urbanised region in the world and Ireland is no exception to this urban trend. By 1991, 57 per cent of Ireland's population could be classified as urban. Within the Irish urban milieu, Dublin clearly dominates. During the twentieth century Dublin's population has grown rapidly, transforming it from a densely compact city, to a sprawling 'city region' where the city's influence spreads into the towns, villages, and countryside, not only of County Dublin, but the neighbouring counties of Meath, Kildare and Wicklow. The population of the Dublin sub-region (Dublin City and the counties of Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown, Fingal and South Dublin) has exactly doubled in the years 1926 - 1981, from 506,000 to 1,003,000 and grown by another fifteen per cent to reach 1,186,000 in 2006. Likewise, Dublin's share of the State's population has increased from 17 per cent to 28 per cent over this period. Dublin's "primacy" is reflected by the fact that the population of the greater Dublin area is twice the combined totals of the eight next largest cities and towns.

Despite the fact that since the mid 1960's over half of the Irish population have lived in urban areas, it is only belatedly that Ireland has begun to formulate and to implement more targeted urban policies. For far too long little was done to tackle the growing problems of dereliction and decay in inner cities and the problems of segregation and marginalisation in some suburban areas. The latest developments, as discussed in this study, may well point to a new form of segregation and marginalisation in Dublin's inner city, not because of the lack of development, but because of the kind of development that is currently taking place.

Suburbanisation

The period from 1961 to 1981 was characterised by particularly rapid population growth in the Dublin region, fuelled by a high rate of natural increase and net in-migration. This created enormous pressures both for urban development and a need to reduce overcrowding in the inner city. At the time, the planning response was to propose a suburban solution, mostly in the form of the "western towns". However, the planning system was in its infancy, resources were scarce and the ensuing development was not always of the highest standard. Policy also discriminated in favour of new development with little regard for the inner city and for rehabilitation, renewal or infill development. The pattern of development of the Dublin region has been influenced to a certain extent by deliberate planning policy, particularly the 1967 advisory report by Myles Wright on the Dublin region. The main recommendations of the report were the development of major self-contained "new towns" at Tallaght, Clondalkin/Lucan and Blanchardstown.

While Wright's report was never formally adopted, many of his recommendations were incorporated into subsequent Dublin County Development Plans, and formal planning policy supported the development of the three western town units. The growth of Dublin was not confined to this western area and almost every town and village within a 20 to 25 mile radius of Dublin city centre experienced significant expansion. For the most part the development of the suburbs of the 1970's and early 1980's produced vast uniform, low density, low rise housing estates. This form of residential development arose from the interplay of two forces. The first was the availability of large easily serviced green field sites, which prompted the development of extensive estates. The second was the adoption by developers of planners' minimum development guidelines as maximum standards (for example length of gardens and amount of public open space), in an effort to maximise profit. This low density development consumed large tracts of land, resulting in expansion of the built up area of the city. It has been estimated that the built up area increased from about 6,500 hectares in 1936 to around 24,000 hectares in 1988, with an annual increase of over 450 hectares between 1973 and 1988.

Problems in the Suburban Housing Estates

The development of Dublin's suburbs has not been without problems. The manner in which Dublin's suburbanisation has occurred has resulted in severe and extensive social segregation being manifested through the housing market. In Dublin's suburbs there has been a marked tendency for the building of extensive tracts of either public or private housing with little or no integration between the two. This has led to clear class segregation and the physical polarisation of those suffering from low levels of income, poor residential amenities, high levels of household overcrowding, dependence upon less skilled employment and high levels of unemployment. This is compounded by the poor physical environment, unattractive housing layouts, poorly designed and maintained public open space and a lack of local amenities and facilities.

By the late 1980s, the physical polarisation had led to high levels of social exclusion in a number of clearly identifiable neighbourhoods, as residents found it difficult to gain access to employment, higher education, credit and other facilities. In addition the experience of extreme levels of long-term unemployment led to these communities being increasingly marginalised from politics and social life and thus from the decision making process altogether. It was in response to this situation that the Area-based Partnerships were first established under the 1991 *Programme for Economic and Social Progress* (PESP), and have since been continued under successive local development programmes. The absolute situation in the deprived neighbourhoods subsequently improved during the years of the 'Celtic Tiger', but the relative disadvantage experienced by the people living in these areas changed only little. The most deprived areas of the late 1980s are still the most deprived areas more than twenty years on.

The Decline of Dublin's Inner City

The suburbanisation of Dublin did not only lead to an uneven outcome in the urban periphery, but also occurred to the detriment of inner city areas, where population declined rapidly over a period of three decades. Between 1961 and 1991, the population in the inner city exactly halved. One of the major contributing factors to this was the decline of traditional industrial employment, which either disappeared completely due to restructuring, as was the case with much port-related industry, or moved to purpose-built

industrial estates on the periphery. Between 1966 and 1974 the total area of industrial floorspace in the inner city declined by 550,000m² or 30 per cent. Increasingly industrial and residential functions in the inner city were overtaken by higher value commercial functions.

These changes in the inner city resulted in high levels of unemployment, the closure of facilities such as schools, institutions and community services, and a loss of vitality as the more dynamic members of the population vacated the city centre, either as a result of public policy or natural trends. It also contributed to the decline of the physical fabric of the city, as old industrial sites, institutions and the older housing fabric were left to decay. The deterioration of the physical environment was exacerbated by the blight caused by long-term roads proposals and by inadequate conservation policies or rehabilitation incentives. Derelict sites stood like open wounds in the urban fabric, once grand Georgian houses crumbled: the city was dying visibly on its feet.

1.2 A New Beginning

The Urban Renewal Act 1986

Apart from some limited incidences of public large-scale housing construction at City Quay, the Coombe, Ringsend and Prussia Street during the mid 1970s, it was not until a decade later that the first *Urban Renewal Act 1986* was introduced to encourage private developers to become involved in urban renewal. Under the Act, extensive areas in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford and Galway were designated as urban renewal areas. In Dublin, the most important one was that of the Custom House Docks site, comprising 27 acres. The other four areas in Dublin's inner city were an area adjacent to the Custom House Docks running to Gardiner Street (91 acres), an area on both sides of the Liffey between O'Connell Bridge and Collins barracks (68 acres) and a small area around Henrietta Street (2.5 acres). Under the subsequent Finance Act, both developers and tenants or owner occupiers could avail of a range of attractive tax incentives. The scheme which ran from 1987 to mid 1994 was initially slow to take off in the Dublin area. However, following a promotional drive by Dublin Corporation the subsequent investment by the private sector was unprecedented.

Initial development consisted primarily of office space; up to June 1992, 73 per cent of all development in the designated areas was in office development. However, the combined effects of a down turn in the commercial property market after 1991 and the limiting of Section 23/27 relief to residential developments in the designated areas, resulted in developers exploring the potential of the inner city residential property market. Since 1991 the take-off of residential development increased considerably. Up to December 1994 nearly 2,500 residential units had been completed in the designated areas, while 1,632 were in progress and a further 2,426 were at planning stage. When new residential units in the rest of the inner city were included a total of 3,996 units had been completed to December 1994, 2,037 were in progress and 6,945 were at planning stage. This resulted in a total of almost 13,000 residential units built in the inner city area, leading after a long time of decline for the first time to an increase in population in the 1996 Census.

The Custom House Docks

The Custom House Docks site was first designated in 1986 and a special development authority - the Custom House Docks Development Authority (CHDDA) - was set up to oversee the development of the area and act as the de facto planning authority for it. Its function was seen as not just the redevelopment of a specific site, but also in the context of national economic recovery through the establishment of a financial services industry in the centre of Dublin. At the time, it was hoped that the success of this specific venture would then allow the Authority to extend its role of revitalisation to other areas of the inner city.

'The establishment of an authority to develop the 27 acres Custom House Docks site was generally welcomed. After many years of decay and so little corrective action, any development initiative would have been welcomed in the north inner city.'
(D. Connolly)

Frank Benson, chairman of CHDDA, described the development as *'the first instance of formalised comprehensive partnership between the public and private sectors – a partnership in which the Government incentives provide the catalyst to trigger private enterprise and harness the entrepreneurial skills and capital necessary to secure the renewal of a great part of our city'* (ibid).

Temple Bar

The second major area that became first designated during the 1990s was the Temple Bar area. The area, part of which was formerly earmarked as a Central Bus Station, received substantial European funding to aid its regeneration since 1991, when the Government selected the area as a flagship cultural project to mark Dublin's year as European City of Culture. The *Finance Act 1991*, introduced attractive financial incentives for the area, particularly for refurbishment. The entire project was overseen by two companies, established under the *Temple Bar Renewal and Development Act 1991*. Temple Bar Properties Ltd. is the development company for the area while Temple Bar Renewal Ltd. approves projects for tax incentives.

The Urban Renewal Act 1994

The Urban Renewal Scheme of the 1980s was generally deemed successful albeit limited in its scope. As the evaluation report of the Scheme concludes:

'In those designated areas which have adjacent indigenous inner-city communities, the local communities believe that urban renewal as defined by the incentive schemes, has not addressed issues which are central to the regeneration and sustainable re-development of those areas such as unemployment, the lack of public amenities, education, training and youth development.' (KPMG, 1996)

The *Urban Renewal Act 1994* was more focused with the extent of the designated areas in Dublin reduced from 530 acres to 330 acres. Refurbishment was favoured over new-build, with increased financial incentives for refurbishment. There was a continued emphasis on residential development, but the emphasis shifted away from office developments to other non-office commercial and industrial premises. A new initiative called 'Living Over the Business' was introduced which allowed under-utilised floor space above shops or business premises situated on certain designated streets to be converted or refurbished for residential use. Another new departure was the introduction of 'Enterprise Areas'. Within the two designated enterprise areas in Dublin (off the East Wall Road and at Grand Canal Street) incentives were available for the development of industrial enterprise units.

The need for a more integrated approach to renewal also translated into new *Guidelines for Integrated Area Plans* (DoE 1997).

During 1995 the northwest inner city area became a 'major initiative' under the EU *Operational Programme for Local Urban and Rural Development* (OPLURD), resulting in the *Historical Area Rejuvenation Plan* (HARP). In 1996 the Government decided that a strategic regeneration plan be developed for the Dublin Docklands area, resulting in a Master Plan and the *Dublin Docklands Development Authority Act* in 1997 (see below). The area between these two initiatives was recognised as being in need of integrated development and a Rejuvenation Project Plan was prepared by the Dublin Corporation in 1993 and a *Draft Action Plan* in 1997 (Corcoran 2003).

The Dublin Docklands Area Master Plan

Due to its central location, and the considerable development potential of the Docklands Area, the Government decided in January 1996 that a wider strategic approach should be adopted for the renewal and redevelopment of the area and enacted the *Dublin Docklands Development Authority Act 1997*. In the same year, the successor of the CHDDA, the *Dublin Docklands Development Authority* (DDDA), published the *Dublin Docklands Area Master Plan* (DDDA 1997), which provides the general framework for the re-development of the area. The Plan was further amended in 2003.

The Dublin Docklands Area Master Plan (DDDA 2003) is primarily a physical development plan, but the DDDA has a stated remit with regard to the overall development; i.e. including social and economic objectives of the five communities which are affected by the plan. The five residential communities which are given specific consideration are on the Northside: East Wall, North Strand, and Sheriff Street/North Wall; and on the Southside: City Quay/Pearse Street, and Ringsend/Irishtown.

The Urban Renewal Act 1998

The latest *Urban Renewal Act* became operative in 1998, which principally sought to foster urban regeneration by way of introducing tax incentives schemes which made generous provision for developers willing to develop derelict sites. To be included into the tax incentive scheme, local authorities were required to prepare *Integrated Area Plans* (IAP's) for the areas in most need of physical

and socio-economic rejuvenation. Dublin City Council responded by preparing IAP's for five such areas: (i) North East Inner City, (ii) O'Connell Street, (iii) Kilmainham/Inchicore, (iv) Liberties/Coombe, and (v) HARP. All five areas were subsequently designated under the Act.

The Liberties regeneration area also includes the Digital Hub project. Plans for the Digital Hub have been devised to reflect Enterprise Ireland's and IDA Ireland's aim of developing a world-leading digital media industry in Ireland, and Dublin City Council's vision for the urban regeneration of the Liberties area. Together with the redevelopment of the docklands area, the five IAPs constitute the main axes of urban renewal currently operative in Dublin's inner city.

1.3 Urban Property Development²

There are two aspects which are of particular interest in evaluating the impact of the 'Celtic Tiger' economy of the 1990s and early 2000s on the property sector in Dublin: firstly, the changing geographical focus of office developments and, secondly, the advent of private sector apartments in the inner city which, together, have considerably transformed Dublin's residential environment.

Until the 1990s, the inner city had adapted very slowly to the property requirements created by Ireland's first period of sustained growth during the 1960s and early 1970s. It resulted in the conversion of eighteenth-century residential buildings to office functions and in the development of scattered modern office blocks around Dublin 2. As economic boom gave way to slump in the wake of the oil crisis of the early 1970s, the development sector entered a period of much reduced activity.

From the late 1970s, office development entered a second boom with first developments spilling over into Dublin's suburbs, notably Blackrock and Dun Laoghaire, but also individual office blocks in Clonskeagh, Sandyford and Leopardstown. However, when the public sector crisis in 1982 projected the economy into a major recession, it impacted heavily on the office development industry, as the public sector had taken up some sixty per cent of all the post-1960 speculatively-developed office space. By the mid-1980s, unemployment in the construction sector reached fifty per cent.

Then, during 1986, in an effort to boost employment in the ailing construction sector, the Irish government established a series of property-based urban regeneration programmes (as outlined in Section 1.2). Slowly, the stringent economic policies pursued in the mid-1980s created a basis for sustained and unprecedented rates of economic expansion in the 1990s, the so-called 'Celtic Tiger'. The quiescence, which had characterised the development industry during much of the 1980s, rapidly gave way to full-scale boom. The inner city in particular became subjected to enormous property development pressures, often creating whole new precincts and transforming historic townscapes almost beyond recognition, notably at the Custom House Docks, Temple Bar and along tracts of the quays bordering the Liffey.

Dublin's Office Development Boom

The office development boom which was generated by over a decade of economic growth after 1990 was the most intensive which the city had ever witnessed. It had taken three decades to develop a modern office stock totalling just over 1 million m² of space by the end of 1990. Over the following fourteen years, the stock more than doubled as an additional 1.3 million m² of floorspace was built.

This development also saw a new geography of office space developing across Dublin. Whereas traditionally office space was entirely concentrated in the Dublin 2 area, successive incentive schemes increasingly re-directed development towards sites in more peripheral locations. In part, this was a response to the first *Urban Renewal Act 1986* which had led to significant 'over-development' in the inner city designated areas outside the Custom House Docks area. Office establishments proved reluctant to locate in such areas and, by mid-1992, this had become reflected in a vacancy rate of 42 per cent in those areas. Thereafter, the focus of development activity in such inner city locations as Dublin 1, 7 and 8 switched significantly from office to apartment schemes, whilst office development moved towards selected areas throughout Dublin.

To provide just a small impression of the scale of office development in Dublin during the 1990s, and the importance of tax incentives in stipulating this building boom, by the end of 2000, nearly 400,000m² of office space had been developed in locations for

which tax incentives had been available. This is the equivalent of 166 buildings the size of Liberty Hall.

It must, however, also be noted that the requirements of firms significantly changed over this period. The significant influx of large foreign firms in the services sector (e.g. call centres and other information technology-related activities) into Ireland created a demand for a new form of large-scale offices hitherto unknown and which could no longer be accommodated by the comparatively expensive floor space of inner city office blocks.

Private Sector Residential Development

Tax allowances for residential landlords under Section 23 of the *Finance Act 1981*, renewed in Section 27 of the *Finance Act 1988* had encouraged the construction of apartments and, in the later Act, small houses for rent. The provisions allowed the cost of acquiring properties, net of site value, or the cost of converting buildings into flats, to be deducted from landlord's rental income from all sources until the tax allowance was used up. This considerably reduced the real purchase price of such investment properties.

In the 1992 Finance Act, tax relief for investors in rented residential accommodation became linked to Urban renewal Initiatives and only available in areas designated under the Urban Renewal Schemes. This occurred simultaneously with the appearance of a significant over-supply of office space, particularly in the designated Areas (see above). Consequently, developers and site owners within the inner city became increasingly willing to embrace the emerging opportunities provided by the city-centre apartment sector. This received strong support from public agencies, including Dublin City Council whose efforts to encourage residential functions in the city centre involved the sale of development sites at significantly discounted prices.

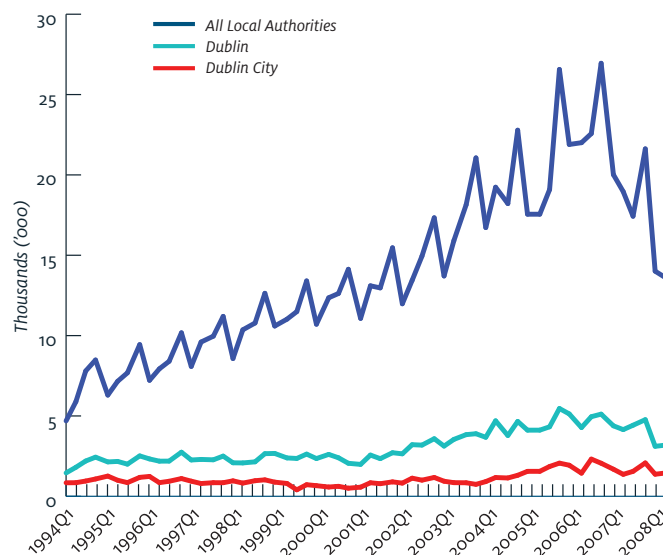
Between 1989 and 1996, 7,700 new private sector residential units were built in 135 developments in the 39 Electoral Divisions (EDs) which make up Dublin's inner city. Between 1996 and 2003, a further 8,800 residential units were constructed in 198 developments. In early 2004, an additional 2,500 units were under construction in another 48 developments and live planning permissions existed for 95 schemes involving the construction of another 5,000 residential units. Planning applications for 37

developments covering 2,300 residential units had also been submitted to Dublin City Council and awaited determination. Thus, within only eight years of time between 1996 and 2004, development at various stages of activity has involved about 18,500 residential units, resulting in a considerable growth in population in parts of Dublin's inner city.

The Collapse of the Property Bubble

The property building boom reached its peak towards the end of 2006 and completions of residential housing units drastically declined thereafter.

Figure 1.1: Housing Completions 1994 - 2008 ('000)



Latest indications suggest that the decline in the number of housing units coming on the market will extend well into 2009 and possibly 2010.

The sudden collapse of the building boom throughout Ireland entails not only an uncertain future for the continued regeneration

of Dublin's inner city, but also has a potentially devastating effect on the renewal of its social housing stock. By 2007, all major social housing projects within the inner city had been planned to be delivered through Public Private Partnerships (PPPs), i.e. entailed partnerships between Dublin City Council and private developers. Following the downturn in demand for private sector housing, these projects are now no longer commercially viable and the private developers have pulled back from their previous commitments. New models will have to be found to secure the timely renewal of local authority rented accommodation and other forms of social housing. These may include a private sector dimension; but ultimate responsibility for their provision lies with Dublin City Council.

1.4 The People of Dublin's Inner City

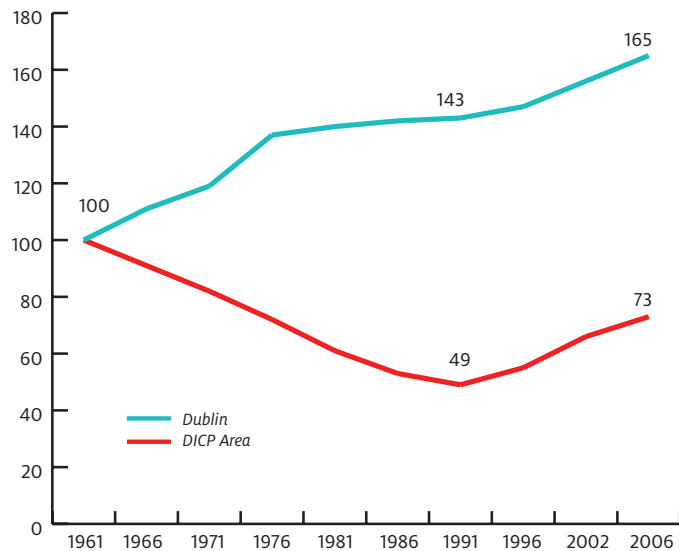
Having thus far considered the historical and planning contexts, as well as the physical developments that have occurred in Dublin's inner city, we now turn to an analysis of the social and economic characteristics of its people. To this end, we first outline some of the key socio-economic developments that have taken place in the course of the 15 years of economic boom between 1991 and 2006. In each case, we will position the changes that have occurred in Dublin's inner city within the wider national development. Following this, an analysis of the geographical aspects of how these changes have affected different communities and neighbourhoods within the inner city will be presented. This analysis forms the core aspect of the present study.

Population

After decades of repeated waves of emigration, Ireland experienced for the first time in its recent history a period of sustained population growth, growing by 20.3% over the past fifteen years. Most of this growth occurred in the peripheries and commuter belts of the major urban centres and Dublin City's population grew by only 5.8% over the same period, the fourth lowest population growth experienced by any county.

The remarkable exception to the generally sluggish growth of Dublin City has been Dublin's inner city. After having first lost half of its population over the previous thirty years the inner city's fortunes dramatically reversed and it grew by exactly half (49.4%) of its 1991 population, when it was at its lowest.

Figure 1.2: Population Change in Dublin and the Inner City, 1961 – 2006



Demographic Characteristics

One of the major effects of the turn around from net emigration to net immigration has been the continuous decline in the age dependency rate (the proportion of population under 15 years of age or over 64 as part of the total population). It declined from 38.1% in 1991 to 31.4% in 2006. A slightly smaller decline applies to Dublin City (32.7% to 27.7%), albeit from an already lower starting point. After Galway City, Dublin City has the second lowest age dependency rate for any county.

Dublin inner city's rate is again much lower at 19.7%, indicating just how much the resident population is concentrated amongst the core working age cohorts.

The second demographic characteristic of interest is the proportion of lone parents (as a proportion of all households with dependent children) in Ireland. The lone parent rate has exactly doubled over the past 15 years, growing from 10.7% in 1991 to 21.3% nationally

in 2006. There are marked differences between urban and rural areas, and lone parent rates in the major cities are again up to twice the national average. Dublin City had a rate of 35.8% in 2006; i.e. more than one-third of families with dependent children are headed by a single parent. After Limerick City (39.1%), this is the second highest proportion for any county.

In Dublin's inner city exactly every second household with dependent children (50.0%) is headed by a single parent. In other words, since 2006 the single parent family has become the dominant family type within the whole of Dublin inner city.

Education

There has been a continuous improvement in the level of education amongst adults over the past 15 years throughout Ireland. In 1991, 36.7% of the adult population had primary education only. This dropped to half that level (18.9%) in 2006, thus indicating a strong cohort effect; i.e. every successive generation has tended to go on to school for longer than its parent generation. The rate for Dublin City has fallen from 39.7% in 1991 to 22.0% in 2006. This is a reduction of 17.7 percentage points (compared to -17.8 percentage points nationally), resulting in 2006 levels remaining about three percentage points above those applying for Ireland as a whole.

The changes for Dublin's inner city, by contrast, have been much more dramatic, involving a drop from 49.8% in 1991 to 20.3% in 2006, a reduction by 29.5 percentage points within only 15 years.

The reverse applies with regard to third level education, which has more than doubled over the past 15 years. In 1991, 13.0% of the national adult population had completed third level education. This grew to 30.5% in 2006. The proportion of Dublin City's population with third level education has grown from 13.7% to 35.8%, a growth which is nearly five percentage points above that which has occurred nationally (22.1% compared to 17.4%).

Again, the remarkable story is that of Dublin's inner city, where the proportion of adults with third level education has catapulted from 11.0% in 1991 to 43.1% in 2006. No other data captures the gentrification of Dublin's inner city more than the changes in educational achievement of its adult population.

Social Class Composition

The changes in social class composition experienced throughout Ireland over the past 15 years largely parallel those in educational achievement, with a gradual increase in the number of professionals and an even greater decline in the proportion of semi- and unskilled manual workers. At the national level, the proportion of professionals in all classes rose from 25.2% in 1991 to 32.9% in 2006, whilst the proportion of the semi- and unskilled classes declined from 28.2% to 18.6% over the same period.

In Dublin City, the proportion in the professional classes (30.4%) and the proportion in the lower skilled professions (20.2%) are in the middle field of class composition amongst all counties. The composition of Dublin's inner city is slightly below this, comprising 26.0% professionals and 24.8% semi- and unskilled manual workers.

Unemployment

Another key indicator which reflects the unprecedented economic fortunes over the past fifteen years is the reduction in the number of people out of employment. Unemployment rates throughout Ireland have broadly halved between 1991 and 2006. Female unemployment rates have tended to be slightly below male unemployment rates, but have not fallen at the same pace due to the increasing levels of female labour force participation (i.e. reflecting the trend of increased female participation in the labour force with more women registering their unemployed status). The male unemployment rate fell from 18.4% in 1991 to 8.8% in 2006, whilst the female unemployment rate fell from 14.1% to 8.1%.

Male unemployment rates for Dublin City have fallen at an even faster rate than the nationally prevailing ones between 1991 and 2006 (-12.6% male / -8.4% female compared to -9.6% male / -6.0% female nationally), but rates remained above the national rates in 2006 at 12.1% male unemployment and 9.0% female unemployment. The rates for Dublin inner city are slightly higher at 14.1% and 10.8% respectively.

Housing

The unprecedented level of house completions over the past years has not quite been matched by an equivalent increase in local authority rented accommodation. Despite an additional 6,580 local

authority rented housing units, there has been a 2.3 percentage point decline in the proportion of local authority housing in Ireland, from 9.8% in 1991 to 7.5% in 2006. The proportion in the Dublin Region has declined by 4.6 percentage points, from 14.1% to 9.5%. Dublin City has seen a decline of 4.7 percentage points, albeit from an even higher base (17.2% to 12.5%). Dublin City has the fourth highest level of local authority rented housing for any county, but is exceeded by Limerick City (13.2%), Waterford City (13.9%) and Cork City (15.8%).

Dublin Inner City has seen a massive drop of 12.6 percentage points in its share of local authority housing in only fifteen years, from 33.0% in 1991 to 20.4% in 2006.

1.5 The New Measures of Deprivation

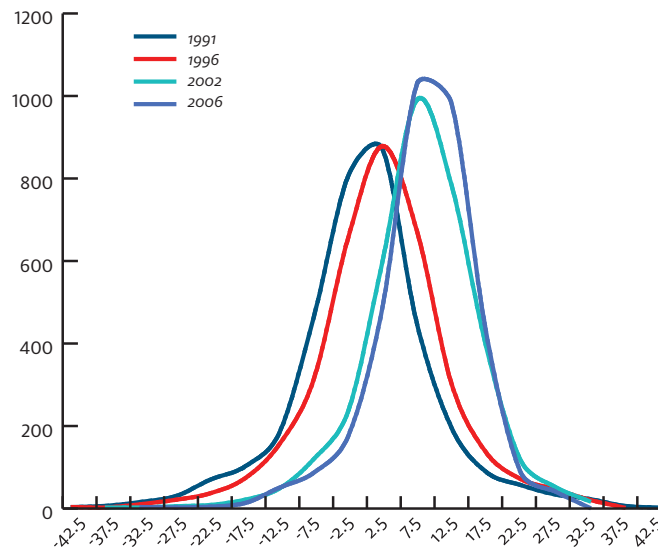
As it is difficult to simultaneously comprehend the change in so many key socio-economic indicators, it has become common practice to combine these into a single deprivation index. Such an index is also central for any analysis of the geographical distribution of affluence and deprivation. For Ireland, such index is provided in the form of the *New Measures of Deprivation* (Haase & Pratschke, 2008). The Irish deprivation index does not only provide a picture of the geographical distribution of deprivation as it currently exists, but also provides a consistent analysis over the four census waves from 1991 to 2006. Using an identical structure in the construction of the index and measurement matrix, the index is able to both show the spatial aspects of how affluence has increased throughout the country during the period of the 'Celtic Tiger', whilst simultaneously analysing the extent to which different areas, and particularly the most disadvantaged areas in the country, have been able to 'catch up' with the rest of Irish society, or indeed failed to do so. A complete description of the index is provided at www.pobal.ie.

As the *New Measures of Deprivation* are central to the spatial analysis which make up the remainder of this study, the following paragraphs briefly outline how the index scores should be interpreted.

Figure 1.3 shows the distribution of **Absolute Index Scores** for the 3,409 Electoral Divisions (EDs) which make up Ireland for the four census waves 1991, 1996, 2002 and 2006. The scores range between roughly -50 (most disadvantaged) and +50 (most affluent).

The measurement scale is identical for all four census waves, thus allowing the direct comparison of each area's score from one wave to the next. The scale is constructed in such a way that the mean score for 1991 is equal to zero and the standard deviation is equal to ten.

Figure 1.3: Distribution of Absolute Index Scores, 1991 to 2006



The stepwise shift to the right of successive curves relative to the 1991 base year reflects the sustained growth that the Irish economy experienced over this period. The mean score rises from zero in 1991 to 2.4 in 1996, 8.2 in 2002 and 8.9 in 2006.

Each distribution follows a bell-shaped curve, with most areas clustered around the mean and fewer areas exhibiting extreme levels of affluence or deprivation. Most importantly, the curve has become narrower over the course of this fifteen-year period. This is important, as the corresponding reduction in the standard deviation is indicative of a narrowing of the differential between affluent and deprived areas, at least when measured using the indicator variables described above.

The **Relative Index Scores** are rescaled to have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of ten at each census wave. This allows the use of identical labels on the ranges, as utilised in the maps for relative deprivation. The labels used for each range of standard deviations are as follows:

Table 1.1: Relative Index Scores, 2006

Relative Index Score	Standard Deviation	Label
over 30	> 3	extremely affluent
20 to 30	2 to 3	very affluent
10 to 20	1 to 2	affluent
0 to 10	0 to 1	marginally above average
0 to -10	0 to -1	marginally below average
-10 to -20	-1 to -2	disadvantaged
-20 to -30	-2 to -3	very disadvantaged
below -30	< -3	extremely disadvantaged

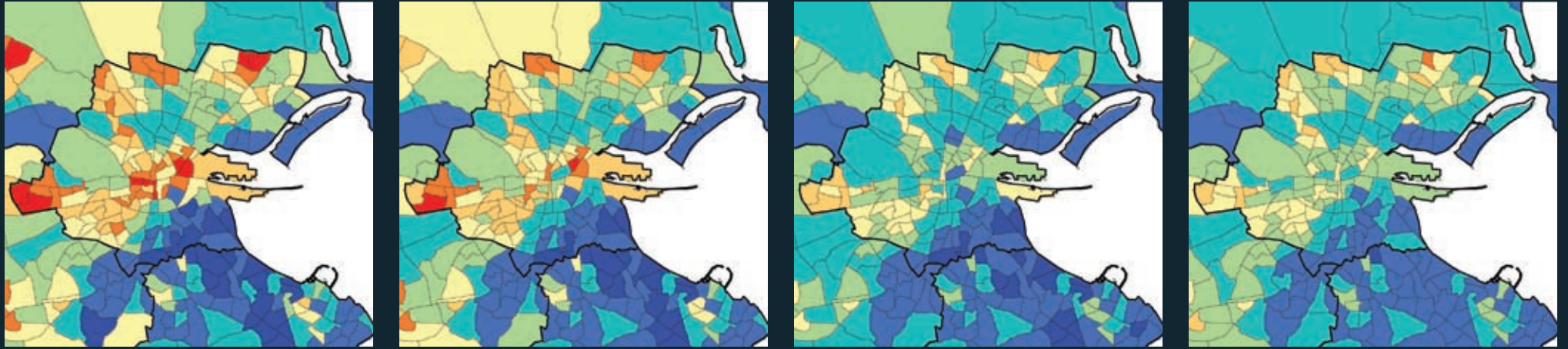
The results are demonstrated in a series of eight maps: the first four showing the growth of affluence using an identical measurement scale, and the second four showing the relative distribution of affluence and deprivation; i.e. after taking account of the underlying trend for the fifteen years and thus comparing the relative status of each area at the time of the four censuses. The first full-page figure (Figure 1.4) shows the eight maps for the Dublin City area. The maps for Ireland as a whole can be downloaded at www.pobal.ie.

Throughout all of the maps, the following colour scheme is being used:

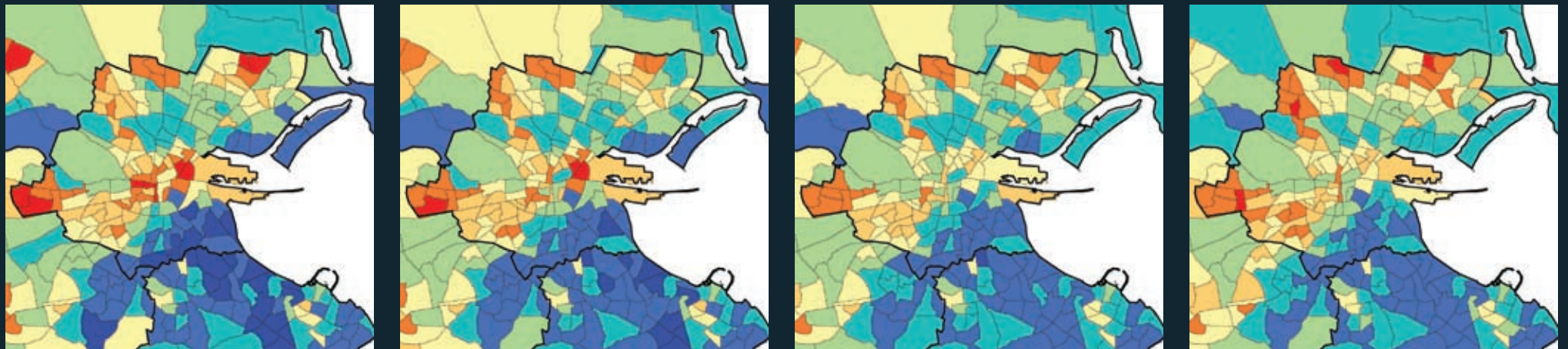
- extremely affluent
- very affluent
- affluent
- marginally above average
- marginally below average
- disadvantaged
- very disadvantaged
- extremely disadvantaged

Figure 1.4: Affluence and Deprivation in Dublin 1991–2006

Absolute Affluence and Deprivation



Relative Affluence and Deprivation



1991

1996

2002

2006

1.6 Changes in Dublin's Inner City

Overall, the Dublin Region is the second most affluent region of Ireland, but Dublin City is the most disadvantaged local authority area within the region, making it the tenth most disadvantaged county in Ireland as a whole. The relative position of Dublin City has marginally deteriorated over the past fifteen years from a score of -2.2 in 1991 to -2.5 in 2006, but in terms of ranking, it has improved its position from the 30th to the 25th position in relative affluence.

The two (identical) maps to the left in Figure 1.4 above show the extent of social segregation as it existed in Dublin in the early 1990s. The areas known for their significant and persistent social and economic deprivation are well identifiable by their red and orange colouring and are counter-clockwise: Coolock and Darndale, Ballymun, Finglas and Cabra, parts of Blanchardstown, Clondalkin (outside this map), Ballyfermot, Inchicore and Cherry Orchard, Crumlin, Walkinstown (to a lesser extent), West Tallaght, and most of Dublin's inner city.

Changes in Absolute Deprivation

The top four maps show how Dublin City has become more affluent between 1991 and 2006. This growing affluence has benefited effectively all areas, but particularly those which were at the more disadvantaged end of the spectrum in 1991.

The second important insight from the maps is the timing. The period between 1991 and 1996 marks the beginning of the boom, whilst the changes between 1996 and 2002 indicate by far the greatest improvements in affluence. The 2002 to 2006 period, in contrast, identifies the gradual slow-down of the economy. This timing is equivalent with the varying shifts of the curves in Figure 1.3.

Changes in Relative Deprivation

The bottom set of maps in Figure 1.4 shows the limited degree to which the relative position of local areas has changed over the past fifteen years. In general, the worst affected areas in 1991 are still the worst affected ones in 2006. As is increasingly clear from analyses carried out in different countries, the spatial distribution of relative deprivation is highly stable over time. The only exception to this general rule is Dublin's inner city. Here, the exceptional

investment of the past fifteen years has led to a profound change in the socio-economic composition of its population. Whilst Dublin's inner city was one of the most disadvantaged areas in 1991, only fifteen years later the area can no longer be seen as that, at least not in its entirety. However, whilst Dublin's inner city has – at least on the face of it – become more affluent, this might conceal vast differences at more local level. It is the purpose of the ensuing analysis to throw more light on these developments.

To this end, we present a series of four full page maps, each of which describes the distribution of relative affluence and deprivation throughout the Dublin Inner City Partnership area at increasing levels of geographical detail.

Figure 1.5 shows the location of the most disadvantaged areas in 1991 for the 39 Electoral Districts (EDs) which make up the DICP area. It clearly marks the high levels of deprivation along the Liffey quays, with the highest levels of deprivation occurring in North Dock C (-41.3), Mountjoy A (-40.1), Merchants Quay A (-37.5) Ushers B (-30.1) and Wood Quay A (-30.1). Each of these fall into the 'extremely disadvantaged' category of which there are only 22 EDs (0.6%) throughout the whole of Ireland. Another nine EDs fall into the 'very disadvantaged' category.

Figure 1.6 shows the same map, but with the levels of deprivation as they pertain fifteen years later in 2006. None of the EDs is any longer in the 'extremely disadvantaged' category and only two EDs, Woodquay A (-20.9) and Inns Quay C (-20.0), just barely fall into the 'very disadvantaged' category. It appears as if spatial deprivation has vanished from the inner city.

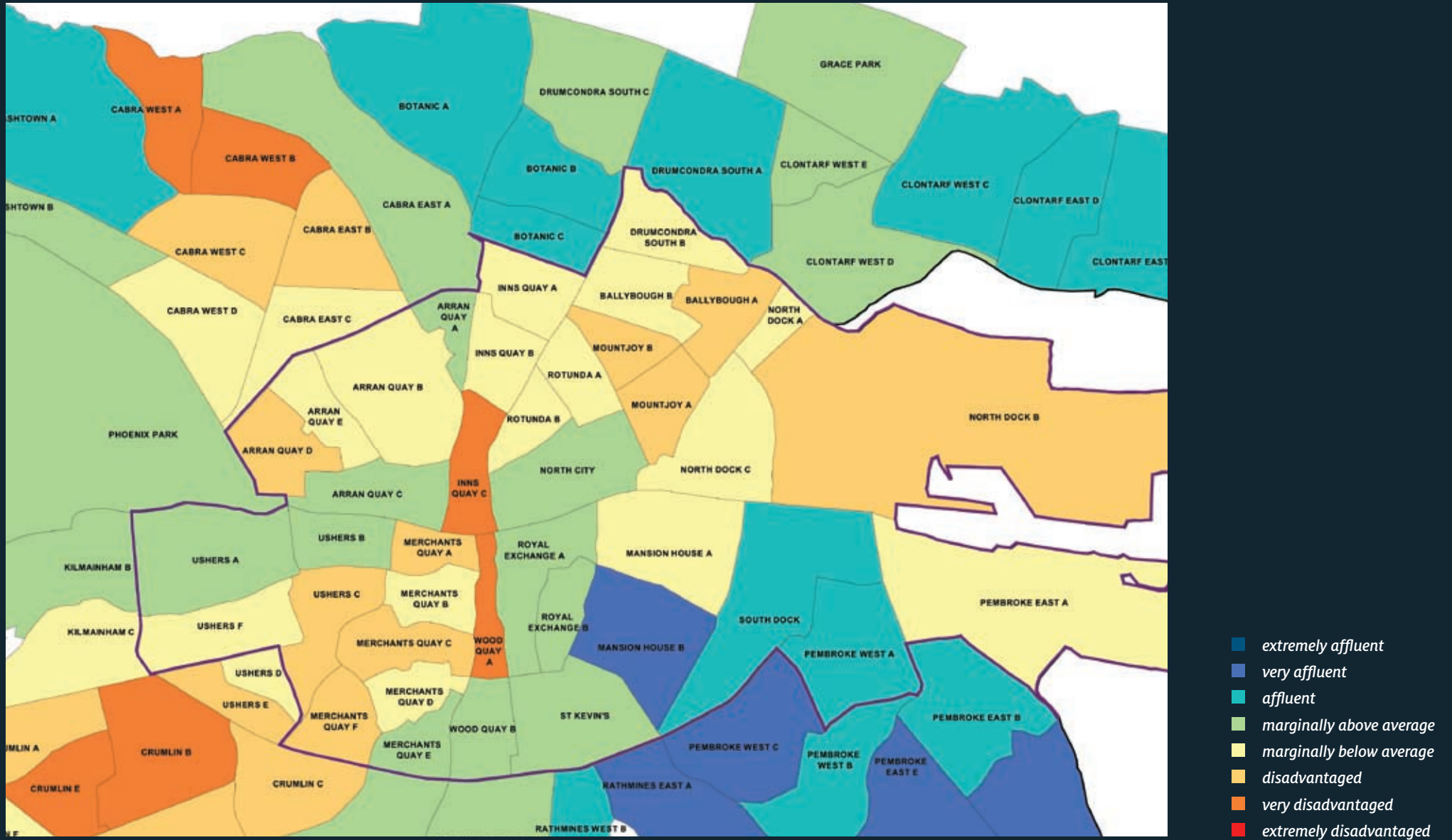
Yet everyone who works with disadvantaged people in the Dublin Inner City area knows that deprivation is nowadays as prevalent within it as it was fifteen years ago. How can such apparent contradiction be explained when our statistical data seems to suggest otherwise?

The answer to this conundrum lies in the geographical scale at which we are analysing the prevalence of social segregation: in 1991, there existed wide areas of deprivation which could easily be picked up at the level of electoral divisions, the lowest spatial level at which data from the Census of Population is regularly published. Thus, in

the early 1990s, when the first twelve pilot partnerships were set up under the *Programme for Economic and Social Progress (PESP)*, such analysis could readily pick up the most disadvantaged areas and these corresponded well with the well known unemployment blackspots. In 2006, however, this is clearly no longer the case.

To test whether social segregation may reveal itself at a higher level of spatial disaggregation, we carried out the identical analysis of relative affluence and deprivation at the level of Enumerative Areas (EAs). EAs describe the physical areas of each individual census enumerator and these areas tend to be smaller in urban areas than EDs. However, the boundaries may change from one Census to another and thus EA level data cannot be used in a consistent manner over time. Figure 1.7 shows the shading according to the 2006 ED level data, but with the EA boundaries superimposed. Figure 1.8 shows the distribution of relative affluence and deprivation based on the EA level data and a very different picture emerges.

Figure 1.6: Relative Affluence and Deprivation in the DICP Area 2006



2 / Analysis at Micro Level

The EA level analysis of the spatial distribution of relative affluence and deprivation in Dublin's inner city (Figure 1.8) reveals a very different picture than that undertaken at the level of EDs (Figure 1.6). Although based on the same data and for the same year (2006), it becomes apparent that the supposed lack of social differentiation as shown in Figure 1.6 is first and foremost an artefact of the scale at which the analysis is undertaken. Whilst the ED level map shows most areas to be situated closely around the national average, the EA level map reveals that many of these are made up of an amalgam of highly affluent and disadvantaged smaller areas.

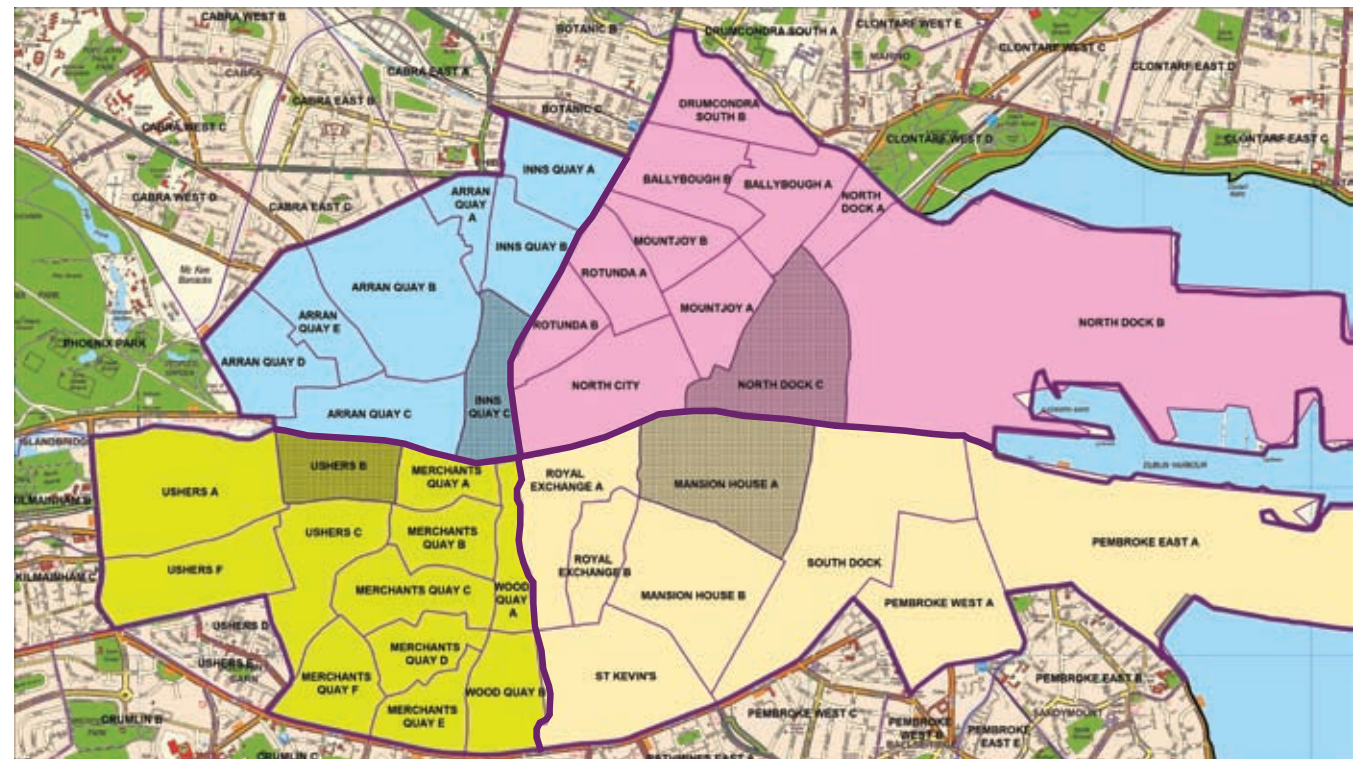
This can most clearly be seen in the case of North Dock C. Whereas the ED level analysis showed North Dock C with an Index Score of -8.7 to be in the 'marginally below average' category, the EA level analysis shows that the ED is actually made up of two opposite extremes: an extremely affluent area comprising the International Financial Service Centre (IFSC) and adjoining developments along the quays, and an extremely disadvantaged area which comprises the remainder of the ED, an area made up of traditional inner city neighbourhoods.

To analyse the spatial effect in further detail, it was decided to investigate four EDs at street or neighbourhood level. To this end, one ED was chosen in each of the four Quadrants which make up the organisational areas of the Dublin Inner City Partnership. Each of the EDs to be investigated was selected on the basis that it was very disadvantaged in 1991, but no longer reveal high levels of deprivation in 2006. The four EDs thus selected are:

- **North West Inner City: Inns Quay C**
- **North East Inner City: North Dock C**
- **South West Inner City: Ushers B**
- **South East Inner City: Mansion House A**

Figure 2.1 shows the four Quadrants of the DICP and the location of the EDs chosen for further analysis.

Figure 2.1: DICP Quadrants and Micro Areas



The remainder of this chapter presents an analysis of each of the four selected EDs. In each case, we first present a statistical overview which positions the ED within its respective DICP quadrant and the DICP area as a whole. The indicators considered are the same as used in the analysis of the Dublin inner city as a whole and represent the key socio-economic indicators which can be gained from the Census of Population and which also underlie the construction of the *New Measures of Deprivation*.

This is followed by a photo collage of the main buildings which dominate the individual streetscapes. The reason for identifying individual streetscapes is that it is possible to derive street-level estimates of relative affluence/deprivation for the 2006 deprivation index (see box across). The street-level estimates were presented as small squares on the maps, using the same colour code as used for the deprivation scores before. In addition, each photo's caption is colour coded, again using the same colour code. The caption shows the street or building name and the number of housing units within it, based on the Geodirectory.

Deriving Street-Level Estimates of Relative Affluence and Deprivation

There has been a frequent call from the statutory and community sector for more detailed statistical information to be made available at local level as ED-level - and even EA level - data frequently hides the extreme levels of social disadvantage experienced within particular neighbourhoods.

One answer to this problem has been provided by GAMMA, in association with Ticketmaster and Trutz Haase through INCA, the Irish National Classification of Addresses. INCA provides a street-level estimate for the 2006 Measures of Deprivation.

INCA is based on the fact that entertainment tickets constitute what the economic literature calls a 'superior good'; i.e. a good the consumption of which will increase with rising affluence. INCA first creates street-level clusters of residential delivery points (effectively households), which are based on the Geodirectory. The Geodirectory is An Post's directory of all households in Ireland. For these clusters or 'INCA Points' it is then possible to calculate sales densities based on the sales of entertainment tickets through Ticketmaster. Finally, the ticket sales densities are joined with the EA-level scores from the New Measures of Deprivation. Allowing a limited deviation for each point above and below what constitutes the true measure for the EA as a whole, INCA effectively provides street-level estimates of relative affluence and deprivation.

2.1 The North West Inner City and Inns Quay C

Location

The Electoral Division of Inns Quay C is bounded by Ormond Quay – Church Street, Constitution Hill – Upper Dominick Street – and Upper Dorset Street, Bolton Street and Capel Street.

Population Change

- 14.3 % decline prior to 1991, largely in line with NWIC (-12.2) and DICP (-7.7);
- slow growth (2.9%) in 1991-1996; exceptional growth (35.0%) between 1996 and 2002, and about average growth (13.3%) between 2002 and 2006;
- overall significant and ongoing regeneration over past 15 years, but particularly the second half of the 1990s.

Physical Description of Area

- multiplicity of new developments which are scattered throughout the area and interspersed with existing older housing;
- largest infill is the Old Distillery at Beresford Street, comprising a huge gated housing complex of app. 229 apartments;
- other significant infill developments include apartment blocks at Church Street/North King Street (30), North Ann Street (19), North King Street/Halston Street (30), Bolton Street/Henrietta Street (40) and Upper Dominick Street (71); in total 442 housing units in identifiable new blocks;
- overall, there is a clear indication of displacement over the past ten to fifteen years, although, as a whole, developments are disbursed and relatively well integrated into the existing fabric of the area.
- There is one huge development potential between The Markets and St. Michan's House which merits particular attention for the future.

Age Dependency

- strong decline from 36.7% in 1991 to 22.9% in 2006, but close to comparable figures for NWIC (32.7% to 20.2%) and DICP (33.9% to 19.7%).

Lone Parents

- strong growth from 32.1% in 1991 to 64.5% in 2006, above trends for NWIC (32.4% to 50.0%) and DICP (31.6% to 50.0%);
- nearly two out of three families with dependent children are now headed by a single parent.

Low Education

- spectacular reduction from 64.7% in 1991 to 28.6% in 2006, however, levels remain higher than for NWIC (decline from 47.5% to 20.0%) and DICP (49.8% to 20.3%).

Higher Education

- spectacular increase from 3.5% in 1991 to 30.7% in 2006;
- starting point 6 percentage points lower than NWIC and DICP (9.9% and 11.0% in 1991);
- now 12 percentage points lower than NWIC (42.6%) and DICP (43.1%).

Male Unemployment

- significant decrease from 38.8% in 1991 to 19.4% in 2006, but marginally above figures for NWIC (33.5% to 15.0%) and DICP (35.4% to 14.1%);
- mostly reflecting trend, but also in-movement of higher skilled professionals.

Female Unemployment

- spectacular decrease from 40.7% in 1991 to 21.2% in 2006;
- starting over 15 percentage points higher than NWIC (23.8%), and now still 10 points above NWIC (12.2%) and DICP (10.3%)

Local Authority Housing

- exceptional decline from 50.2% of households in 1991 to 30.4% in 2006;
- starting from twice the levels of NWIC (24.6%) and well above DICP (33.0%), now still 14 percentage points higher than NWIC (16.0%) and 10 points higher than DICP (20.4%);
- number of households in LA housing declined from 343 in 1991 to 314 in 2006;
- the area is marked by an erosion in the number of local authority housing units and a significant population displacement in advance of and during urban renewal;
- the remaining LA housing stock is largely of relatively poor quality. The only units that have been substantially refurbished are Ormond Square, Chancery House and St. Michan's House are of comparatively poor quality and have most likely been refurbished to a limited extent only and some time ago. Henrietta House is currently undergoing some exterior upgrading, but possibly below full refurbishment.

Private Housing

- rapidly declining level of owner occupancy, 37.8% of households in 1991 and 28.2% in 2006, significantly less than the levels of NWIC (35.7) and DICP (34.5%) in 2006.
- exceptional growth in privately rented accommodation, increasing from 10.4 % in 1991 to 39.8% in 2006, coming closer to NWIC (47.0%) and DICP (43.6%).
- the exceptional growth in private rented accommodation is the direct result of the infill developments, notably the Old Distillery and a significant number of other apartment blocks.

Figure 2.1: North West Inner City: Inns Quay C



2.2 The North East Inner City and North Dock C

Location

The Electoral Division of North Dock C is bounded to the east by the IFSC, the north-west by Amiens Street and North Strand, the north-east by the Royal Canal and the Liffey to the south.

Population Change

- above average decline prior to 1991 (-13.0%), compared to NEIC (-8.3%) and DICP (-7.7%),
- below average growth between 1991 and 1996 (3.7%), exceptional growth between 1996 and 2002 (48.0%), and again above average growth (17.1%) between 2002 and 2006.
- Overall there occurred significant depopulation prior to regeneration, most significantly the demolition of Lower Sheriff Street LA Flat Complex, and other areas within the Dublin Docklands area.

Physical Description of Area

- extensive building of commercial sector (IFSC) throughout 1990s, and residential units particularly during second half of the 1990s.
- New residential accommodation is concentrated in five large-scale gated apartment blocks, including Custom House Harbour, North Wall Quay, Lower Mayor Street and the Chesterbridge Development comprising in total over 1,000 units.
- North Dock C is the area which, to date, has seen the most concentrated redevelopment throughout Dublin's inner city. The developments are highly segregated and comprise gated communities with highly developed security systems and extremely divisive boundary walls and fencing to the surrounding areas.

Age Dependency

- massive decline from 43.0% in 1991 to 16.1% in 2006, in excess of NEIC (36.7% to 19.4%) and DICP (33.9% to 19.7%);

- indicating in-movement of significant working age cohorts into newly developed apartments, but few families with dependent children.

Lone Parents

- exceptional growth from 32.7% in 1991 to 60.2% in 2006, even above trends for NEIC (35.0% to 55.0%) and DICP (31.6% to 50.0%).
- Nearly two-thirds of all families with dependent children are now headed by a single parent.

Low Education

- spectacular decline from 74.2% in 1991 to 19.9% in 2006, starting point 15 percentage points higher than NEIC (56.2%) and DICP (49.8%), but now in line with NEIC (21.1%) and DICP (20.3%),
- overall massive displacement and in-movement of well-educated population.

Higher Education

- spectacular increase from 1.0% in 1991 to 45.6% in 2006;
- starting point 6 percentage points lower than NEIC (7.2%) and DICP (11.0%), but now higher than NEIC (37.9%) and DICP (43.1%);
- clear indication of massive displacement and in-movement of very large affluent population.

Male Unemployment

- spectacular decrease from 62.8% in 1991 to 14.0% in 2006, starting over 20 percentage points higher than NEIC (41.9%) and DICP (35.4%), but now in line with NEIC (16.4%) and DICP (14.1%),
- almost certainly result of displacement of existing population and the subsequent in-movement of highly skilled professionals into IFSC apartments.
- There is, however, anecdotal evidence that employment prospects for disadvantaged local population has also improved significantly.

Female Unemployment

- spectacular decrease from 48.3% in 1991 to 13.5% in 2006, starting over 15 percentage points higher than NEIC (33.2%) and DICP (26.7%), but now in line with NEIC (13.4%) and DICP (10.8%),

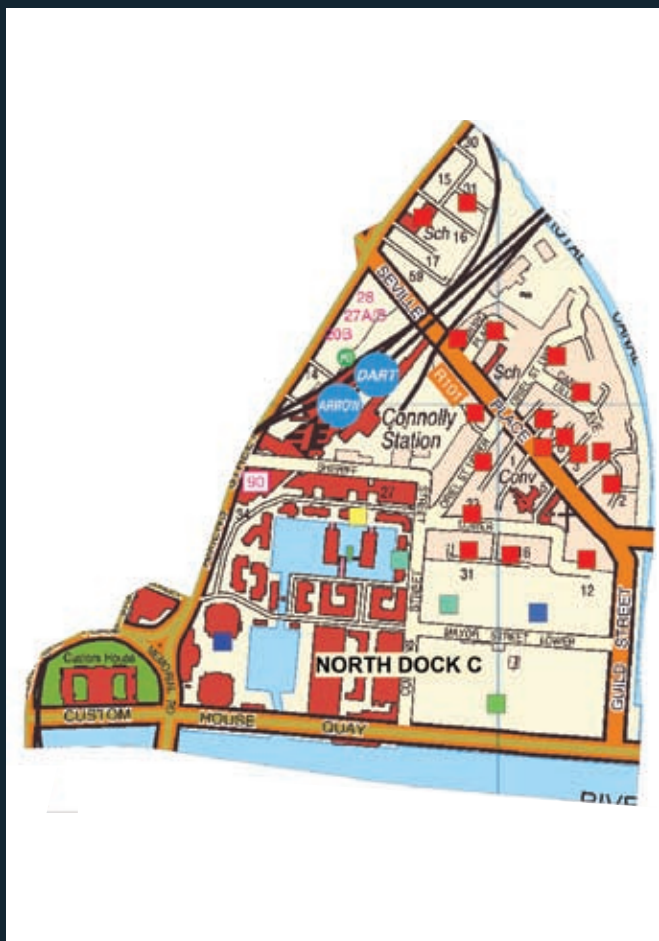
Local Authority Housing

- massive decline from 74.7% of households in 1991 to 27.0% in 2006,
- starting from over twice the levels of NEIC (37.7%) and DICP (33.0%), but now still in excess of NEIC and DICP (21.8% and 20.4% respectively).
- Number of households in LA housing declined from 501 in 1991 to 368 in 2006.
- Many of the residents of the Sheriff Street flats moved during the clearing of the flats to Coolock/Darndale, Ballymun and other areas. The remainder was moved to new and refurbished 'own-door' housing in Lower Oriel Street and surrounding area. These now constitute the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the area.

Private Housing

- Very low level of owner occupancy, accounting for 16.1% of households in 1991 and 19.3% in 2006, less than half the levels of NEIC (36.6% to 31.9%) and DICP (39.2% to 34.5%).
- Exceptional growth in privately rented accommodation, increasing from 8.3% in 1991 to 52.2% in 2006; amongst the highest anywhere in the country. This compares to NEIC (45.0%) and DICP (43.6%).
- The developments in the IFSC and surrounding area have an exceptionally low level of owner occupancy and are almost in their entirety designed for the rental market.

Figure 2.2: North East Inner City: North Dock C



Larkin House - North Strand / 60



Shamrock Cottages / 40



Seville Place / 76



Lower Sheriff Street / 29



Lower Oriel Street / 64



Lower Oriel Street / 64



Upper Oriel Street / 57



Mariner's Port / 28



Seville Place / 49



Custom House Harbour / 267



Spencer Dock / 52 Crinan Strand / 31



Second Avenue / 17

- extremely affluent
- very affluent
- affluent
- marginally above average
- marginally below average
- disadvantaged
- very disadvantaged
- extremely disadvantaged



Custom House Harbour / 66



Lower Mayor Street / 117



Lower Mayor Street / 437



North Wall Quay / 180



First Avenue / 24

2.3 The South West Inner City and Ushers B

Location

The Electoral Division of Ushers B is a small rectangular area bounded to the west by St. James Gate Brewery, the north by the Liffey, the east by Bridgefoot Street and the south by Thomas Street.

Population Change

- 0.7 % decline prior to 1991, well below SWIC (-5.7%) and DICP as a whole (-7.7%)
- massive growth of 63.9% in 1991-1996; further growth of 15.8% between 1996 and 2002, and 17.1% between 2002 and 2006,
- indicative of significant regeneration, particularly during the first half of the 1990s.

Physical Description of Area

- The area is entirely dichotomised into two local authority housing complexes (Emmet Buildings and Bridgefoot Street) on the one hand, and three large-scale private housing developments on the other.
- The Maltings, Viking Harbour and Pier 19 contain over 500 apartments in three gated communities.
- Following large-scale clearances and a significant reduction in the number of LA housing units, the area has now a 'sanitised' feeling to it, with alienating streetscapes which lack openness for people to stroll around.
- There is a clear indication of large-scale clearances prior to regeneration and thus significant displacement.
- There is a large site at Bridgefoot Street currently offered for development. The area would gain from a less dense development with some open spaces to integrate the existing housing stock.

Age Dependency

- strong decline from 43.9% in 1991 to 15.5% in 2006, well in excess of figures for SWIC (34.6% to 22.1%) and DICP (33.9% to 19.7%).

- The exceptional decline in age dependency by twice the rate applicable for the inner city as a whole indicates that significant replacement has taken place. Effectively families with children and older people have been replaced by younger couples without children.

Lone Parents

- proportion of lone parents has practically remained unchanged from 53.8% in 1991 to 52.7% in 2006.
- This is in stark contrast to trends for SWIC (32.7% to 49.8%) and DICP (31.6% to 50.0%).
- The reason for this is the stark decline in the provision of social housing in the area and its replacement by privately rented accommodation.

Low Education

- spectacular decline from 62.0% in 1991 to 14.9% in 2006. Level started significantly above SWIC (48.8%) in 1991 and DICP (49.8%), but are now below SWIC (22.2%) and DICP (20.3%), again pointing to an exceptional displacement of population.

Higher Education

- spectacular increase from 1.5% in 1991 to 47.5% in 2006,
- Level started significantly below SWIC (11.8% in 1991) and DICP (11.0%), but are now above SWIC (41.3%) and DICP (43.1%).
- As there are still two significant LA Housing complexes in the area, the figures provide strong evidence of the exceptional influx of better-educated population into the new developments.

Male Unemployment

- exceptional decrease from 55.8% in 1991 to 12.5% in 2006. In 1991 male unemployment in Ushers B was 20 percentage points higher than SWIC (35.8%) and DICP (35.4%), now it is below that of SWIC (15.4%) and DICP (14.1%).

- The spectacular decrease again clearly points to the in-movement of large numbers of higher skilled professionals into area.

Female Unemployment

- exceptional decrease from 35.9% in 1991 to 12.9% in 2006,
- starting over 10 percentage points higher than SWIC (26.5% in 1991) and DICP (26.7%), but now almost in line with SWIC (10.7%) and DICP (10.8%), indicating above average improvement for female employment, but mainly due to displacement.

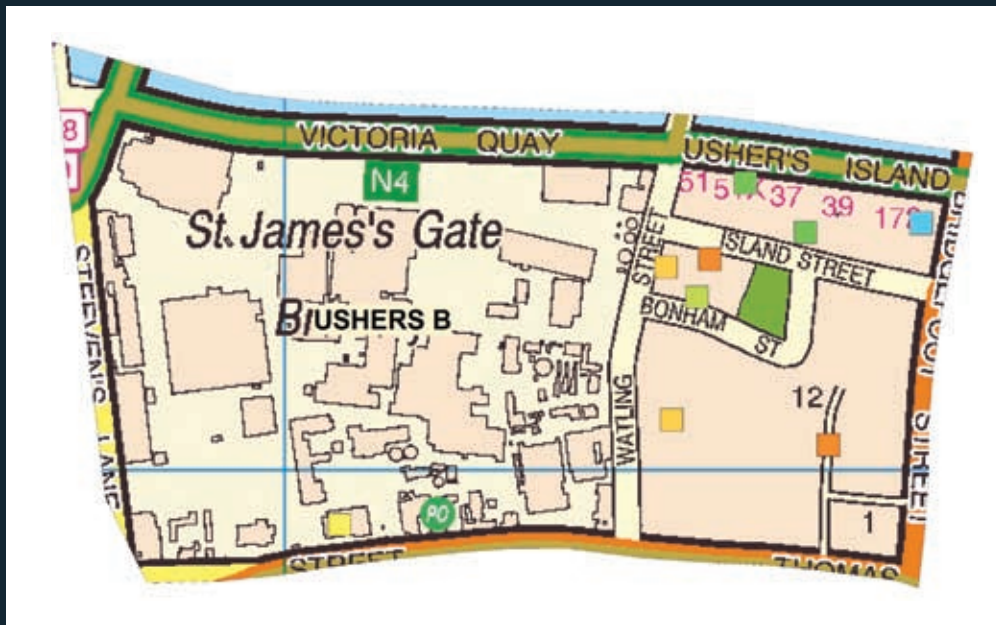
Local Authority Housing

- extraordinary decline from 95.8% of households in 1991 to 28.3% in 2006, representing the greatest decline in the proportion of social housing in any one area throughout the country.
- starting from three times the levels of SWIC (31.1%) and DICP (33.0%), but now only slightly exceeding SWIC (21.2%) and DICP (20.4%).
- The number of households in LA housing declined from 188 in 1991 to 157 in 2006.
- The two LA housing estates appear to be of comparatively high standard. The Emmet Buildings are refurbished and Bridgefoot Street comprises a newly-built complex of three-storey houses.

Private Housing

- originally low level of owner occupancy, 2.6% of households in 1991, but rising to 28.8% in 2006, now in line with levels of SWIC (36.5%) and DICP (34.5%)
- even stronger rise in privately rented accommodation, increasing from 1.0% in 1991 to 41.7% in 2006, now in line with SWIC (40.8%) and DICP (43.6%).
- Unlike the apartments surrounding the IFSC, infill developments in this area seem to have about one-third of owner occupancy rates.

Figure 2.3: South West Inner City: Ushers



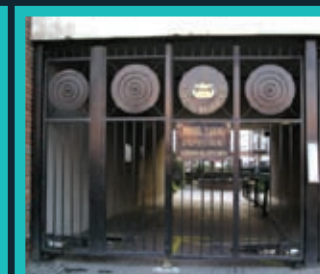
- extremely affluent
- very affluent
- affluent
- marginally above average
- marginally below average
- disadvantaged
- very disadvantaged
- extremely disadvantaged



The Maltings - Island Street / 61



Viking Harbour - Usher's Island / 156



Viking Harbour - Usher's Island / 156



The New Maltings - Watling Street / 50



The Atrium - Island Street / 77



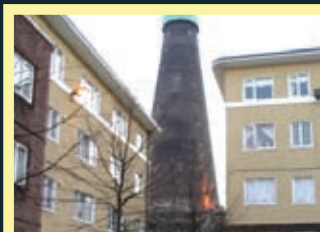
Pier 19 - Bridgefoot Street / 93



The Maltings - Bonham Street / 142



The Maltings - Bonham Street / 142



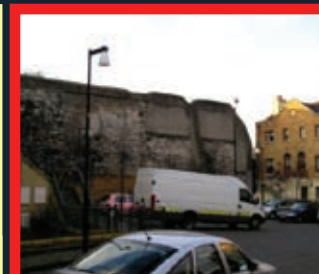
Emmet Buildings - Watling Street / 73



Emmet Buildings - Watling Street / 73



Emmet Buildings - Watling Street / 73



Marshal Lane - Bridgefoot Street / 63



Marshal Lane - Bridgefoot Street / 63



Marshal Lane - Bridgefoot Street / 63

2.4 The South East Inner City and Mansion House A

Location

The Electoral Division of Mansion House A comprises a large rectangular area bounded to the west by Grafton and Westmorland Street, the north by the Liffey, the east by Lime Street via Lower and Upper Erne Street to Holles Street and the south by Merrion Square North to Nassau Street.

Population Change

- Marginal growth (0.8 %) prior to 1991, in contrast to decline for SEIC (-5.7%) and DICP (-7.7 %) as a whole.
- Below average growth of 4.3% in 1991-1996; strong growth of 36% between 1996 and 2002, and again comparatively slow growth of 4.5% between 2002 and 2006.
- indicative of significant regeneration, particularly during the second half of the 1990's.
- In contrast to North Dock C and Ushers B, there is no indication of significant displacement; most changes are likely to be predominantly the result of additional population in-movements.

Physical Description of Area

- Large number of new developments which are scattered throughout the area and interspersed with existing older housing stock. There is, however, currently a more concentrated re-development occurring along the quays, largely as part of the docklands re-development.
- Overall, there are nearly 700 new housing units in eight identifiable infill developments.
- Hanover Street is the largest, followed by Windmill Lane, Townsend Street, Lower Sandwith Street, Poolbeg Street and Lime Street.
- All of the infill developments are gated communities with high levels of security features and sometimes inordinate screening features against their surrounding neighbourhoods.

- Particularly in Windmill Lane and other side streets off the quays, narrow streetscapes make it distinctly unpleasant for pedestrians to walk as they find themselves between high gated apartment complexes and a lack of open spaces.

Age Dependency

- Halving from 31.0% in 1991 to 16.9% in 2006, almost identical to figures for SEIC and DICP (33.9% to 19.7%).
- The decline in age dependency is mainly the result of the in-movement of significant numbers of working-age cohorts into the new residential developments.

Lone Parents

- Doubling from 31.6% in 1991 to 61.5% in 2006, in excess of trends for SEIC (24.1% to 42.4%) and DICP (31.6% to 50.0%).
- Nearly two out of three families with dependent children are now headed by a single parent.

Low Education

- Spectacular decline from 64.6% in 1991 to 23.9% in 2006.
- Level started significantly above SEIC (46.4% in 1991) and DICP (49.8%), but is now in line with SEIC (17.9%) and DICP (20.3%).

Higher Education

- Strong increase from 5.7% in 1991 to 41.6% in 2006,
- Level started far below SEIC (15.0% in 1991) and DICP (11.0%), but is now closer to SEIC (50.9%) and DICP (43.1%).
- Clear indication of strong influx of better-educated population into new developments.

Male Unemployment

- Strong decrease from 34.7% in 1991 to 9.7% in 2002, largely in line with SEIC (decline from 27.8% to 7.6%) and DICP (35.4% to 14.1%).

Female Unemployment

- Even stronger decrease from 38.2% in 1991 to 10.3% in 2006, compared to SEIC (22.9% to 7.0%) and DICP (26.7% to 10.8%).

Local Authority Housing

- Massive decline from 80.2% of households in 1991 to 43.5% in 2002;
- starting about 45 percentage points above the levels of SEIC (37.4%) and DICP (33.0%), but now still twice the levels of SEIC (21.5%) and DICP (20.4%).
- Number of households in LA housing declined from 1,090 in 1991 to 626 in 2006
- Despite the decline in the absolute number of LA housing units, the area remains an important provider of LA housing, providing over 500 units in four major housing complexes.
- Countess Markievicz House is an old complex in urgent need of refurbishment and Pearse House has been refurbished from the outside. Boyne Street comprises 80 traditional redbrick units which have been refurbished to a very high standard and have repeatedly earned the complex the award for best urban LA housing estate. The fourth housing complex is St. Andrew's Court, which is currently being refurbished.

Private Housing

- Originally extremely low level of owner occupancy (9.8% in 1991), but rising to 16.3% in 2006, still only half the levels of SEIC (34.0%) and DICP (34.5%).
- rapid increase in privately rented accommodation, increasing from 8.8% in 1991 to 37.6% in 2006, now closer to SEIC (42.5%) and DICP (43.6%).
- Similar to North Dock C, this most central section of Dublin's inner city is characterised by low levels of owner-occupation and new infill developments which are designed almost exclusively for rental purposes.

Figure 2.4: South East Inner City: Mansion House



2.5 Key Observations from Four Micro Areas

The most striking observation from the statistics, maps and photo collages presented in the preceding chapter is the high degree of spatial segregation. The four micro areas considered are all positioned at the middle level of the national affluence-to-deprivation spectrum; i.e. measured at the ED level, the areas do not differ significantly from the national average. Yet, looking at the same areas at the level of individual streetscapes, a totally different picture emerges. There is barely a single street that can be identified in that presumed middle field of 'average' social stratification. Instead, each area reveals itself as an amalgam of highly affluent and deprived neighbourhoods.

In **Inns Quay C**, the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods are the social housing complexes of St. Michan's House at Greek Street and Chancery House at Chancery Place. Slightly less extreme, but still markedly disadvantaged are Ormond Square, North King Street, Henrietta Place and Coleraine Street, each of which contain significant elements of social housing. At the other extreme is The Old Distillery at Beresford Street. The complex comprises a large-scale gated community of privately-rented apartments, which represents by far the most significant re-development in the area. There has been extensive re-development along the whole length of Upper Dominick Street and parts of North King Street. Both streets are in the above-average range, but are not as exclusive in their design or the tenants occupying them as the Old Distillery.

North Dock C is probably the most segregated of all inner city areas, largely on account of the International Financial Service Centre (IFSC) being located in what used to be one of the most derelict areas of the city. Besides large tracts of redundant dockland, the area once comprised the Sheriff Street Flats, one of the city's most renowned social housing complexes, but has since been completely re-developed under the auspices of the Dublin Docklands Development Authority (DDDA).

When the Sheriff Street Flats were vacated towards the late 1980s, some of the tenants moved to new suburban social housing estates, such as Finglas, Coolock-Darndale and Ballymun. However, those inhabitants who wanted to stay within the area were largely rehoused along Seville Place and its side streets, including Lower Oriel Street. Together with Larkin House and the Shamrock

Cottages these streets now stand out as being amongst the most disadvantaged in the whole inner city.

However, the combined number of about 240 households in these four disadvantaged locations dwindles against the massive number of over 1,000 new apartments in and adjacent to the IFSC area. The latter are concentrated in five major gated communities at Custom House Harbour, Lower Mayor Street and North Wall Quay, which are amongst the most secluded gated complexes in the city, and which are occupied by tenants from the upper end of the affluence spectrum. Not only are these complexes completely shielded from the wider area surrounding them, but they are literally segregated from their neighbouring constituencies through a Berlin-like wall which is unrivalled anywhere in the country.

Usher's B is the home of the St. James's Brewery and the micro-area considered is the residential area directly adjacent to it. The area could be considered the most 'sanitised' of all of the residential areas within the four micro-areas studied. This becomes particularly obvious when contrasting it with the hustle and bustle of the Thomas Street and Meath Street area next to it, which acts as a reminder of what this area used to be like. Now the area is made up of a chessboard-like array of housing blocks, unconnected and unrelated to one another and with no sense of shared community between them.

On the one hand, the area comprises two major social housing complexes, the Emmet Buildings at Watling Street and a newly-build entity at Bridgefoot Street. The Emmet Buildings have undergone a full-scale upgrade by Dublin City Council. Bridgefoot Street are newly-built three-story, yellow-bricked, own-door duplexes. Both complexes appear to provide comparatively good quality housing. There are, however, considerable shortcomings in the provision of communal space and infrastructure. This is largely on account of how these two complexes are situated side by side to three major privately-rented gated communities.

The Maltings at Island Street, Watling Street and Bonham Street, Viking Harbour at Usher's Island and Pier 19 at Bridgefoot Street comprise together about 500 apartments. What is striking about the area is the lack of integration of its built environment, the height of the individual housing blocks relative to the narrowness

of the streets between them and the discomfort which this lack of open space induces in the visitor or resident. The only hope for the future lies with the appropriate use of a major development site in the centre of all of these unconnected buildings which might allow these fragmented communities to connect.

The fourth micro-area is **Mansion House A**. Again one finds strong evidence of social segregation. The area comprises three major social housing estates which, together, provide over 500 housing units: Markievicz House at Townsend Street, Pearse House at Hanover Street and Boyne Street. At the opposite end, there are five major gated complexes with almost 600 housing units at Townsend Street, Poolbeg Street, Lombard Street, Windmill Lane and Lime Street, all of which are at the high-end of owner-occupied and rented accommodation. However, the area also comprises a larger number of less segregated new developments, whose occupants largely fall into the middle ground of the social spectrum. Examples of these are largely duplex-style houses at Lombard Street East, Lombard Court and Dowling's Court, and apartment blocks at Fenian Street and Lower Sandwith Street.

Whilst the area as a whole has a more open and mature character as, for example, Usher's B and North Dock C, there are nevertheless signs of extreme segregation emerging in the streets immediately bordering the Liffey, notably Windmill Lane and Lime Street. Walking through Windmill Lane is like standing in an elevator shaft, with high walls surrounding one on all sides and every single entrance secured by iron gates, CCTV cameras and an abundance of signs warning the residents to be aware of potential intruders.

2.6 More Observations across the Inner City

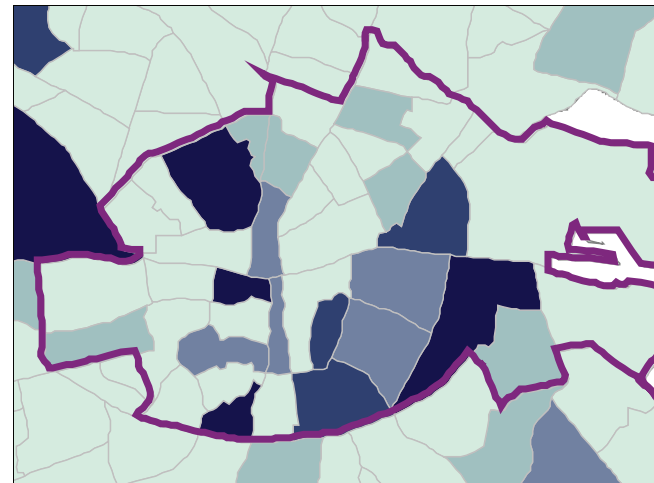
Before commenting on the overall quality of the urban renewal that has occurred in Dublin's inner city in Chapter 3, we shall first look at the spatial distribution of some of the key socio-economic indicators that underlie our overall measures of deprivation. The overall magnitude of that change can easily be gauged from a few statistics which relate to the 1991 to 2006 period:

- Population Change	+ 49%
- Age Dependency Rate	34% to 20%
- Lone Parent Rate	32% to 50%
- Primary Education only	50% to 20%
- Third Level Education	11% to 43%
- Male Unemployment	35% to 14%
- Female Unemployment	27% to 11%
- Local Authority Rented	33% to 20%
- Privately Rented	26% to 44%
- Own House/Apartment	39% to 35%

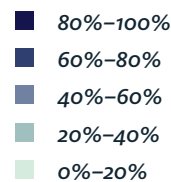
Unprecedented Population Change

The repopulation of Dublin's inner city since the onset of urban renewal policies in the early 1990s was as swift as its previous decline. Between 1991 and 2006, its population grew by exactly half. The strongest growth occurred in the South East Inner City and along the quays. As can be seen from Figure 2.5, the four micro areas discussed in the previous sections are amongst the highest growth areas, and the observed changes in their social and economic characteristics may be more attributed to the influx of new people rather than a change for the previously resident population. Current and future areas of high population growth are likely to develop similar characteristics as shown in the four micro study areas, unless the prevailing approach to planning and urban renewal changes radically.

Figure 2.5: Population Change



Population Change 1991–2006

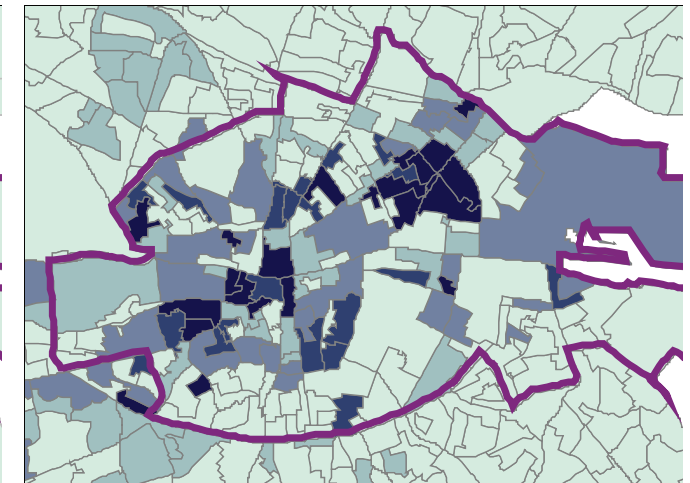


The Decline of the Two Parent Family

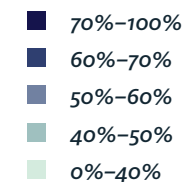
Whilst the increase in the proportion of families headed by a single parent is not unique to Dublin, it finds its most concentrated expression in Dublin's inner city. Exactly every second family with dependent children is now a lone parent family, making this the dominant family form in Dublin's inner city.

As can be seen from a comparison of Figures 2.6 and 2.9 below, the concentration of lone parents is synonymous with high concentration of local authority housing, as this is the predominant form of tenure available to lone parents. What is of particular concern is that families who can afford private housing choose no longer to live in Dublin's inner city, as the city is no longer catering for their needs.

Figure 2.6: Lone Parent Families



Lone Parents



The Rise in Education Levels

Throughout the study, we have highlighted the extraordinary increase in the level of education throughout Ireland over the past fifteen years. The level of education is the single most important indicator of overall affluence and deprivation and the inner city is highly segregated in this regard. The areas with the highest proportions of population with third level education are located in the South East Inner City, whereas the areas with the lowest proportions are on the same diagonal as indicated by high proportions of lone parents and local authority housing.

The Beginning of a Multi-Cultural Society

One of the more recent side-effects of the country's turnaround in its migration experience has been the arrival of many non-Irish nationals and the rapid growth in ethnic minorities. Both of these population groups tend to gravitate towards Ireland's urban centres, as these are the main locations of jobs and accessible accommodation for these groups. Figure 2.8 shows just how much ethnic minorities are concentrated in comparatively few areas within Dublin's inner city. In some EAs, non-white minorities are, for the first time, on the brink of becoming the dominant population group, a very new situation for the city and a challenge for Irish society.

The Concentration in Social Housing

Finally, we look at the distribution of local authority housing throughout Dublin's inner city. From the study of the four micro areas, we could see that some of the extreme concentrations of local authority housing have been diluted, principally by way of urban renewal and the replacement through privately owned or rented developments. Nevertheless, there still remain significant areas in which local authority housing accounts for over half of all accommodation, notably in the North East and South West Inner City.

Figure 2.7: Third Level Education



Third Level Education

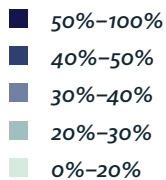


Figure 2.8: Ethnic Minorities



Ethnicity

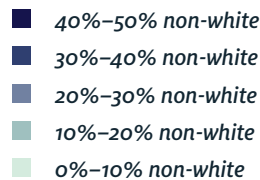
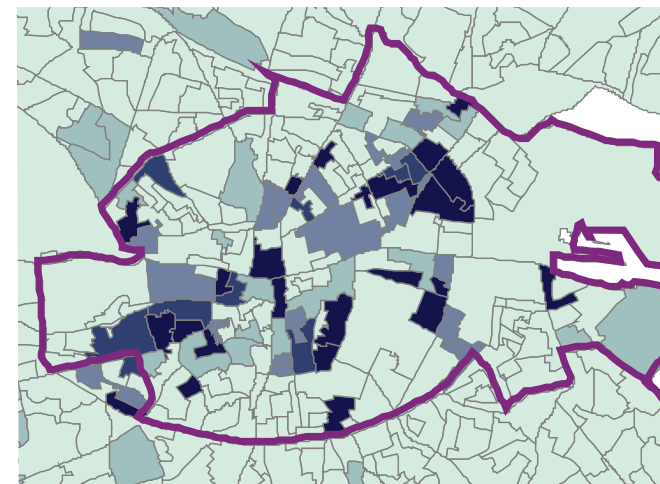
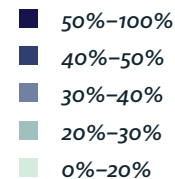


Figure 2.9: Local Authority Housing



Local Authority Rented



3 / The Quality of Urban Renewal

Whilst the previous two chapters provided a historical and statistical account, this chapter aims at offering some understanding of the causes and consequences of the particular form of urban renewal that has taken place in Dublin's inner city over the past fifteen years.

3.1 Intention and Reality of Urban Renewal

Historically, urban development has been executed primarily, if not exclusively, as a matter of physical planning. However, at least since the mid 1990s, attempts have been made to approach the renewal of Dublin's inner city in a more holistic manner through the use of Integrated Area Plans (IAPs). IAPs include objectives with regard to the population residing in an area, as well as including the voice of residents in the formulation of the plan, though the latter has varied in its degree of success.

To give only one example, the 2003 Master Plan for the Docklands Area, includes the following social objectives:

- The development of a wide range of sustainable employment opportunities in the area.
- The development of increased opportunities for local employment in existing and new enterprises in the area.
- The development of sustainable neighbourhoods with sufficient 'critical mass' that will support services such as quality public transport, improved retail facilities and other new amenities.
- The provision of a wide range of new housing in the area in order to achieve a good social mix.
- The integration of new residential communities with existing local communities in the area.

- The development of sustainable transportation for the area, including the promotion of public transport, walking and cycling as alternatives to the private car and improved circulation within the area.
- The promotion of increased access to education and training of all residents in the area.

It is beyond the scope of this study to comprehensively evaluate whether such objectives have been met in the course of the redevelopment of Dublin's inner city. Instead, some limited observations are made which are based on a comparison of the census data presented in the previous chapter.

3.2 Spatial Segregation

The first observation, and one which we have already dealt with extensively in the descriptive chapter, is the extent of spatial segregation. Whilst urban renewal since the early 1990s has led to a significant rise in the average social composition of the inner city's population, this has been shown to be first and foremost the result of the unprecedented growth in population and the influx of comparatively affluent people. Furthermore, rather than leading to an even rise in the social composition throughout the inner city, this has happened almost exclusively by way of new infill developments. The result is a patchwork of highly disadvantaged and highly affluent neighbourhoods at the micro level and in close proximity.

3.3 Displacement

One of the central questions which this study seeks to answer is the extent to which the more disadvantaged individuals, families and communities have benefited from the regeneration of Dublin's inner city, or indeed failed to do so. We therefore start with those disadvantaged individuals and families who used to live in these areas, but are now no longer living there and thus experience no benefit from the regeneration of what used to be their neighbourhoods and communities. The previous chapter provided some statistical data which described the halving of Dublin's inner city population between 1961 and 1991. However, what appears in the statistics as an abstract figure of population decline frequently marks a long and bitter experience of the families involved.

Many of the inner city neighbourhoods, and particularly its social housing estates, were marred by long-term and systematic neglect by Dublin Corporation (now Dublin City Council) during this period. As unemployment rose during the 1970s and 80s, many of the inner city's social housing estates became the location of extreme levels of long-term unemployment and experienced a rapid escalation of social problems, including the run-down of the built fabric of the estates and an increase in drug use and drug-related crime. For many of the families the social problems which they experienced on a daily basis were inseparable from living in these estates with a widely-held belief that if they were only living in one of the new estates on the urban periphery, and particularly in an 'own-door' house, many of the social and community-based problems would dissipate.

Many of the residents who vacated these areas during this time therefore were looking forward to move to one of the new social housing estates in Ballymun, Coolock, Darndale and Finglas in anticipation of a brighter future. However, their hopes were short-lived and, as we know now, these estates quickly developed the same or similar problems to those that had marked Dublin's inner city before. It is therefore important to keep in mind that there are a significant number of people who used to live in the now gentrified inner city areas who no longer live there and who have no share in the benefits of the redevelopment of these areas.

3.4 Isolation

Our next consideration is with those who traditionally lived in these areas and are still doing so. The statistical analysis clearly shows that many of the indigenous populations of the inner city housing estates had comparatively poor levels of education and were thus highly exposed to the changing economic fortunes of the city and the rapidly changing labour requirements when the city's traditional economic foundations declined. As a consequence, there is a high level of welfare dependency amongst this part of the population, including the need for the provision of social housing. The question therefore arises how those who continued living in the inner city's social housing complexes experience their area's gentrification.

One of the obvious issues to be considered is the quality of the housing itself. Some estates have been refurbished and now provide an acceptable standard of housing. In addition, there are some newly-developed estates of high quality. Other flat complexes have received face-lifts which make their outer appearance more appealing, but without comprehensive refurbishments of the flats themselves. There are, however, considerable problems remaining with a significant number of local authority housing estates.

Firstly, some of the housing estates are in a poor state of repair and urgently require comprehensive upgrading. Within the four micro areas considered as part of this study, this applies particularly to St. Michan's House and Chancery House in Inns Quay C, much of the side streets of Seville Place in North Dock C, and Markievicz House in Mansion A. St. Andrew's Court at Fenian Street is currently undergoing redevelopment. There is an ongoing conflict about the upkeep of Dublin's local authority housing estates between the residents and Dublin City Council. The residents frequently demand the upgrade of their existing homes whilst the City Council, at least in some instances, has favoured the sell-off of their housing estates for private re-development with the intent to claw back twenty per cent of the units created under Part V of the Urban Renewal Act. This has led to marked conflicts in the past at St. Teresa's Garden and is currently the case at O'Devaney Gardens where residents believe that this represents bad value in exchange for what Dublin City Council currently owns and does not deliver the greatest benefit for the residents of these flat complexes. It is informative to note, in this context that, although supported at the time by the residents, many of those who used to live in the Sheriff Street Flats now believe it would have been better if they had been refurbished rather than having been demolished.

The policy of selling-off part of Dublin's inner city social housing stock has indeed led to a considerable contraction in the overall number of social housing units available. Concentrating on the four study areas and the 1991 to 2006 period alone, Inns Quay C has seen its social housing stock reduced from 339 to 314 units (-7%), North Dock C from 497 to 365 (-27%), Usher's B from 184 to 149 (-19%), and Mansion House A from 745 to 622 (-17%).

One could argue that the four study areas, by virtue of being the areas that experienced the greatest social change, are those

which will have experienced the greatest decline in social housing units. Further more, one could argue that, if these were areas with particularly high proportions of social housing, that a net reduction of social housing in these areas was actually warranted to achieve a greater social mix and a lesser degree of concentration. However, if such was the case, replacement units should have been built in other parts of the inner city, but this has not happened. Between 1991 and 2006 alone, the total stock of social housing units in the inner city declined from a little under 10,000 to 9,000 or nearly one tenth of the social housing stock within just fifteen years.

3.5 Exclusion

The implications of this decline for the present residents is obvious: residents feel under threat and, at least for some, there is an insecurity about their long-term prospects of being able to live in their current accommodation. In addition, for many of the young adults growing up on these estates it is clear that they will find it difficult to gain access to social housing in the neighbourhoods they grew up in as they leave home.

The second aspect for the current residents is the encroaching of a new environment upon them which they are not part of. As the social housing complexes become more narrowly defined and physically circumscribed, new developments are shooting up around them that are populated with new 'incomers' into their neighbourhood with whom they have little in common.

The way in which the transformation of the social composition of their neighbourhoods is experienced by the indigenous residents is almost inevitably one of increasing marginalisation. What used to be 'their' neighbourhood, is now dominated by a different class; dominated in terms of their purchase power to access newly-developed private housing, dominated in terms of their requirements for shops and services in the area and excluded by way of almost complete physical separation through gated housing complexes and high security surroundings. What used to be bustling streets have become empty thoroughfares encroached by high-rise buildings. Any new green spaces are situated on the inside of gated communities, reserved for those who pay for it and shut off to others by iron gates and CCTV cameras.

3.6 Poverty and Deprivation

Given the extent of gentrification, there arises a perception that poverty and deprivation is no longer an issue in Dublin's inner city. Even statistical analysis, at least if carried out at the level of Electoral Districts (EDs), could be misconstrued for such an argument. But the reality is far from such a scenario. To give only one example, whilst the average education levels have vastly improved throughout the inner city, these are made up of two distinct sub-sets of very highly-skilled and very poorly-skilled inhabitants. To gain further insight into the changes with regard to the poorer sections of the inner city's population, one can look at the number of people who are at an increased risk of experiencing poverty: lone parent households (with at least one child under the age of 15) have increased in the inner city from about 2,000 in 1991 to nearly 3,800 in 2006. Whilst we do not have numbers from the 1991 Census, in 2006 there were about 14,000 people with various degrees of disabilities living in the inner city. The number of elderly people living on their own has dropped from about 4,600 to 3,600, indicative of a degree of displacement as the city increasingly caters for a younger population. There has been a staggering drop in the number of adults with primary education only, from over 30,000 in 1991 to 15,000 in 2006. In part, this reflects the rejuvenation of the city as low educational achievement is more prevalent amongst older age cohorts. The proportion has been dramatically declining throughout the whole country, but in Dublin's inner city the trend has been particularly strong. At the same time, there nevertheless remain a high number of people who do not have the educational qualifications to access the jobs which are now available in a rapidly changing work environment. New jobs in a largely white-collar economy remain the preserve of the well-educated and those who have availed of only the most basic education are, at least in relative terms, even more disadvantaged than before.

3.7 The Quality of New Communities

Whilst our discussion has thus far concentrated on the traditional inhabitants of the inner city, it is also noteworthy to consider what the future may bring to those who have moved into the newly-developed and privately-rented housing complexes. As the building boom of the past fifteen years has come to a rapid halt, questions are already being asked of the legacy that has been created.

A recent survey undertaken by the Society of Chartered Surveyors in conjunction with Trinity College Dublin found that the residents of the new inner city dwellings are largely single persons, childless couples or students (92%), a mere 2 per cent of residents surveyed had children and the residents were generally young (average age 27 years) and well-educated (74% have achieved a degree or professional qualification). Serious questions have to be asked about the long-term sustainability and particularly about the prospects of these complexes developing into stable communities. By virtue of the high proportion of one-bedroom apartments in most of the new developments, the accommodation that has been created is inherently unsuitable for accommodating families. The physical constraints of the vast majority of recent developments effectively imposes the perpetuation of an ever transient population, making it impossible for community relationships to develop. There is a distinct danger that at least some of these developments will become the slums of tomorrow, especially if there should be a serious downturn in Ireland's economic fortunes.

There is also the legacy of gated communities. Whilst Dublin City Council has recently adopted new guidelines which prohibit the building of gated complexes in the future, there is a vast number of such buildings which now do exist and thus will continue to do so. Those who have bought apartments in such complexes will resist any changes to what they perceive as an essential part of their security, even though the true social and psychological benefits of living in gated communities is far from proven. The proliferation of iron gates and lack of open spaces and passage ways has severely damaged the prospects for communities to develop into neighbourhoods which make it pleasant to live in for the foreseeable future.

3.8 Health and Family Well-being

As already mentioned, by 2006, there were nearly 3,800 households with children under the age of 15 in Dublin's inner city which were single parent households, up from about 2,000 fifteen years before. These account for exactly half of all families with at least one dependent child. The single parent family has thus, for the first time, become the dominant family type in Dublin's inner city.

The trend towards more children being born outside marriage can be observed in all European countries and is not particular to Ireland. Indeed, this trend has reached Ireland with some delay compared to other countries. Nor does single parenthood necessarily imply a breakdown of family relationships. In many instances there can exist a stable relationship and couples may or may not marry at a later stage.

There are, nevertheless, problems resulting from the concentration of single parent families into specific neighbourhoods. Single parent families are largely grouped together in poor neighbourhoods. By virtue of the system by which families are being allocated social housing, we are creating neighbourhoods with extremely high proportions of single parents. It is already difficult to raise a child on one's own, but many of the local authority housing complexes are also the location of increased levels of drug use or drug availability and often associated with higher levels of crime, thus presenting extremely unfavourable conditions for children to grow up in.

However, privately rented accommodation is largely inaccessible to single parent families, firstly because of the level of rent which is generally outside what a single parent with a dependent child or children is able to afford and, secondly, because most of the apartments are too small and unsuitable for children. Furthermore, none of the gated communities appears to provide playgrounds or designated areas for children to play. With the overall rapidly declining availability of open spaces, the only places for children to play are effectively those provided and maintained by Dublin City Council as part of the local authority housing estates. This effectively locks families in Dublin's inner city (as single parent families have become the dominant form of families) into growing up in local authority housing estates. Other than this, Dublin's inner city has increasingly become a place unsuitable for children and, by extension, for families.

3.9 Concluding Remarks

Presenting the Divided City Report

Ireland has experienced an unprecedented economic growth over the past fifteen years which has led to greatly improved living conditions in virtually every part of the country. However, evidence from comparing deprivation data over four census waves also shows that the relative position of areas within the overall affluent-to-disadvantage spectrum has changed only little. Generally, the worst-affected areas in 1991 are still in the same position in 2006. The rising tide has lifted most boats, but this 'lift' has tended to conserve the relatively stable differentials that already existed between affluent and poorer areas. The most remarkable exception to this general observation is Dublin's inner city, where massive investment has led to significant gentrification.

The fact that Dublin's inner city can no longer in its entirety be considered a 'deprived' area has occasionally led to the false conclusion that deprivation has been eradicated from the inner city. This study set out to prove that such claim is erroneous and based on a poor understanding of the changes that have taken place over the past fifteen years and the resulting make-up of the inner city's population.

To this end, the study explores a series of maps and statistical data which show the relative affluence/deprivation of local areas, based on the New Measures of Deprivation for Ireland which combine key socio-economic indicators from four successive census waves. Starting with an analysis at the level of Electoral Divisions, the lowest level at which census data is published in a consistent manner, the study progresses to an analysis at the level of Enumerative Areas, and subsequently estimates of relative deprivation at street or neighbourhood level.

What becomes apparent from such analysis is that the position of Dublin's inner city in the middle field of the overall affluence-to-disadvantage spectrum is a fallacy or statistical artefact. Rather than having benefited all communities in equal proportions, the urban renewal of Dublin's inner city has resulted in the creation of a finely-knit patchwork of highly affluent and disadvantaged neighbourhoods at the micro level, which have little in common and are unrelated to one another.

Targeting Acute Poverty as a Priority

As this report shows, Dublin city centre has experienced significant change over the past two decades. Since 1991 the population has increased by almost fifty per cent after declining by half over the previous thirty years. Incoming residents have been housed in new apartments built as part of a major construction boom that has occurred in the area and which has also seen an expansion of office and hotel space. Much of this construction was initially facilitated by Government tax incentives and also benefited from the sustained economic boom experienced in Ireland over the past ten years. The city centre area now presents an appearance of prosperity and the aspects of a modern European city, with thriving shopping districts and regeneration zones alongside new high rise private apartments in prominent locations and on sites that were recently derelict. The sustained economic improvement experienced up to 2006 since the mid 1990s, undoubtedly, provided benefits for the residents of the inner city, particularly in terms of increased work and income and through refurbishment of the public housing stock. The public investment in expanding community and statutory services and activities also helped to improve the living conditions in many areas during the fifteen years from 1991 to 2006.

However, this image masks the actual reality for a significant proportion of the residents who still experience acute poverty, particularly among those living in publicly owned social housing and increasingly alongside the wealthier apartment dwellers in private rented accommodation. In addition, the intense construction activity has also had a negative impact on the resident communities who have had to endure almost twenty years of constant construction in many of their neighbourhoods and a rapid expansion of the residential population depending on scarce public services. What has emerged from this period of rapid expansion is an inner city residential community that is now clearly divided between those traditionally living in public housing and the new residents located in private apartments, with limited interaction between the communities and more apparent differences in wealth and poverty at a neighbourhood level.

In this context and of most concern, is the continued concentration of acute poverty in particular areas with significant numbers of individuals and families experiencing low income and increased hardship, greatly exacerbated as the economy rapidly declines.

The socio-economic data contained in this report presents a major challenge to the community and statutory agencies with responsibility to tackle poverty in the inner city. The fact that large numbers of residents are still located in communities experiencing acute poverty requires renewed efforts and more innovative solutions to deliver essential services and community activities in a way that is tailored to the actual needs of these families and individuals. Undoubtedly, the present severe economic downturn makes this task much more difficult as funding and resources are reduced. However, the evidence set out above, and the coherent analysis of the impact of acute poverty on specific areas and communities, should provide the basis for the priority to target services and resources to those most in need in the inner city.

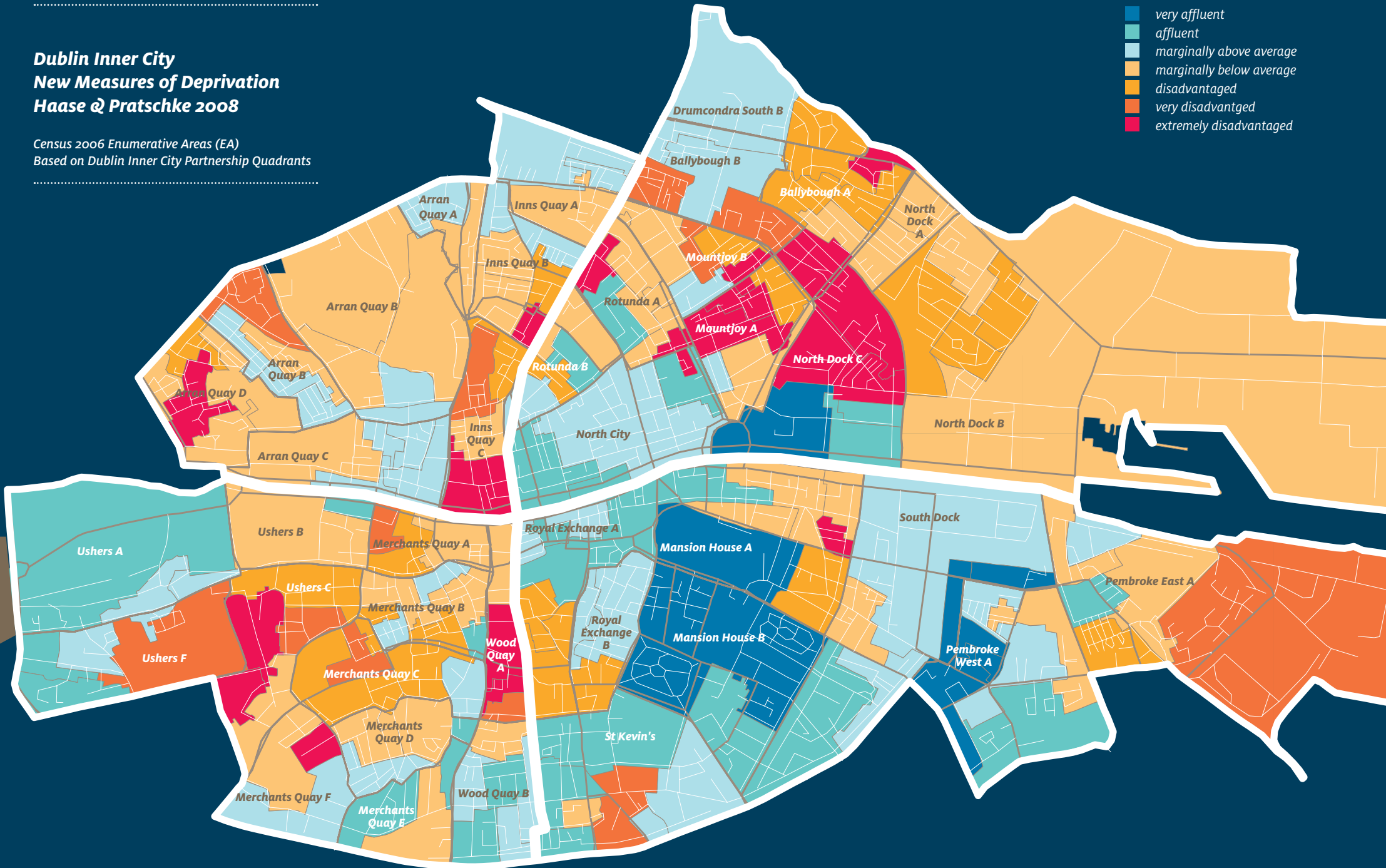
References

1. The introductory section 1.1 is substantially based on a web-based leaflet of the Department of the Environment at www.enfo.ie/leaflets/bs20.htm. References to more recent developments are those of the author.
2. Section 1.2 is partly based on D. Connolly, Developing Dublin's inner city - who benefits?, 1997, Unpublished MSc thesis, University of Dublin/ IPA.
3. Section 1.3 is substantially based on A. McLaran and S. Kelly "Urban Property Development" in B. Bartley and R. Kitchin (2006) Understanding Contemporary Ireland, Dublin: Pluto Press.

**Dublin Inner City
New Measures of Deprivation
Haase & Pratschke 2008**

Census 2006 Enumerative Areas (EA)
Based on Dublin Inner City Partnership Quadrants

- very affluent
- affluent
- marginally above average
- marginally below average
- disadvantaged
- very disadvantaged
- extremely disadvantaged



Dublin Inner City New Measures of Deprivation

Haase & Pratschke 2008 / Census 2006 Enumerative Areas (EA)

North West Inner City (8 Electoral Divisions)

Arran Quay A, Arran Quay B, Arran Quay C, Arran Quay D, Arran Quay E, Inns Quay A, Inns Quay B, Inns Quay C.

Total Population:	24,897
Population change 1996-2006:	+5,800
Percentage population change 1996-2006:	+35.8%
Non-Irish nationals:	8,748
Population aged 14 and under:	2,616
Percentage change in child population between 1996 and 2006:	+16.8%
Population aged 65+ living alone:	856
Population with no formal or primary education only:	3,078
Percentage of population whose full time education has ceased and who have no formal or primary education only:	20.4%
Population who left school at or before the age of 15:	2,032
Number of lone parent households:	1,236
Lone parent households as a percentage of all households with children:	50.0%
Relative Deprivation Index Score:	-6.3
Total Number Unemployed:	1,636
Unemployment rate:	13.8%
Unemployed and first time jobseekers:	2,107
Semi and unskilled workers:	4,413
People with a disability:	2,729
Local authority tenants:	1,444

South West Inner City (12 Electoral Divisions)

Merchants Quay A, Merchants Quay B, Merchants Quay C, Merchants Quay D, Merchants Quay E, Merchants Quay F, Ushers A, Ushers B, Ushers C, Ushers F, Woodquay A, Woodquay B.

Total Population:	31,459
Population change 1996-2006:	+6,606
Percentage population change 1996-2006:	+35.09%
Non-Irish nationals:	9,253
Population aged 14 and under:	3,775
Percentage change in child population between 1996 and 2006:	+30.6%
People aged 65+ living alone:	998
Population with no formal or primary education only:	4,314
Percentage of population whose full time education has ceased and who have no formal or primary education only:	21.6%
People left school at or before the age of 15:	2,919
Number of lone parent households:	1,753
Lone parent households as a percentage of all households with children:	49.3%
Relative Deprivation Index Score:	-3.7
Total Number Unemployed:	1,973
Unemployment rate:	13.5%
Unemployed and first time jobseekers:	2,401
Semi and unskilled workers:	5,527
People with a disability:	3,964
Local authority tenants:	2,629

North East Inner City (11 Electoral Divisions)

Ballybough A, Ballybough B, Drumcondra South B, Mountjoy A, Mountjoy B, North City, North Dock A, North Dock B, North Dock C, Rotunda A, Rotunda B.

Total Population:	35,159
Population change 1996-2006:	+9,345
Percentage population change 1996-2006:	+39.98%
Non-Irish nationals:	12,272
Population aged 14 and under:	4,259
Percentage change in child population between 1996 and 2006:	-11.87%
People aged 65+ living alone:	913
Population with no formal or primary education only:	4,292
Percentage of population whose full time education has ceased and who have no formal or primary education only:	20.89%
Population who left school at or before the age of 15:	2,719
Number of lone parent households:	2,000
Lone parent households as a percentage of all households with children:	55.0%
Relative Deprivation Index Score:	-8.5
Total Number Unemployed:	2,564
Unemployment rate:	14.5%
Unemployed and first time job seekers:	3,232
Semi and unskilled workers:	6,588
People with a disability:	3,390
Local authority tenants:	2,587

South East Inner City (8 Electoral Divisions)

Mansion House A, Mansion House B, Pembroke East A, Pembroke West A, Royal Exchange A, Royal Exchange B, South Dock, St. Kevins.

Total Population:	30,298
Population change 1996-2006:	+8,064
Percentage population change 1996-2006:	35.2%
Non-Irish Nationals:	8,079
Population aged 14 and under:	2,555
Percentage change in child population between 1996 and 2006:	-23.57%
People aged 65+ living alone:	856
Population with no formal or primary education only:	3,399
Percentage of population whose full time education has ceased and who have no formal or primary education only:	19.1%
People who left school at or before the age of 15:	2,303
Number of lone parent households:	1,164
Lone parent households as a percentage of all households with children:	41.1%
Relative Deprivation Index Score:	2.5
Total Number Unemployed:	1,312
Unemployment rate:	4.53%
Unemployed and first time jobseekers:	1,578
Semi and unskilled workers:	3,804
People with a disability:	2,787
Local authority tenants:	2,251

National Data

Total Population:	4,239,848
Population change 1996-2006:	+613,761
Percentage population change 1996-2006:	+16.9%
Non-Irish nationals:	414,512
Population aged 14 and under:	864,449
Percentage change in child population between 1996 and 2006:	-0.6%
People aged 65+ living alone:	121,157
Population with no formal or primary education only:	514,085
Percentage of population whose full time education has ceased and who have no formal or primary education only:	18.9%
Population who left school at or before the age of 15:	322,345
Number of lone parent households:	189,171
Lone parent households as a percentage of all households with children:	25.2%
Relative Deprivation Index Score:	2.1
Total Number Unemployed:	150,084
Unemployment Rate:	8.5%
Unemployed and first time jobseekers:	179,456
Semi and unskilled workers:	649,691
People with a disability:	393,787
Local authority tenants:	105,509

Data for Dublin Inner City (39 Electoral Divisions)

Total Population:	121,813
Population change 1996-2006:	+29,815
Percentage Population change 1996-2006:	32.4%
Non-Irish nationals:	38,352
Population aged 14 and under:	13,205
Percentage change in child population between 1996 and 2006:	-11.4%
People aged 65+ living alone:	3,623
Population with no formal or primary education only:	15,083
Percentage of population whose full-time education has ceased and who have no formal or primary education only:	20.3%
Population who left school at or before the age of 15:	9,973
Number of lone parent households:	6,153
Lone parent households as a percentage of all households with children:	50.0%
Relative Deprivation Index Score:	-4.6
Total Number Unemployed:	7,485
Unemployment rate:	12.6%
Unemployed and first time job seekers:	9,318
Semi and unskilled workers:	20,332
People with a disability:	12,870
Local authority tenants:	8,911

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